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## CONTENTS of No. III.

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ART. I.	Gentz, Etat de l'Europe	p. 1
II.	Collin's Account of New South Wales, vol. 2.	30
III.	Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini	42
IV.	Accounts of the Egyptian Expedition—Reynier's State of Egypt—Sir R. Wilson's History of the British Expedition—Captain Walsh's History of the Cam- paign—Anderson's Journal of the Forces	53
V.	Hayley's Life of Cowper	64
VI.	Fiévée, Lettres sur l'Angleterre	86
VII.	Lamb's John Woodvil, a tragedy	90
VIII.	Woollaston on Prismatic Reflection	97
IX.	Woollaston on the oblique Reflection of Iceland Crystal	99
X.	Hatchett's Analysis of a New Metal	99
XI.	Guineas an unnecessary and expensive incumbrance on Commerce	101
XII.	Vallancey's Prospectus of an Irish Dictionary	116
XIII.	Kitson on Abstinence from Animal Food	128
XIV.	Percival's Account of Ceylon	136
XV.	Villers sur une Nouvelle Theorie de Cerveau	147
XVI.	Pinel, Traité sur l'Aliénation Mentale	160
XVII.	Delphine, by Madame de Stael Holstein	172
XVIII.	Belsham's Reign of George III. vol. 5. and 6.	177
XIX.	Charles et Marie	184
XX.	Memoirs of the Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. 5. part 2.	192
XXI.	Thelwall's Poems	197
XXII.	Sturges on the Residence of the Clergy	202
XXIII.	Sir John Sinclair's Essays	205
XXIV.	Dalzel, Collectanea Græca Majora, vol. 2 <sup>d</sup> .	211
XXV.	Wyttenbach's Plutarch	216
XXVI.	Stewart's Life of Robertson	229
XXVII.	Mant's Warton's Poetical Works	250
XXVIII.	Hey's Surgery	261



PRESENTED BY  
 ABANI NATH THE MUKHARJI  
 OF UTTARPARA  
**EDINBURGH REVIEW,**

APRIL 1803.

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*N<sup>o</sup>. III.*

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**ART. I.** *De l'Etat de l'Europe avant et après la Revolution Françoise, pour servir de rponse a l'ecrit, intitulé, De l'etat de la France à la fin de l'an 8. Par M. Frederic Gentz, Conseiller de Guerre, de S. M. Prussienne. 8vo. pp. 354. Londres, 1802.*

**T**HE destruction of Jacobinism, and the entire abolition of the revolutionary cant, by which its antagonists were so long exasperated, have effected a great change in the tone and manner of our late political controversies, and restored some degree of temper, and some appearance at least of candour, to those great and interesting discussions. Men agree now pretty generally in the principles from which they set out, to whatever distance their conclusions may diverge; and admit the authority of some common maxims of right or expediency, however they may differ as to their application.

The events, however, to which we are indebted for this improvement in the style of our political writers, have not been such, by any means, as to compose their fundamental differences. The apprehensions which were formerly excited by the revolutionary principles of France, have been succeeded by the dread of her power; and the nations of Europe seem only delivered from the dangers of internal dissension, to encounter those with which their independence is threatened, from the preponderance of a foreign state. In such a condition of society, it is not to be expected that the great questions of international policy can yet be examined with entire impartiality, or that any political writer should be able to lay aside altogether that jealousy and animosity with which the opposite parties in the great European community have been so long accustomed to regard each other. In the debate which is detailed in this volume, accordingly, there is no rant about liberty on the one hand, or social order on the other; and yet there is, on one side at least, as



much partiality and exaggeration, and as much hostility and rancour, as could well have been found in the earlier days of the Revolution.

The book called *De l'Etat de la France*, to which this publication of M. Gentz is announced as an answer, is written by a Frenchman \* in office, in the true spirit of his country and his station. It contains a most captivating representation of the happiness, and power, and moderation of France; and a very animated exposition of the crimes and impending humiliation of this country. Though the partiality and acrimony of the author are so apparent throughout as to take from his performance all the authority of sober judgment, it still indicates so much talent, and so much information, as to be highly deserving of attention. He has rested the justification of his country upon a much wider range of historical deduction and political inference than have hitherto been brought to bear upon the question; and by representing the Revolution as the crisis of a great disorder in the general system of European politics, he has given an interest and a simplicity to his speculations which the subject did not seem to promise. He writes, too, with a certain air of confidence and authority, that it is not always easy to resist; and while he throws out some specious and brilliant ideas upon every subject that presents itself, he dexterously avoids those specifications of minute detail by which all general principles must be verified.

Such a performance, if it admitted at all of an answer, seemed to require one, in a particular manner, on the part of this country. Our politicians, however, appear to write only for the satisfaction of their countrymen, and to think that a book published in French cannot be deserving of their notice. In this instance, we conceive that their backwardness, though not very easily accounted for, has been of great advantage to their cause; as it has put the task into the less suspicious hands of a neutral foreigner, and given a continental politician an opportunity of stating to the nations of Europe the real state and pretensions of the two rival powers. M. Gentz is a native of Prussia, and a minister of the only great military power that has been for a considerable time in amity with the French republic. His former publications, 'upon the origin and character of the late war,' and 'on the finances of Great Britain,' prove sufficiently with what a skilful and penetrating eye he had surveyed the proceedings of the belligerent powers, and with what scrupulous exactness he had informed himself as to their resources. The present publication must add to his reputation in all those particulars, and would of itself entitle him to a place among the first political writers

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\* M. Hauterive, Chef des relations extérieures.

writers of the age. The book is written with a very singular temperance of manner, in spite of the personal provocation which M. Hauterive has occasionally given ; and seems to us as much superior to that of his antagonists, in candour and manliness of sentiment, as in historical accuracy and correct reasoning. As the subject is in every respect extremely interesting and important, we shall endeavour to lay before our readers a pretty full view of the treatment it has received from M. Gentz.

The substance of M. Hauterive's book, with which it is necessary to begin, may fairly be stated in the few following propositions.

From the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, down to the æra of the French Revolution, the balance of power in Europe, and the authority of public law, had been gradually neglected and impaired, till scarcely a trace of systematical policy was to be discovered at the latter period.

The Revolution in France, and the desolating wars which it excited, were the necessary and natural results of this general derangement ; and the issue of them has enabled France to lay the foundations of a new federal system, better accommodated to the present condition of the European nations.

The power which she has thus acquired, she will exercise in acts of beneficence towards her allies, and of moderation towards her opponents, and will make use of all her influence to protect the continental states against the machinations of England, who has been the constant instigator of general hostility, whose commercial monopoly has extinguished their industry, and whose ambition still threatens their independence.

To qualify her for the discharge of these important duties, France possesses, according to Mr Hauterive, the most ample resources that have ever fallen to the lot of any nation. Her geographical position, the fertility of her soil, the number, genius, and valour of her inhabitants ; her form of government, and the talents and virtues of those by whom it is administered ; seem all combined to ensure her permanent pre-eminence, and to give stability to those political benefits that Europe is to derive from her influence.

These positions M. Gentz has undertaken to disprove, in the work that is now before us ; and has applied himself to the task with a degree of zeal and assiduity that seemed to assure him of success. He admits, in a great degree, the power and the resources of France to be such as his antagonist has represented them ; and does not think proper to enter into any disquisition in this work, as to the excellence of her government, or the stability of her constitution. The object of his book is merely to show, that the Revolution was neither produced nor justified by any  
real

real disorder in the general system of European politics, and that its consequences have been, to subvert that ancient and salutary system, without substituting any other in its stead. In following out this object, he is naturally led to take a view of the political state and relations of the different European countries at the time when this revolution took place, and to compare the results of this survey with the condition in which these countries have been left by the consequences of that Revolution.

The method which M. Gentz has followed, in the first part of this disquisition, is somewhat characteristic, we think, of the genius of his countrymen. Instead of entering at once upon a delineation of the actual state of the leading nations of Europe at the moment of the French Revolution, he distributes the subject into three separate chapters, under the following titles; 1. How far the treaty of Westphalia can be considered as having established a public law, or federative system in Europe? 2. How far any intermediate events between that treaty and the late Revolution, can be considered as having subverted this system? and, 3. Whether, at the commencement of that Revolution, there was really any such federative system in force, or in existence, in Europe.

Now, to us it seems very evident, that it was only with the last of these questions that the author had properly any concern. We are by no means convinced, that M. Hauterive ever meant to assert, that the treaty of Westphalia laid the first foundation of the balancing system in Europe, or that this system must necessarily have been destroyed by the first violation of that treaty. But though he had made such an assertion, and, in making it, had committed as gross an error as it certainly seems to imply, still we conceive, that it was an assertion which M. Gentz was not called upon to expose, and that any controversy upon this subject was utterly foreign to the general design of his argument. If Europe was actually united and protected at the æra of the French Revolution, by the authority of a great federative and balancing system, and if that system was destroyed in the contentions with which the Revolution was attended, it is certainly of no consequence, whether it was a system established by the peace of Westphalia, and modified by succeeding occurrences, or whether it had its origin in a more remote antiquity, and had been uniformly progressive in vigour and authority, till the moment of its subversion. M. Hauterive maintains, that there was no such system in existence at the time of the Revolution; and that it was the want of it that occasioned all the distractions which ensued. M. Gentz alleges, that there was such a system at this time, in a state of the greatest vigour and improvement; and, to us, it does not seem necessary that he should have alleged any thing more. Of the reasonings

reasonings contained in the two first chapters, therefore, we should not have thought it necessary to present our readers with any analysis, if the author had himself adhered strictly to the subjects he had announced. In the course of discussion, however, he seems to have insensibly widened the basis of his argument, and to have passed from the consideration of the treaty of Westphalia, with its history and result, to the general and permanent effects of the events by which it is said to have been infringed. Thus, while he seems only to be contending, that the stipulations of that treaty were not materially affected by the various occurrences which M. Hauterive had enumerated, we are surprised to find him admitting that the elevation of Prussia did alter the very ground work of its regulations ; and contending, that this alteration was, notwithstanding, of the greatest advantage to Europe. As the argument in these two chapters, therefore, does in reality graduate, by a kind of anticipation, into that general and more important argument which is nominally reserved for the succeeding one, we shall give a very short and general sketch of the observations they appear to contain.

After observing, that the treaty of Westphalia only adjusted the pretensions of France, Sweden, and the different states of the empire, and, consequently, was utterly incapable of settling the general balance of Europe, he proceeds to make some remarks upon the three great events by which M. Hauterive has contended that the treaty was abrogated, and the balance overthrown.— These three events are, 1. The civilization of Russia, and its adoption into the system of European politics ; 2. The elevation of Prussia to the rank of a power of the first order ; and, 3. The prodigious extension of the commercial and colonial system.

With regard to the first of these, M. Gentz observes, that the formation of the Russian empire has extended the sphere of commercial enterprise and civil intercourse, more than any other events since the discovery of America ; that it has secured Europe for ever against the irruption of the northern barbarians, and that its political influence has been confined almost entirely to the northern kingdoms, to Poland and Turkey. Of its partitioning system he speaks with decided disapprobation ; but concludes, that the middle states of Europe, and France in particular, had no reason to complain of any disturbance or change of their relations from this quarter of the globe.

The aggrandisement of Prussia, he admits, however, touches them more nearly. It deranged a great part of the old system of Germanic policy, but tended to maintain and secure the peace and the independence of all the neighbouring communities. The struggles by which its elevation was effected, did, indeed, for a time, disturb the tranquillity of the empire, but its estab-

lishment insured its repose. By affording an internal counterpoise to the power of Austria, it did indeed diminish the influence of France in the other parts of the Germanic body; but this was most evidently a benefit to Europe at large, and left France the choice of either Austria or Prussia for its ally. It is very remarkable, accordingly, that as soon as Prussia had become the implacable and formidable opponent of Austria in Germany, France immediately entered into a close alliance with her ancient enemy, and transferred into the Austrian scale the whole weight of that influence, that could not possibly be diminished, from having become the subject of jealousy and contention between the two rival powers. As to M. Hauterive's paradoxical assertion, that the Protestant interest was ruined by the elevation of Prussia, itself a Protestant government, M. Gentz judiciously remarks, that religious distinctions have now lost all their ancient authority; that an universal change of character has taken away, as it were, by a great social revolution, one ancient bond of union and source of dissension; and that the slightest political consideration will now have more influence on the conduct of nations, than all the creeds in the universe. Finally, M. Hauterive has insinuated, that it was Prussia that first set the example of vast standing armies and ruinous imposts in Europe; and that fear and ambition propagated the practice so successfully, that every nation, before the Revolution, had a disproportionate part of its population engaged in the unprofitable occupation of war, and was vainly draining its resources to supply the expence of its establishments. M. Gentz does not admit, by any means, that this was really the situation of Europe; but, even upon that hypothesis, he denies that it was in Prussia that the practice originated. It began, unquestionably, he says, in France under Louis XIV., and has ever since prevailed, in that country, to a greater extent than any where else. We may add, that it seems strange in the minister of a military government, to declaim upon the disastrous consequences of maintaining a standing army; and that if Europe was ruined under her old system, by the excessive number of her hired forces, it is not very easy to see how France is to regenerate her prosperity, by setting the example of a peace-establishment of 500,000 men.

M. Hauterive's *third* reason for the destruction of all order and prosperity in Europe, is found in the vast increase of commerce and colonies in the course of the last century. M. Gentz treats this with great contempt. The increase of commerce is a necessary consequence, he says, of that salutary development of national wealth and prosperity, to which human society naturally tends under any system of just administration; it is beneficial to the country

country where it begins, and harmless, at least, to all its neighbours. It affords them not only example and encouragement, but the means of imitation and improvement; and can never be viewed with jealousy or resentment, except by that envy which despairs of emulation, or that barbarous pride which had rather that its associates should fall, than be indebted to them for its own elevation. M. Hauterive, in this part of his argument, has an evident reference to the situation of this country; but M. Gentz, who has reserved that subject for a separate discussion in another part of his book, answers only in general. He observes, that the increased resources that have been derived from the extension of the commercial system, have been in some degree common to all nations, and have rather ameliorated the condition of the whole, than altered the relations of its parts. That some have been outstripped by others in this honourable and free competition, ought no more to be made the subject of resentment or complaint, than that one nation has amended its laws, or reformed its constitution, with greater diligence and dispatch than its neighbours. In point of fact, he observes, that the advantages that may be ascribed to the extension of colonies or commerce, have never been monopolized by any one nation in Europe, but have belonged, in a great degree, to all the maritime states, and in particular to France, England, and Holland, in pretty equal proportion. When we consider, indeed, what France was, both in America and in India, within half a century, and the prodigious advantages she still has in the Levant trade and that of the West Indies, it cannot but appear surprising that a French writer should inveigh with so much bitterness against colonies and commerce, and represent the balance of Europe as in danger from the preponderance of England, merely because she possesses a part of those advantages which were formerly enjoyed with safety by the continental kingdom of France. The maritime powers, too, M. Gentz observes, form a sort of secondary balance among themselves, and will, in general, throw their united force into the scale, to prevent the disturbance of the greater system to which they adhere. Their chief interest on the continent must always be, to maintain that general balance; and if their commerce has increased their weight and authority, this is a circumstance which tends only to make that balance more secure. If it had not been for the maritime resources of Holland and England, it is not easy to perceive in what way the continental powers could have resisted the attacks of Louis XIV. After all this, we must allow that M. Hauterive's patriotism is more conspicuous than his accuracy, when he informs us, that, for these last hundred and fifty years, 'France alone has conducted herself

herself in conformity to the general principles of the political balance, while all the surrounding nations appeared to glory in the contempt with which they treated it.

From these preliminary, but very important observations, our author proceeds to the proper business of his publication ; and begins, in the third chapter, an elaborate and instructive representation of the state of Europe at the æra of the French Revolution. So far from thinking with M. Hauterive, that it had abandoned all political principle, and was reduced to such a state of internal disorder and debility, as to need or deserve so terrible a purgation, it is the opinion of M. Gentz, that at this very time—

‘ It was easy to discover in all the greater states, without exception, and in most of the smaller ones, an active principle of amelioration, which extended to all the branches of administration, and a spirit of correction and reform, that was communicated from the people to the Sovereign, and reflected again from the Sovereign to the people. Every nation was employed in revising its laws, and suggesting amendments, in particular, of its criminal jurisprudence : and measures were every where suggested for the encouragement of industry, agriculture, and commerce. All governments were employed in enriching and adorning their territories with plantations and canals, and in the construction of high-roads, harbours, and public buildings of every description. The greatest zeal, and the greatest talents, were every where put in requisition to discover some gentle and effectual substitute for the old and oppressive system of taxation, and to fill the public treasury with the least inconvenience or disadvantage to the people. Private life was every where set free from those arbitrary restrictions that disturb its happiness, and restrained its prosperity. The system of free competition was universally gaining ground over that of unjust monopolies ; exclusive privileges were every day becoming milder and more unusual ; and a greater equality of rights was generally recognised. Every where, too, the education of youth, and the adaptation of their instruction to the departments for which they were destined, had become an object of national solicitude, and was patronised and protected by the Government.’

This is certainly a very flattering picture ; and M. Gentz admits, that the traits of which it is composed were not to be found united in all their purity and perfection in any one of the nations in question ; but he maintains, that there was a tendency to realize this picture in every one of them, and that it had indicated itself very decidedly, even in those where its operation had been most imperfect and incomplete. In confirmation of this assertion, he then proceeds to take an exact and comprehensive survey of the real state of all the great nations that compose the European community. It is impossible for us to pursue him

him through this interesting and important detail ; nor can we hope to do justice to it in the short and imperfect abstract to which we are necessarily confined. He goes over the different countries, first with a view to their internal prosperity, and then with a view to their political or external relations.

As to *Russia*, he observes, that the whole of her modern existence has been a series of brilliant and unparalleled improvements ; and that her progress, under the late Empress, was not less wonderful than under the Great Peter. The general spirit of amelioration which animated all Europe, prevailed even to a feverish excess in this remote empire ; and the very extravagance and ambition of its Sovereign seemed directed only to precipitate the civilization of her people, and to raise her country at once to the level of her southern neighbours. Let M. Hauterive compare the state of *Russia* in 1690 with her state in 1790, and then determine whether the last century has witnessed nothing but the decay and degeneracy of the European kingdoms.

In *Austria*, M. Gentz alleges, that the reign of Joseph II. in particular, exhibited the singular spectacle of a monarch struggling to confer all kinds of benefits upon his subjects ; and a people who obstinately rejected the blessing, and clung to their prejudices and their miseries. Upon this prince he pronounces an eulogium in which we cannot altogether concur. Joseph II. with great goodness of disposition, had all the habits of a despot, and all the vanity of an Imperial philosopher ; and was not so desirous that his people should be prosperous and happy, as ambitious of being himself the artificer of their happiness and prosperity. It is impossible, however, to deny, that many of the regulations which he proposed were politic and salutary ; or that *Austria*, under his administration, was protected and encouraged in all her efforts for internal amelioration.

Of *Prussia*, our author speaks with the partiality of a good patriot. The legislative labours of the Great Frederic certainly were little less admirable than his military exploits ; but we are not just prepared to follow M. Gentz, in affirming that, “ in the latter years of his reign, *Prussia* was a model of industry, regularity and œconomy ; and afforded at the same time a pattern of internal energy and genuine civil liberty.” It must be admitted, however, that the internal condition of the Prussian territories had been prodigiously improved in the course of the last century ; and that a spirit of activity and enterprise prevailed over all the north of Germany, that gave but little indication of an incurable disorder in its constitution.

The very name of *Great Britain*, M. Gentz conceives to be a satisfactory answer to every thing that M. Hauterive has asserted as to the weak and disordered state of all the European governments. In that



that country alone, the true principles of political œconomy had been protected and recommended by the Government; and the consequences of this enlightened policy had exalted its commerce to a degree of prosperity unexampled in the history of the world.

In *Denmark* and in *Sweden*, the same judicious regulations were beginning to be generally adopted. In the latter country especially, the activity of Gustavus III. had awakened the industry, and encouraged the exertions of his people; and, in spite of the political dissensions by which his reign was molested, the internal prosperity of the kingdom was never at so great a height.

Even in *Poland*, the desire of reform and the spirit of improvement had manifested itself. The partition of 1772 had awakened the cares of her statesmen to the preservation of her remaining territories; and the reports of the Diet in 1788, and the new constitution of 1791, testified sufficiently how much they were in earnest, and gave a promise of tranquillity and happiness that could only have been disappointed by the total annihilation of the kingdom.

*Spain* and *Portugal*, though in circumstances far more unfavourable than any other state in Europe, began also to feel the vivifying effects of the general tendency to improvement. *Italy* had already made great advances: Tuscany, under the administration of Leopold, had become a model for all small principalities; Rome had adopted the most enlightened views of political œconomy: and Naples itself was preparing a scheme for a radical and systematic reform of its very defective administration.

It only remains to consider the situation of *France* itself. If the Revolution, with all the diffusive evils that it has generated, was occasioned by the internal disorder and misgovernment of the European kingdoms, the symptoms of these abuses must have been most manifest in that country where the explosion took place. M. Gentz does not deny, that there were many defects in the administration of that government; and admits, that under Louis XV. in particular, very great errors and abuses were committed; but, during the reign of his unfortunate successor, he maintains, that every thing indicated a disposition to redress all grievances, and to grant all indulgences.

Could the monarch, who gave himself up to the counsels of a Turgot and a Malsherbes, and who twice entrusted the fortunes of his kingdom to the hands of a Neckar, be really enamoured of ancient abuses, and zealous for obsolete prerogatives? Did the convocation of the Notables, and the plan of finance which they were assembled to consider, indicate any thing like that illiberal, suspicious, and despicable policy of which he has been accused? Was the imprudent facility with which the Court consented to the assembling of the States-general, a mark of bigotted arrogance, or of blameable indulgence? Was the edict

dict of 1788, by which the freedom of the press was established, and political discussion invited on the part of the Government, a sign of its abhorrence for every sort of innovation, and its detestation of the name of reform? Was the act of council of December in the same year, or the speech of the minister in May 1789, or the unfortunate declaration that followed it; —were these like the acts of a government that had no sympathy with the wishes of its subjects, or that stood with proud stupidity upon those ancient prerogatives, which had become odious in the eyes of all the virtuous and the wise? If the Revolution was at all occasioned by those prerogatives, it was not because they were too obstinately retained, but because they were too hastily surrendered.'

There is something questionable, perhaps, in a part of these observations; but enough is made out, we conceive, to justify M. Gentz in concluding, that there was nothing in the *internal* situation of the European kingdoms that required such a stormy reformation, as the Revolution threatened to accomplish; and that this Revolution, so far from being the last link in a long chain of disasters and abuses, was, in fact, a most grievous and unexpected interruption to their career of prosperity, and can in no degree be justified by the pretended disorder and desperation of their affairs.

It remains for M. Gentz, therefore, to consider, whether the causes of this calamitous event, which certainly did not originate from the *internal* distractions of the European kingdoms, can be found in the disordered state of their *external* or foreign relations. This indeed, is more immediately the object of his book; for it seems sufficiently evident, that the internal disorder of the adjoining kingdoms could never have produced a revolution in France; though it is conceivable, at least, that her condition may have been affected by the state of her foreign relations.

In entering upon this discussion, M. Gentz admits that the balancing system was far from being established on a footing of absolute perfection in Europe, and that many measures had at all times been adopted in direct opposition to its principles. All that he alleges is, that its authority was higher immediately before the Revolution, than it had ever been at any other time, and that its practical efficacy was such, that all the greater powers were perfectly secure from any exterminating combination against them. The only violation of the balance that could justify its utter destruction on the part of France, must have been such a violation as endangered the *security*, or took away the *influence* of that country. M. Gentz, therefore, begins with inquiring into these particulars.—With regard to *security*, he observes, that her geographical position and her internal resources alone made her independent of all hostile combinations. De-  
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fenced by inaccessible mountains on the south, and by the ocean on the north and west, she was protected on the east by a chain of fortresses which might bid defiance to the forces of an invading enemy; her population was numerous, warlike, and skilful, and her productions more rich and various than those of any other kingdom in the world. But though her strength might thus have despised all the threats of hostility, she had, in reality, no formidable enemy to encounter. Russia was not only weakened by her great distance, but excluded by the same circumstance from any view of conquest on the French frontiers. In Germany she was sure of the support, either of Prussia or Austria, and might almost reckon upon giving predominance to the power to which she was associated. With Austria, however, naturally the most powerful of the two, she had been closely allied for upwards of thirty years, and nothing seemed likely to disturb that pacific union. With Spain her connections were still more intimate and secure. Switzerland was attached to her by interest and by habit; and such were the fears of her power, and the benefits of her alliance, that from the days of Cardinal Fleuri down to the æra of the Revolution, it is not so much as pretended, that any combination of the great powers had ever been projected against her. Without one natural or formidable enemy, therefore, on the whole continent of Europe, and courted and flattered by every one of her neighbours in their turn, France could entertain no apprehensions for her safety, and could see no rival to her influence, except in the commercial greatness of England. The proximity of the two nations, their pride and vanity, their ancient competition in valour, genius and trade, with the alternations of success and defeat that each had experienced, and the constant clashing of their interests in their colonial and economical speculations, had put something of habitual hostility into their mutual relations, and made it difficult to establish a cordial reconciliation between them. But though England stood thus in opposition to France, it would be ridiculous to say that she at all endangered her security. A maritime power could only injure her rival in her colonial possessions; and, upon these, her European influence was in no degree dependent. Even there, the fortune of the contest was alternate; though humiliated in the seven-years war, France was able, in less than twenty years, to dispute the empire of the sea with her competitor; and forced from her, by the peace of 1763, those darling colonies upon which so many millions had been expended. Even their ancient rivalry was beginning to be forgotten. In 1786, the first treaty of commerce was concluded between the nations; and, but three years before the Revolution, France appeared to have reconciled herself to all the

the world, and to flourish in the midst of Europe, without one enemy around her.

With regard to the practical use that had been made of all those natural advantages, M. Gentz lays it down as incontestible, that under Louis XIV. the influence of France was a great deal too powerful, and that its subsequent diminution has been beneficial to all Europe, and to France itself. The councils of Louis XV. indeed, he confesses, were remarkable for weakness, rather than moderation; and a certain supine indifference degraded this great state, during that reign, rather below its natural station in the European scale. More recently, however, it had resumed its proper place, and, especially from the commencement of the American war, had conducted itself with all the energy and activity that its position appeared to require. Over Russia, indeed, its influence was very small; but the operations of this power were scarcely within the sphere of its cognizance; and, except in the instances of the attack meditated on Turkey and Poland, in both of which France ought certainly to have interfered, there was scarcely any one enterprise of the Northern Empire which it was called upon to oppose. The interference which it attempted successfully in the affairs of Sweden in 1772, and of Holland in 1787, serves sufficiently to show, not only the influence of France in European politics, but her consciousness of this influence, and the vigilance with which she watched for opportunities to exert it. The whole of this historical argument, as to the real influence of France, upon which M. Gentz has bestowed a great deal of attention, seems to us very useless and unnecessary. After proving that France was very powerful and formidable, it was scarcely necessary to show, that her influence was very considerable. Her real influence must obviously always be in the proportion of her power, and the advantages of her position. The historical detail into which M. Gentz has entered, proves only that her government thought proper sometimes to exert this influence, and sometimes was led to neglect it, or that its exertion was sometimes less judicious than at others. To prove that France really possessed too little influence in the general system of Europe, it would be necessary to show, that she had little power to support her friends, or to annoy her enemies; or that she had generally failed in the measures for the promotion of which her influence had been exerted. M. Haute-riive himself does not venture to assert this; and, in confirmation of M. Gentz's general conclusion, it is not a little remarkable, that M. Segur, whose authority as a politician is high with all parties of his countrymen, has made this remarkable assertion. I doubt if it be possible to specify any period in the history of the French Monarchy, during which it maintained so much au-  
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thority in Europe, as from 1783 to 1787, that is, from the date of the peace with England down to the time of the Dutch revolution.\*

If France was secure, and possessed of a predominating influence in the affairs of the Continent, it is of less consequence to inquire into the foreign relations of the other European states, since it is evident, that nothing unfortunate or injudicious in the system of their alliances, could ever produce or justify a revolution in the former country. To take away all pretext, however, from his antagonist, and to expose, still more completely, the extent of his misrepresentations as to the actual position of Europe, M. Gentz has subjoined to his examination of the foreign relations of France, an elaborate exposition of the political connection of the great neighbouring communities. Of this we shall give but a very short abstract.

The whole history of *Austria*, he conceives to be one continued illustration of the force and efficacy of the balancing system. It was by this system that its domineering influence was abridged in the end of the sixteenth century. It was by this system that it was redeemed from utter destruction (principally by the exertions of England) in the war for the succession of Charles VI. ; and it was by the irresistible force of this system, that its designs upon Holland were frustrated in 1787, though it was then in close and friendly alliance with the power by whose interference its machinations were repressed ; and that England and Prussia were enabled, in 1790, to defeat its compact with Russia, for the extirpation of the Turkish power. This last event, which was accomplished without expence or bloodshed, is perhaps the most signal triumph of the balancing system, and the greatest proof of its increasing efficacy. What must perplex M. Hauteville not a little is, that it took place the very year of the French Revolution. The Austrian power has been kept very much at its ancient level of influence and authority, by the contrary operation of four important events : the alliance with France in 1756, and the gradual diminution of the Turkish force, adding as much to its strength and security upon one hand, as was taken away by the successive elevation of Russia and Prussia to the rank which they now hold in the great European community. Though *Austria* did take a part in the first partition of Poland in 1772, M. Gentz affirms, that it was with great reluctance ; and refers to the posthumous works of the late King of Prussia, for evidence that Joseph was absolutely forced into that measure by his associates.

Under the article of *Prussia*, we scarcely find any thing new or interesting, but a pretty long disquisition upon the policy and effects of that system of partition, by which that country has been

\* *Segur, Politique de tous les Cabinets, vol. II. p. 97.*

so great a gainer. Though a decided enemy to the principle of such a proceeding, and disposed to condemn it very loudly on the score of morality and justice, M. Gentz is of opinion, that it has not been of a nature very materially to alter the balance of Europe; but that, on the other hand, it may in some degree have contributed to confirm it.

The internal condition of Poland, he thinks, was altogether desperate, and its independence irrecoverably lost, while its nominal existence afforded a pretext for the interference of ambitious neighbours, and made it a source of perpetual jealousy and contention to all the surrounding nations. The tranquillity of these nations has, therefore, been promoted by its destruction. The balance between the partitioning powers themselves was not in any degree disturbed, but was rendered more effectual and secure by the partition: Prussia being a greater gainer, upon the whole, than the other two, and, consequently, more upon a footing with them after that event than before. It did not, even according to M. Gentz, very materially affect the general balance of Europe; Russia and Austria were not made more formidable to their respective opponents; and Prussia, without being raised to any dangerous height, was better enabled to resist its ancient enemy. Turkey, indeed, was endangered by the aggrandisement of her two natural enemies; but the acceleration of the Turkish downfall is no inexpressible crime; and France lost nothing by the change, but a mischievous and precarious influence, by which her peace was often disturbed, and her substantial power in no degree increased. In these considerations, M. Gentz flatters himself that some consolation may be found for the extinction of the Polish kingdom; and seems to be persuaded, that, though the partition violated all the laws of national right and ordinary justice, the effect of it will not be directly detrimental to the interest of the remaining powers.

There are few of the speculations contained in this volume with which we are so little disposed to agree, as with those we have just noticed. They naturally assume the form of an apology for one of the most profligate transactions that history will have to record, and have it professedly for their object to reconcile the European nations to an event which appears to threaten their general felicity and independence. Upon the partitioning system, indeed, we have always been accustomed to look with the greatest horror and apprehension, not merely because every particular display of it had been attended with the most insolent violation of all moral or political principle, but because it appears to us to be a natural, though very alarming corruption of that very balancing system upon which we have relied so implicitly, for

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for protection from all such disasters. The balancing system arms all against the usurpation of one, and secures us completely in ordinary times from the danger of universal dominion; but it affords no protection to the smaller states against the combination of two or three ambitious sovereigns, and even seems to facilitate the concentration of all power and authority into the usurping hands of a few great potentates. Such combinations are evidently the devices upon which the ambition of those who would formerly have conquered alone, have recently been driven by the prevalence of the system of balance; and they seem only to give that ambition a greater steadiness of direction, and greater assurance of success. M. Gentz, and those who can reconcile themselves so readily to the partition of Poland, dwell much upon the fairness of the distribution, and the equality that was maintained among the partitioning powers in the allotment of their new acquisitions, and seem to imagine, that if the great states continue to bear their accustomed proportions to each other, it is of no consequence to what extent they best themselves increased by the destruction of their weaker neighbours. The balancing system, however, was devised, we apprehend, not merely to maintain a certain equality among the powers, whatever they be, who hold the dominion of Europe, but to secure and provide for the independent existence of a *considerable number* of different communities, with all their varieties of magnitude and resources, and all their distinctions of manners, situations, and designs. The international law with regard to power, is in this respect like the municipal law with regard to property. Its object is, not to establish a fantastic and irksome equality, like the Agrarian schemes of antiquity, but to protect and secure the irregularities to which fortune has given existence; to make wealth and poverty alike safe and independent; to defend the weak and the humble against the rapacity of their superiors; and to maintain legitimate power and authority against the combinations of discontented inferiors. It is in its tendency to produce this effect that all the value of the balancing system consists; it is from the co-existence of many independent states, of moderate extent and various character, that the European nations have derived all their pre-eminence, and all their felicity, the benefits of mutual competition and mutual controul, and the instructive example of all the effects that can be produced by political wisdom or misconduct in every combination of circumstances. Without this there can be no grave or worthy object in the mutual alliances of countries; and the subsistence of a naked and unprofitable balance must be, to all just apprehension, a matter of the most absolute indifference. All the substantial benefits of the modern system are lost, as soon

soon as the smaller states are annihilated ; and the prosperity and independence of all Europe is just as effectually ruined by dividing it into two or three great and equal empires, as by giving it up to the dominion of one universal monarch. Even in the latter case, if the mere existence of a balance would satisfy us, Asia might be conveniently balanced against Europe ; or the whole globe might be divided into two vast empires in the Northern and the Southern hemispheres.

The particular reasons which M. Gentz has assigned for the partition of Poland, appear to us to be no less dangerous and fallacious than the general considerations that led him to represent it as harmless. Poland itself, he says, was unable to maintain its independence ; and Prussia was not sufficiently on a level with its powerful neighbours, till it had strengthened itself by the plunder of its weaker ones. We have already said, that the security of the smaller states was the great boast, and the great benefit of the balancing system ; but M. Gentz seems to take it for granted, that such states can never possibly be in security, and that it is better, therefore, that they should all be absorbed into the substance of the nearest expanding empire. We only beg M. Gentz to consider how far these principles will go, and whether they leave any thing to be the subject of contention between him and M. Hauterive. If all Europe is to be broken up into states as powerful as Austria and Russia, it will not be easy to shew, that France herself has very greatly exceeded the limits of salutary grandeur ; and if it be a benefit to all states as inconsiderable as ancient Poland, to be swallowed up by a powerful neighbour, it is plainly with very little reason that we exclaim against the annexation of Savoy and Flanders, or the subjugation of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. If Poland was a great deal too weak to maintain its independence under any conditions whatsoever, and if Prussia was not in safety between Austria and Russia, till it was strengthened by the consequences of this partition, in what situation we may ask, have Sweden and Denmark hitherto existed within the grasp of Russia ? and how have Saxony and Bavaria, and the two hundred little principalities of Germany, been able to maintain their independence for these five hundred years, in the neighbourhood of the Austrian greatness ? The balancing system made all these safe : it ought to have protected Poland, and would infallibly have secured Prussia against every thing but such a combination as that of which it has set the example, and of which it and every state in Europe may ultimately become the victim.

Upon this unprincipled and unfortunate system of partition, we cannot help looking with the greater aversion, because it stands in such terms of relation with the great balancing system



to which Europe has been used to look up for salvation, as to exclude any hope of resistance or opposition from that quarter. The partitioning system is the undoubted offspring of the system of balance; it proceeds on the very same principles, and merely applies, for the purposes of destruction and partial aggrandisement, those artificial powers that had been created to preserve independence, and repress ambition. It is the corrupt consummation of a system of policy, that was undoubtedly salutary in the beginning, but seems destined, in its maturity, to disappoint the views of its founders. The ambition of great and powerful states seldom aims at the subjugation of a great and powerful antagonist; it is satisfied, in the beginning, with the easier acquisition of some petty dominion; and their weaker neighbours are only protected by the jealousy which such an act of depredation would excite among the peers and equals of the spoiler. By the system of partition, however, all this jealousy is disarmed; the great powers are united; they are bribed with a share of the plunder; they proceed in concert, and deliberately trim the ponderous balance of their empires, by a skilful division of the booty upon which they have seized. The smaller states can offer nothing, either in the way of resistance or inducement, by which such a gigantic confederacy may be dissolved, and will, in general, submit to their destiny with a feebleness of struggle than signalized the extinction of the Polish name. Unless nations can be effectually taught that there are limits to the salutary extension of territory and power, it does not appear to us by any means chimerical to suppose, that, in the course of another century, the partitioning system may have entirely subverted the old constitution of Europe. No man will deny, that three or four great powers may, by concerted and successive attacks, annihilate all the rest of the continent; and then, turning their united strength against the weakest of their associates, proceed in the great system of a balancing partition, till only one or two are left to enjoy the glories of universal dominion. Turkey will probably go first; the middling states of Germany will follow; Holland and Italy will come after; Spain and Portugal will fall into the great southern empire, by policy or force; and Denmark and Sweden into that of the north. How long Great Britain will be left a mere spectator of the scene, we have no inclination to calculate.

But though we cannot agree with M. Gentz in his apology for the partition of Poland, which has drawn us into this long digression, we cannot refuse to conclude with him, that the power and security of *Prussia* was increased by that event, and that the foreign relations of that state were admirably adjusted for the maintenance of its own tranquillity, and the moderation of its neighbours' ambition.

*Russia,*

*Russia*, according to M. Gentz, was self-sufficient and secure, without alliances or federative stipulations, from her first appearance on the scene of European politics. Her great extent, arbitrary government, and hardy population, raised her at once to the rank of a first rate power; and her remote situation and boisterous climate protected her from attack or invasion from any of her southern rivals. The nature and distribution of her power, too, though quite sufficient for defence, was fortunately such as rendered her incapable of disturbing the tranquillity of her neighbours. The aspiring character of her two great sovereigns gave some little disturbance to the established system of Europe; but the issue of their most alarming attempts served only to shew that their means were inadequate to their ambition. Russia, in fact, has never been able to maintain so large an army as either France, Austria, or Prussia, and cannot bring her forces to act upon the great stages of European contention, except at a great disadvantage. Even upon the side of Turkey, where her temptations and opportunities were the greatest, she has experienced the controul of the European balance, and been forced to submit to the great federation that possesses that quarter of the world. In 1790, the firm and pacific interference of England, Prussia, and Sweden, compelled her to relinquish her conquests, and abstain from the easy triumph that seemed to await her at Constantinople.

With regard to the foreign relations of *England*, M. Gentz seems inclined to think, that they may be all referred to the head of commercial regulations; and that she has, in fact, no permanent connection with the Continent, either in military or strictly political affairs. As a maritime nation, she can never be led away by views of continental conquest; and as a commercial power, she must be interested in the maintenance of that general peace, by which alone the great markets of the world can be kept open to the produce of her industry. M. Hauterive, however, has represented her as constantly engaged in fomenting dissension among the continental powers, bribing them into hostility by her subsidies, and holding their industry and commerce in subjugation by the arbitrary and oppressive exertions of her naval power. M. Gentz denies all this, and refers to the history of the last hundred and fifty years, in order to show, that all the wars in which England has been engaged, have either been wars in support of the balance of Europe when it was endangered by the ambition of France, or wars in which the quarrel was particular to the two nations, and arose from some misunderstanding as to the regulation of their trade or their colonies. In those of the former description, the exertions of England have been beneficial to all her neighbours; in the latter, they have been altogether indifferent, and can afford no pretext for invoking the general vengeance on

her head. The wars against Louis XIV. require no explanation, nor the conduct of England in the course of them. The war of the Austrian succession was undertaken by England upon the same general principle of preventing the undue humiliation of that ancient monarchy; and the generosity with which she gave up every thing at the peace, by which her private interest might have been promoted, demonstrates by what liberal motives she had been induced to enter into the contest. The seven years war, on the part of England, was partly a war in defence of the general system of balance, then exposed to such manifest danger by the coalition against the King of Prussia; and partly a private quarrel between France and England on account of their North American colonies. It turned out gloriously for England; and France had never forgiven her for the humiliation and loss to which she was obliged to submit; though that loss and humiliation, which related merely to her colonies and her marine, had no effect upon her continental influence or power. In the succeeding war of America, the cause of contest was, in like manner, peculiar to the two countries, and indifferent to the rest of Europe. Here the success was on the side of France; she retorted on her adversary the loss of her American colonies; and proved that her maritime resources were in no respect inferior to those of her industrious rival. With regard to the charge of fomenting wars, by subsidising the weaker continental powers, M. Gentz treats it with the contempt it appears to merit, as a vulgar prejudice that could only have originated in ignorance or animosity. No subsidy ever paid the third part of the mere expence which was occasioned by the war to the nation that received it; and if any valuation could be put upon the loss of lives and of happiness, and the prosperity and opulence both general and individual, that it must necessarily have intercepted, we might say with probability, that no subsidy ever replaced one hundredth part of what the war had taken away. Subsidies may facilitate the operations of war, but never can give occasion to it. They form a natural and salutary part of those arrangements by which allied nations are enabled to equalize their contributions to the common cause: but the statesman who could be tempted by them to engage in a war when he might have remained in peace, must know little of the nature of war, and nothing of the duties of his station.

With these observations M. Gentz concludes the first part of his work, or the survey of the actual situation of Europe at the beginning of the French Revolution. At this time, he says, it appears that all the European nations were advancing rapidly to a state of internal prosperity and external security; every Government was more and more convinced, that national strength and felicity was to be found in the cultivation of the arts of peace,  
rather

rather than in enterprises of hostility and ambition. War was gradually becoming more odious, and the controul of public opinion was every day adding force to those salutary maxims of public law that had increased in authority from the first hour of their promulgation. Let any man cast but a glance upon the condition of Europe at the date of the treaty of Westphalia, (1648,) and at that of the French Revolution, and persuade himself, if he can, that the degeneracy and misconduct of the intermediate years had brought on such a state of disorder and decay, as could only be expiated by all the sufferings and the struggles with which that latter event was attended.

The length to which our review of the first and most important part of M. Gentz's book has extended, must confine our remaining observations within very narrow bounds. Indeed, the doctrine of the remaining parts is very easily stated, and has long been familiarized to the politicians of this island by the eloquent speeches and publications that contain the tenets of that sect of politicians which acknowledge the authority of Messrs Burke and Windham. Our author agrees with these statesmen in thinking, that the ancient balance of Europe has been entirely overthrown by the enormous and disproportioned power that France has acquired, and in considering the future state of Europe as entirely dependent on her caprice. He draws an alarming picture of the strength and military resources of this mighty nation, which commands the whole sea-coast from the Texel to the Adriatic, and holds at its absolute disposal the whole force of Holland, Flanders, Spain, Switzerland, and Italy, besides the Germanic provinces and strong places that have been incorporated with its territory. Its past operations, and the continued course of its proceedings, testify sufficiently to the extent of its ambition; and the regularity and military subordination which its new Government has established, secure it in a great measure from any internal dissensions, and give it the full use of all its extensive resources. In the statement of these causes of apprehension, M. Gentz declares, that he is not influenced in any degree by the character of its present rulers: he looks merely to the solid and established power which has been accumulated in the French nation, which is too great to be trusted to any hand, and too tempting to be voluntarily abandoned by any to which it may devolve. While the influence and the military power of France continue as they are, the nations of Europe will have reason to tremble, he thinks, whether it be governed by a Robespierre, a Bonaparte, or a Bourbon. That state is too powerful that may overwhelm its neighbours, if it think proper; and that safety is precarious, indeed, that depends not upon our own power and resistance, but on the probable moderation of another. M.

Gentz goes over most of the topics of consolation that have been suggested, to reconcile us to our unhappy situation, and pronounces them all to be very fallacious or uncertain, and such as ought never to be relied on, while any exertion of activity seems to promise us deliverance. This too, however, he appears to consider as hopeless; and concludes, that the only chance that remains to Europe for the recovery of her independence, is founded on the cordial co-operation of Prussia and Austria, in alliance with the maritime powers, for the diminution of the French power. Such an union, however, he confesses, is rather to be wished for than expected; and leaves the subject, at last, with expressions of the deepest despondency and the most lively apprehension.

It is not very easy to resist the contagion of sentiments so eloquently expressed, and so ably defended; yet we feel a natural reluctance to adopt M. Gentz's conclusions; and even fancy that we see some reasons for believing that the condition of Europe is not altogether so hopeless and forlorn as he has represented it.

In the *first* place, it seems to be rather a figure of rhetoric, than a sober statement of the fact, to allege that the whole system of the balance is fundamentally overthrown. That system did not consist in treaties or alliances, so as to perish by their violation; but it consisted in a principle, that from its very nature was immortal; the knowledge and the influence of which can never perish, while men continue rational and civilized, and which will easily find a way to manifest and apply itself in every new combination of circumstances to which the destiny of nations may give rise. The evils of universal monarchy, and the disasters and disgrace that would ensue from the subjugation of all Europe by a military government, are certainly felt as generally and as strongly at this moment, as at any former period; and the only question therefore is, whether there exists a power by which those evils can be averted? M. Gentz himself has answered this question. He admits, that the united strength of Prussia and Austria would be altogether sufficient to repel the exorbitant power of France, or even that a coalition of the smaller powers under *one* of these great military states, if not opposed by the other, might be adequate to that purpose. Why, then, does he despair of the coalition? The principle by which it is recommended, is fully as little likely to be overlooked at present, as at any former time: the whole doctrine of it is perfectly understood, and familiarly discussed in every cabinet of Europe; and the interest by which it is suggested, is of a kind that can never be supposed to be for a moment dormant or ineffectual. We believe, therefore, that such a coalition will take place, whenever the emergency of the case shall require it; and that, though it may be retarded by jealousy and selfishness, and all

all those private and short-sighted passions that derange the public conduct of nations, it will still be early enough to accomplish its purpose, and effect the object of its institution. If this be not the case, then M. Hauterive, and not M. Gentz, is in the right; the principle of the balance has indeed been forgotten, and universally abandoned in Europe, and that, not in consequence of the French Revolution, but in spite of the urgent and alarming reasons that that revolution holds out for recurring to it.

In the *second* place, M. Gentz, in estimating the enormous power of France, has evidently been led to exaggerate it, by representing her influence over the conquered countries around her, as equally permanent and beneficial with that which she possesses with her own ancient territory. Spain and Italy, however, and Switzerland and Holland, are not integral parts of the French Republic; nor can she derive the same advantage from their subjection, as if they had been annexed to her by the free consent of their respective inhabitants. They are countries whose resistance she has overcome, and whose hostility she knows she has deserved. Instead of acting the part of her faithful allies, therefore, in opposition to any coalition that may be entered into for repressing her usurpations, they will naturally be the most zealous and the most active parties in such a coalition, and will eagerly seize on the first opportunity to resume their independence, and revenge themselves on their oppressors. France, therefore, is not strong in their strength; she is only safe in their weakness; and knows, that whenever their resources become formidable, they must be directed against her power. In her attempts upon the great balance of Europe, she has not taken the weight of these nations, and placed it in her own preponderating scale; she has merely diminished their weight for a season, and made it difficult for her antagonists to avail themselves of its influence. In the present situation of Europe, every separate Government must soon become an independent one, and will infallibly pursue its own interests as soon as it perceives them. Every nation is naturally ambitious of independence and authority; and will tend, therefore, as long as its identity is distinguished by language, or manners, or institutions, to connect itself with those powers that are most likely to contribute to its security, to gratify its pride, and deliver it from oppression. If there be any value in independence, therefore, or any real wisdom in the system of balance, all those countries may be reckoned upon as auxiliaries against France, much more securely than if they had acceded to treaties, or joined in manifestoes.

M. Gentz, too, in his terrifying estimate of the French power, appears to forget that he has himself represented that power as arising in a great measure, from an unnatural state of society, that  
cannot

cannot possibly become permanent. The strength of France arose from the enthusiasm, and terror, and disorder that accompanied her revolutionary movements; it arose from the sacrifice of all peaceful prosperity, and all individual indulgence; from the cessation of her commerce, the plundering of her opulent inhabitants, and all those requisitions and emergencies that put an armed nation in the place of a regular army. When this effervescence has once subsided, a great part of the formidable force which it created will disappear along with it; and as soon as a regular Government has held out any thing like security to private life, and protection to peaceful pursuits, the opulent and industrious will be withdrawn from the fields of battle, and the military power of France be diminished by the progress of her commercial greatness. The same circumstances may reasonably be expected to repress the spirit of ambition, both in the Government and among the people; and to impress upon their minds that dislike to war, and that conviction of the ultimate inutility of military successes, which M. Gentz has himself enumerated as one of the characteristics of the period that preceded the Revolution.

It seems evident to us also, that M. Gentz has considered the subject a great deal too abstractedly, in laying altogether out of view the character of the present Government, and the chances of new revolutions. Alexander was a mighty conqueror; yet, at his death, his great empire was crumbled down into its original elements, and Macedonia returned to the condition of a petty principality. Under the administration of her Directory, France was stripped of the greater part of her conquests, though at that time she was not a prey to any formidable civil dissensions. There are many other considerations that lead us to judge less despairingly of the future destinies of Europe, than M. Gentz seems willing to permit us. But it is necessary to hasten to the conclusion of these observations.

M. Gentz bestows a good deal of pains in pointing out the futility and tyranny of the maxims by which France, according to M. Hauverivé, is to comport herself hereafter towards her allies and her enemies. There is one short passage, however, in M. Hauverivé's own publication, that seems to supersede the use of any other commentary on his system. 'If France' (says the Minister of Foreign Relations) 'cannot establish the system of continental federation which she has in view in any other way, she will employ the only means that have been left her by the obstinacy of other powers who prefer a destructive war to her alliance. She will substitute her military power to her federative protection; and if any prince shall be insensible to the interest which should make him court her alliance, she will ally herself without his consent, to the country which he will be incapable of defending,

defending, and will force into her service all the means of subsistence and defence that may be furnished by the territory she has seized upon.' It seems quite unnecessary to say any thing more upon the system of the French alliances.

The last, and to English readers probably the most interesting chapter in the book, is dedicated to the refutation of those complaints that have been so generally made on the Continent, as to the commercial tyranny of England. The extent to which these prejudices have prevailed, is admitted by M. Gentz, where he says, that M. Hauterive, even in his most abusive declamation, has not so much expressed his own particular sentiments, as those of the age in which he lives, and that he has been the faithful echo of the greater part of continental and contemporary politicians. The weight of the accusation, however, when it comes to be distinctly stated, does not seem to justify this violence of clamour. It consists principally in stating, 1st, That the English, by their *navigation act*, have excluded all other nations from the benefit of their trade; 2d, That they have usurped the possession of all the commercial establishments of the world; and, after having put fetters on the industry of every other nation, have established over them a most tyrannous and oppressive monopoly; and, 3d, That they have invented a new code of maritime laws, by which the rights of neutrality are violated, as often as Great Britain is at war.

In answering to these heads of accusation, M. Gentz displays a great deal of ingenuity, and enters into a variety of details, through which we have no longer room to pursue him. The substance of his argument, however, may be given in a very short compass. He explains very accurately the origin and design of the famous statute of Charles II., of which the continental politicians have spoken so much, without understanding it; and then proceeds to show, upon the clearest and most generally admitted principles of political economy, that the operation of that law has been directly *detrimental* to the *commerce* of Great Britain, and that its subsistence can only be justified from its tendency to promote the *naval strength* of the country, upon which its security so immediately depends, and to which every thing else ought therefore to be subordinate. The commercial greatness of England, therefore, has arisen in spite of this law, and not in consequence of it; and the jealousy which that greatness has excited, is erroneously directed towards this famous enactment. Even if its consequences were prejudicial to other nations, they have no right to complain of its injustice. It is not an international law, in which they have any immediate concern, but a private regulation of internal police, with which France has as little concern as England could have



have with a French statute, requiring that all her soldiers should be natives of her territory.

With regard to the alleged *monopoly* which England is said to usurp or enjoy, in all the colonies and all the markets of the world, M. Gentz observes, that the advantages to which those odious names have been applied, are nothing more than the natural and fair rewards of superior skill and industry, and that it would be an injury to the world at large, if they were to be intercepted or withdrawn. They are prizes won, in a free and honourable competition, where the success of the victor affords instruction to those who are left behind, and advances the general interest along with that of the individual. In point of fact, however, he observes, that it is far from being true that England has engrossed all the trade and the wealth of the world for this last century. In India, indeed, her influence has preponderated over that of France, ever since the war of 1756; yet Holland still holds possessions in that quarter of great extent and value; and the establishments of France were rather neglected than insignificant, up to the war of the Revolution. In the West Indies, both Spain and France were in possession of settlements considerably more valuable than those that belonged to England; and Holland and Denmark had also their share in that lucrative commerce. On the continent of America, England retained nothing but Canada and Nova Scotia, while Spain and Portugal monopolized the trade of a whole quarter of the globe; and France shared largely with them in that of its northern division. In this part of the world, England was a power of the second or third order only. In her colonial possessions, therefore, it is plain, that England has enjoyed no great or decided superiority; and it is equally plain, that, in a political view, the possession of those colonies adds scarcely any thing to her power. The richest of them all brings in no direct revenue to the Government; they pay no taxes; and it is only in their subserviency to her industry and trade that they have any real value whatsoever.

The real source of the commercial greatness of England, then, is to be found in that honest industry and distinguished skill which will scarcely be imputed to any nation as a crime, and which her rivals should rather imitate than decry. Nay, it is very evident, that they themselves constitute and support that monopoly of which they complain so loudly. Who forces the nations of Europe to buy the manufactures of England, and to neglect their own? If it be a crime in us to sell, it must be doubly a crime in them to buy; and if Europe has been enthralled by the commercial policy of England, it is evident that she has forged the fetters for herself, and put them on deliberately of her own accord. As to the charge of England having exerted herself to depress

depress and discourage the industry of all her neighbours, it is confuted by the absurdities that it involves. The rude and the beggarly can never be good customers; and they who have nothing to sell, will not long get any thing to buy. England outstrips her neighbours, perhaps, in mechanical inventions and commercial activity; and, by means of these, she keeps the advantages of her pre-eminence: But she can never desire to see her neighbours unskilful and indolent, because she sells, only to buy with advantage; and could not continue to subsist, if the surrounding countries did not supply her with commodities as valuable as those which she furnishes to them in return. If any part of the English prosperity be referable to the carelessness and neglect of other countries, who might have vindicated a part of those advantages which she now enjoys alone, this is their fault and their loss, and nothing but the profit and the praise is hers. They would not be better, although her enterprising spirit had not opened the sources of wealth which they overlooked; and all the rest of the world would have been worse; nay, they would have been worse also themselves; since her success must awaken their emulation, and her discoveries direct their undertakings. What is called the monopoly of England, therefore, is nothing else than the preference which good and cheap articles will always obtain in the market, over those that are dear and defective. It is not imposed upon the other nations by England, but conferred by them upon her; and as they thus contribute to it in spite of violent prejudices, and in the midst of outrageous clamours, it may be presumed that they find their advantage in its subsistence. In fact, it promotes their present prosperity, by furnishing them with commodities at an easier rate than they could otherwise procure them; and contributes to their future greatness, by setting before them the most perfect patterns of manufacturing ingenuity and commercial wisdom.

In addition to those permanent and inherent sources of English prosperity, M. Gentz observes, that the war itself has given birth to another, of no trifling importance. The naval power of England, and the excellent regulation of her convoys, render the seas safe to her, while they are impracticable to any other belligerent power. All the *carrying trade*, therefore, that was in the hands of Holland, Spain, and France, naturally fell into hers, when the ships of those nations were confined to their harbours, and thus became a new source of revenue to answer the exigencies of her new situation. As this was a benefit arising from the attempts of her enemies to injure her, and obtained, in a great measure, at their expence, it is natural to suppose, that their disappointment and vexation should have made it the object of some clamour and detraction. At the same time, it is perfectly

perfectly evident, that it is an event for which England cannot possibly be censured, upon any principle either of equity or reason. It was not brought about by an act of her usurpation or injustice; but resulted spontaneously from the interested wisdom of the neutral powers who sought for safety in her protection; and it has plainly been of advantage to all Europe, as it has given a security and freedom to her general commerce, which was scarcely to have been expected during the subsistence of a war so general and so active.

With these remarks M. Gentz concludes this very interesting and able publication; for, though he has enumerated, among the subjects of his discussion, the pretended outrages of the English against the rights of neutrality, we find him in the conclusion of the volume, reserving that difficult and important topic for the subject of another work. It forms undoubtedly the most plausible ground of accusation to which our conduct is liable; and is closely connected with another great and general question, upon which we shall impatiently look forward for some satisfaction in M. Gentz's next dissertation.

The great and fundamental question to which we now allude, is that which relates to the apprehensions which the maritime states of Europe may reasonably entertain from the vast naval strength of this country. That this is a power which puts the greater part of their trade and their foreign possessions almost entirely at our mercy, and renders their maritime prosperity almost as dependent upon our good pleasure, as that of the continent is said to be on the good pleasure of France, is a proposition that can scarcely be denied; and though it may be urged, that our past conduct has proved us to be incapable of abusing our power to the purposes of malignity or ambition, yet M. Gentz has himself informed us, that every power is dangerous, against which there is no other security than the improbability of its being abused, and that no nation should intrust its safety to the presumption of its neighbour's moderation. It is our naval power, we are persuaded, rather than our commercial supremacy, that is the great object of continental jealousy and apprehension; and it is more against our ships of war, and the unrivalled skill and bravery of our seamen, than against our merchantmen and traders, that their fears and animosity are directed. How far these apprehensions are reasonable, or how far this general distrust and prepared hostility may be justified upon the great principles of the balance of power, which M. Gentz has now been engaged in vindicating, are questions upon which we cannot presume to determine. They are questions, however, of such interest and importance, that we should wish to see them fairly stated and discussed by the candour and ability of

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of that writer whose performance we have now been considering. They are out of our department, and very far beyond the sphere of our abilities ; and yet we cannot abandon the subject, without suggesting to our readers the few following considerations as grounds of distinction between a naval and military power, and reasons for defending the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, while we look with jealousy and apprehension on the continental greatness of France.

In the *first* place, It is obvious that a maritime power can never endanger the independent *existence* of any other community, nor deprive it of its natural and inherent influence among its neighbours ; it can only intercept its commercial greatness by cutting off its *foreign trade*. A maritime power, therefore, is formidable in a much less degree, and is a less reasonable object of general distrust and apprehension.

But, in the *second* place, a maritime power can scarcely have any interest in cutting off the foreign trade or possessions of its neighbours. The ruin of their trade would be the ruin of its own. Their possessions could not be occupied or retained without land forces ; and their mere destruction could have no other effect, than that of diminishing the supply of those articles, the want of which would be felt by a commercial country more than any other.

The habits of a commercial country, moreover, must generally be pacific, and war will usually be more injurious to such a country than to any other. Now, no maritime power can render a nation absolutely invulnerable, or insure its superiority against a combination of its enemies ; and the risk to which it would be exposed in such a contest is so terrible, that it may fairly be presumed, that it will not provoke general hostility by any wanton act of usurpation.

*Finally*, It ought to be remembered, as the great ground-work of all these distinctions, that maritime power is the natural, peaceful, and necessary result of great commercial prosperity, and that it cannot be effectually diminished without checking that great career of improvement, the benefits and blessings of which are far more extensive and important than any other with which they can be put in competition. The naval strength of a nation consists primarily in the number and the skill of its seamen ; and these again depend immediately on the extent of its trade. The trade, therefore, must be diminished before the power can be repressed : But it may well be questioned, if any apprehension of problematical and contingent danger can justify a measure attended with so great and immediate evil. Power acquired by trade should be as sacred among nations, as riches acquired by trade among individuals ; and the fear of abuse, from some occasional excess

extent in either, can never afford an excuse for defrauding industry of its reward, or imposing a check upon that salutary spirit of commercial enterprise which is the main source of all permanent improvements among mankind. Naval power is not naturally a weapon of offence, but an implement of industry; and the emergency must be great and urgent, indeed, that could justify the destruction of so invaluable an implement, because it was capable of being converted into an engine of war. More benefit, in short, is derived to the world at large, from the commercial prosperity in which maritime power has its origin, than would be compensated by the additional security which some of its rivals might acquire from the abolition of this power and its foundation. To aim at the humiliation of such power, therefore, is to resist the developement of general prosperity; to discourage industry and all peaceful improvement; and to conspire against the felicity of all future generations in every quarter of the world.

ART. II. *Account of the English Colony of New South Wales.*  
By Lieutenant-Colonel Collins of the Royal Marines. Vol.  
II. 4to. Cadell and Davies, London.

TO introduce an European population, and consequently, the arts and civilization of Europe, into such an untrodden country as New Holland, is to confer a lasting and important benefit upon the world. If man be destined for perpetual activity, and if the proper objects of that activity be the subjugation of physical difficulties, and of his own dangerous passions, how absurd are those systems which proscribe the acquisitions of science and the restraints of law, and would arrest the progress of man in the rudest and earliest stages of his existence! Indeed, opinions so very extravagant in their nature, must be attributed rather to the wantonness of paradox, than to sober reflection, and extended inquiry.

To suppose the savage state permanent, we must suppose the numbers of those who compose it to be stationary, and the various passions by which men have actually emerged from it to be extinct; and this is to suppose man a very different being from what he really is. To prove such a permanence beneficial, (if it were possible,) we must have recourse to matter of fact, and judge of the rude state of society, not from the praises of tranquil *literati*, but from the narratives of those who have seen it, through a nearer and better medium than that of imagination. There is an argument, however, for the continuation of evil, drawn from the

the ignorance of good ; by which it is contended, that to teach men their situation *can* be better, is to teach them that it is bad, and to destroy that happiness which always results from an ignorance that any greater happiness is within our reach. All pains and pleasures are clearly by comparison ; but the most deplorable savage enjoys a sufficient contrast of good, to know that the grosser evils from which civilization rescues him *are* evils. A New-Hollander seldom passes a year without suffering from famine ; the small-pox falls upon him like a plague ; he dreads those calamities, though he does not know how to avert them ; but doubtless, would find his happiness increased, if they *were* averted. To deny this, is to suppose that men are reconciled to evils, because they are inevitable ; and yet hurricanes, earthquakes, bodily decay, and death, stand highest in the catalogue of human calamities.

Where civilization gives birth to new comparisons unfavourable to savage life, with the information that a greater good is possible, it generally connects the means of attaining it. The savage no sooner becomes ashamed of his nakedness, than the loom is ready to clothe him ; the forge prepares for him more perfect tools, when he is disgusted with the awkwardness of his own : his weakness is strengthened, and his wants supplied, as soon as they are discovered ; and the use of the discovery is, that it enables him to derive from comparison the best reasons for present happiness. A man born blind is ignorant of the pleasures of which he is deprived. After the restoration of his sight, his happiness will be increased from two causes ;—from the delight he experiences at the novel accession of power, and from the contrast he will always be enabled to make between his two situations, long after the pleasure of novelty has ceased. For these reasons, it is humane to restore him to sight.

But, however beneficial to the general interests of mankind the civilization of barbarous countries may be considered to be, in this particular instance of it, the interest of Great Britain would seem to have been very little consulted. With fanciful schemes of universal good, we have no business to meddle. Why we are to erect penitentiary houses and prisons at the distance of half the diameter of the globe, and to incur the enormous expence of feeding and transporting their inhabitants to, and at such a distance, it is extremely difficult to discover. It certainly is not from any deficiency of barren islands near our own coast, nor of uncultivated wastes in the interior ; and if we were sufficiently fortunate to be wanting in such species of accommodation, we might discover in Canada, or the West Indies, or on the coast of Africa, a climate malignant enough, or a soil sufficiently sterile, to revenge all the injuries which have  
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been inflicted on society by pick-pockets, larcenists, and petty felons.—Upon the foundation of a new colony, and especially one peopled by criminals, there is a disposition in Government (where any circumstance in the commission of the crime affords the least pretence for the commutation) to convert capital punishments into transportation; and by these means to hold forth a very dangerous, though certainly a very unintentional, encouragement to offences. And when the history of the colony has been attentively perused in the parish of St Giles, the ancient avocation of picking pockets will certainly not become more discreditable from the knowledge, that it may eventually lead to the possession of a farm of a thousand acres on the river Hawkesbury. Since the benevolent Howard attacked our prisons, incarceration has become not only healthy, but elegant; and a county-jail is precisely the place to which any pauper might wish to retire to gratify his taste for magnificence, as well as for comfort. Upon the same principle, there is some risk that transportation will be considered as one of the surest roads to honour and to wealth; and that no felon will hear a verdict of '*not guilty*,' without considering himself as cut off in the fairest career of prosperity. It is foolishly believed, that the colony of Botany Bay unites our moral and commercial interests, and that we shall receive hereafter an ample equivalent, in bales of goods, for all the vices we export. Unfortunately, the expence we have incurred in founding the colony, will not retard the natural progress of its emancipation, or prevent the attacks of other nations, who will be as desirous of reaping the fruit, as if they had sown the seed. It is a colony, besides, begun under every possible disadvantage: it is too distant to be long governed, or well defended: it is undertaken, not by the voluntary association of individuals, but by Government, and by means of compulsory labour. A nation must, indeed, be redundant in capital, that will expend it where the hopes of a just return are so very small.

It may be a curious consideration, to reflect what we are to do with this colony when it comes to years of discretion. Are we to spend another hundred millions of money in discovering its strength, and to humble ourselves again before a fresh set of Washingtons and Franklins? The moment after we have suffered such serious mischief from the escape of the old tiger, we are breeding up a young cub, whom we cannot render less ferocious, or more secure. If we are gradually to manumit the colony, as it is more and more capable of protecting itself, the degrees of emancipation, and the periods at which they are to take place, will be judged of very differently by the two nations. But we confess ourselves not to be so sanguine

sanguine as to suppose, that a spirited and commercial people would, in spite of the example of America, ever consent to abandon their sovereignty over an important colony, without a struggle. Endless blood and treasure will be exhausted to support a tax on kangaroo's skins; faithful Commons will go on voting fresh supplies to support a *just and necessary* war; and Newgate, then become a quarter of the world, will evince a heroism, not unworthy of the great characters by whom she was originally peopled.

The experiment, however, is not less interesting in a moral, because it is objectionable in a commercial point of view. It is an object of the highest curiosity, thus to have the growth of a nation subjected to our examination; to trace it, by such faithful records, from the first day of its existence; and to gather that knowledge of the progress of human affairs, from actual experience, which is considered to be only accessible to the conjectural reflections of enlightened minds.

Human nature, under very old governments, is so trimmed, and pruned, and ornamented, and led into such a variety of factitious shapes, that we are almost ignorant of the appearance it would assume, if it were left more to itself. From such an experiment as that now before us, we shall be better able to appreciate what circumstances of our situation are owing to those permanent laws by which all men are influenced, and what to the accidental positions in which we have been placed. New circumstances will throw new light upon the effects of our religious, political, and æconomical institutions, if we cause them to be adopted as models in our rising empire; and if we do not, we shall estimate the effects of their presence, by observing those which are produced by their non-existence.

The history of the colony is at present, however, in its least interesting state, on account of the great preponderance of depraved inhabitants, whose crimes and irregularities give a monotony to the narrative, which it cannot lose, till the respectable part of the community come to bear a greater proportion to the criminal.

These Memoirs of Colonel Collins resume the history of the colony from the period at which he concluded it in his former volume, September 1796, and continue it down to August 1801. They are written in the style of a journal, which, though not the most agreeable mode of conveying information, is certainly the most authentic, and contrives to banish the suspicion (and most probably the reality) of the interference of a book-maker—a species of gentlemen who are now almost become necessary to deliver naval and military authors in their literary labours, though they do not always atone, by orthography and gram-



mar, for the sacrifice of truth and simplicity. Mr Collins's book is written with great plainness and candour : he appears to be a man always meaning well ; of good, plain, common sense ; and composed of those well-wearing materials, which adapt a person for situations where genius and refinement would only prove a source of misery and of error.

We shall proceed to lay before our readers an analysis of the most important matter contained in this volume.

The natives in the vicinity of Port-Jackson stand extremely low, in point of civilization, when compared with many other savages, with whom the discoveries of Captain Cook have made us acquainted. Their notions of religion exceed even that degree of absurdity which we are led to expect in the creed of a barbarous people. In politics, they appear to have scarcely advanced beyond family-government. Huts they have none ; and, in all their economical inventions, there is a rudeness and deficiency of ingenuity, unpleasant, when contrasted with the instances of dexterity with which the descriptions and importations of our navigators have rendered us so familiar. Their numbers appear to us to be very small : A fact, at once, indicative either of the ferocity of manners in any people, or more probably of the sterility of their country ; but which, in the present instance, proceeds from both these causes.

' Gaining every day, (says Mr Collins) some further knowledge of the inhuman habits and customs of these people, their being so thinly scattered through the country ceased to be a matter of surprise. It was almost daily seen, that from some trifling cause or other, they were continually living in a state of warfare : to this must be added, their brutal treatment of their women, who are themselves equally destructive to the measure of population, by the horrid and cruel custom of endeavouring to cause a miscarriage, which their female acquaintance effect by pressing the body in such a way, as to destroy the infant in the womb ; which violence not unfrequently occasions the death of the unnatural mother also. To this they have recourse, to avoid the trouble of carrying the infant about when born, which, when it is very young, or at the breast, is the duty of the woman. The operation for this destructive purpose is termed *Mee-brā*. The burying an infant (when at the breast) with the mother, if she should die, is another shocking cause of the thinness of population among them. The fact, that such an operation as the *Mee-brā* was practised by these wretched people, was communicated by one of the natives to the principal surgeon of the settlement.' P. 124.—125.

It is remarkable, that the same paucity of numbers has been observed in every part of New Holland which has hitherto been explored ; and yet there is not the smallest reason to conjecture that the population of it has been very recent ; nor do  
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the people bear any marks of descent from the inhabitants of the numerous islands by which this great continent is surrounded. The force of population can only be resisted by some great physical evils ; and many of the causes of this scarcity of human beings, which Mr Collins refers to the ferocity of the natives, are ultimately referable to the difficulty of support. We have always considered this phenomena as a symptom extremely unfavourable to the future destinies of this country. It is easy to launch out into eulogiums of the fertility of nature in particular spots ; but the most probable reason why a country that has been long inhabited, is not well inhabited, is, that it is not calculated to support many inhabitants without great labour. It is difficult to suppose any other causes powerful enough to resist the impetuous tendency of man, to obey that mandate for increase and multiplication, which has certainly been better observed than any other declaration of the Divine will ever revealed to us.

There appears to be some tendency to civilization, and some tolerable notions of justice, in a practice very similar to our custom of duelling ; for duelling, though barbarous in civilized, is a highly civilized institution among barbarous people ; and, when compared to assassination, is a prodigious victory gained over human passions. Whoever kills another in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay, is compelled to appear at an appointed day before the friends of the deceased, and to sustain the attacks of their missile weapons. If he is killed, he is deemed to have met with a deserved death ; if not, he is considered to have expiated the crime, for the commission of which he was exposed to the danger. There is in this institution, a command over present impulses, a prevention of secrecy in the gratification of revenge, and a wholesome correction of that passion, by the effects of public observation, which evince such a superiority to the mere animal passions of ordinary savages, and form such a contrast to the rest of the history of this people, that it may be considered as altogether an anomalous and inexplicable fact. The natives differ very much in the progress they have made in the arts of economy. Those to the north of Port Jackson evince a considerable degree of ingenuity and contrivance in the structure of their houses, which are rendered quite impervious to the weather, while the inhabitants at Port-Jackson have no houses at all. At Port-Dalrymple, in Van Diemen's Land, there was every reason to believe the natives were unacquainted with the use of canoes ; a fact extremely embarrassing to those who indulge themselves in speculating on the genealogy of nations ; because it reduces them to the necessity of supposing that the progenitors of this insular people swam over from the main land, or that they were aboriginal ; a species of dilemma,  
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which effectually bars all conjecture upon the intermixture of nations. It is painful to learn, that the natives have begun to plunder and rob in so very alarming a manner, that it has been repeatedly found necessary to fire upon them ; and many have, in consequence, fallen victims to their rashness.

The soil is found to produce coal in vast abundance, salt, lime, very fine iron ore, timber fit for all purposes, excellent flax, and a tree, the bark of which is admirably adapted for cordage. The discovery of coal (which, by the by, we do not believe was ever before discovered so near the line) is probably rather a disadvantage than an advantage ; because, as it lies extremely favourable for sea carriage, it may prove to be a cheaper fuel than wood, and thus operate as a discouragement to the clearing of lands. The soil upon the sea-coast has not been found to be very productive, though it improves in partial spots in the interior. The climate is healthy, in spite of the prodigious heat of the summer-months, at which period the thermometer has been observed to stand in the shade at 107, and the leaves of garden-vegetables to fall into dust, as if they had been consumed with fire. But one of the most insuperable defects in New Holland, considered as the future country of a great people, is, the want of large rivers penetrating very far into the interior, and navigable for small craft. The Hawkesbury, the largest river yet discovered, is not accessible to boats, for more than twenty miles. This same river occasionally rises above its natural level, to the astonishing height of fifty feet ; and has swept away, more than once, the labours and the hopes of the new people exiled to its banks.

The laborious acquisition of any good we have long enjoyed, is apt to be forgotten. We walk and talk, and run and read, without remembering the long and severe labour dedicated to the cultivation of these powers, the formidable obstacles opposed to our progress, or the infinite satisfaction with which we overcame them. He who lives among a civilized people, may estimate the labour by which society has been brought into such a state, by reading, in these annals of Botany Bay, the account of a whole nation exerting itself to new floor the government-house, repair the hospital, or build a wooden receptacle for stores. Yet the time may come, when some Botany Bay Tacitus shall record the crimes of an Emperor lineally descended from a London pick pocket, or paint the valour with which he has led his New-Hollanders into the heart of China. At that period, when the Grand Lahma is sending to supplicate alliance ; when the spice-islands are purchasing peace with nutmegs ; when enormous tributes of green tea and nankeen are wafted into Port Jackson, and landed on the keys of Sidney, who will ever remember, that the sawing of a few planks, and the

the knocking together a few nails, were such a serious trial of the energies and resources of the nation ?

The Government of the colony, after enjoying some little respite from this kind of labour, has begun to turn its attention to the coarsest and most necessary species of manufactures, for which their wool appears to be extremely well adapted. The state of stock in the whole settlement, in June 1801, was about 7000 sheep, 1300 head of cattle, 250 horses, and 5000 hogs. There were under cultivation at the same time, between 9 and 10,000 acres of corn. Three years and a half before this, in December 1797, the numbers were as follows—Sheep, 2500 ; cattle, 350 ; horses, 100 ; hogs, 4300 ; acres of land in cultivation, 4000. The temptation to salt pork, and sell it for Government store, is probably the reason why the breed of hogs has been so much kept under. The encrease of cultivated lands between the two periods is prodigious. It appears, (p. 319) that the whole number of convicts imported between January 1788, and June 1801, (a period of thirteen years and a half), has been about 5000, of whom 1157 were females. The total amount of the population on the continent, as well as at Norfolk island, amounted, June 1801, to 6500 persons : of these, 766 were children born at Port Jackson. In the returns from Norfolk island, children are not discriminated from adults. Let us add to the imported population of 5000 convicts, 500 free people, which (if we consider that a regiment of soldiers has been kept up there) is certainly a very small allowance ; then, in thirteen years and a half, the imported population has increased only by two thirteenths. If we suppose that something more than a fifth of the free people were women, this will make the total of women 1270 ; of whom we may fairly presume, that 800 were capable of child bearing ; and if we suppose the children of Norfolk island to bear the same proportion to the adults as at Port-Jackson, their total number at both settlements will be 913 :—a state of infantine population which certainly does not justify the very high eulogiums which have been made on the fertility of the female sex in the climate of New Holland.

The Governor, who appears on all occasions to be an extremely well-disposed man, is not quite so conversant in the best writings on political economy as we could wish ; and indeed (though such knowledge would be extremely serviceable to the interests which this Romulus of the Southern Pole is superintending), it is rather unfair to exact from a superintendant of pick-pockets, that he should be a philosopher. \* In the 18th page, we have the following information respecting the price of labour :

\* Some representations having been made to the Governor from the settlers in different parts of the colony, purporting, that the wages demanded

demanding by the free labouring people, whom they had occasion to hire, was so exorbitant as to run away with the greatest part of the profit of their farms, it was recommended to them to appoint quarterly meetings among themselves, to be held in each district, for the purpose of settling the rate of wages to labourers in every different kind of work; that, to this end, a written agreement should be entered into, and subscribed by each settler, a breach of which should be punished by a penalty, to be fixed by the general opinion, and made recoverable in a court of civil judicature. It was recommended to them to apply this forfeiture to the common benefit; and they were to transmit to the headquarters a copy of their agreement, with the rate of wages which they should from time to time establish, for the Governor's information; holding their first meeting as early as possible.'

And again, at p. 24, the following arrangements on that head are enacted:

'In pursuance of the order which was issued in January last, recommending the settlers to appoint meetings, at which they should fix the rate of wages that it might be proper to pay for the different kinds of labour which their farms should require, the settlers had met and submitted to the Governor the several resolutions that they had entered into, by which he was enabled to fix a rate that he conceived to be fair and equitable between the farmer and the labourer.

'The following prices of labour were now established, viz.

	L.	s.	d.
' Felling forest timber, <i>per acre</i> ,	0	9	0
Do. in brush ground, do	0	10	6
Burning off open ground, do	1	5	0
Do. brush ground, do	1	10	0
Breaking up new ground, do	1	4	0
Chipping fresh ground, do	0	12	3
Chipping in wheat, do	0	7	0
Breaking up stubble or corn ground, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per rod,			
or do	0	16	8
Planting Indian corn, do	0	7	0
Hilling do do	0	7	0
Reaping wheat, do	0	10	0
Thrashing do, per bushel, do	0	0	9
Pulling and husking Indian corn, per bushel	0	0	6
Splitting paling of seven feet long, per hundred	0	3	0
Do. of five feet long, do	0	1	6
Sawing plank, do	0	7	0
Ditching per rod, three feet wide and three feet deep	0	0	10
Carriage of wheat, per bushel, per mile	0	0	2
Do. Indian corn, neat	0	0	3
Yearly wages for labour, with board	10	0	0
Wages per week, with provisions, consisting of 4 lib. of salt pork, or 6 lib. of fresh, and 21 lib. o wheat, with vegetables	0	6	0

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A day's wages, with board	0	1	0
Do. without board	0	2	6
A government-man allowed to officers or settlers in their own time	0	0	10
Price of an axe	0	2	0
New steeling do.	0	0	6
A new hoe	0	1	9
A sickle	0	1	6
Hire of a boat to carry grain, per day	0	5	0

'The settlers were reminded, that, in order to prevent any kind of dispute between the master and servant, when they should have occasion to hire a man for any length of time, they would find it most convenient to engage him for a quarter, half-year, or year, and to make their agreement in writing; on which, should any dispute arise, an appeal to the magistrates would settle it.'

This is all very bad; and if the Governor had cherished the intention of destroying the colony, he could have done nothing more detrimental to its interests. The high price of labour is the very corner-stone on which the prosperity of a new colony depends. It enables the poor man to live with ease; and is the strongest incitement to population, by rendering children rather a source of riches than of poverty. If the same difficulty of subsistence existed in new countries as in old, it is plain that the progress of population would be equally slow in each. The very circumstances which causes the difference is, that, in the latter, there is a competition among the labourers to be employed; and, in the former, a competition among the occupiers of land to obtain labourers. In the one, land is scarce, and men plenty; in the other, men are scarce, and land is plenty. To disturb this natural order of things (a practice injurious at all times,) must be particularly so, where the predominant disposition of the colonists is an aversion to labour, produced by a long course of dissolute habits. In such case, the high prices of labour, which the Governor was so desirous of abating, bid fair, not only to increase the agricultural prosperity, but to effect the moral reformation of the colony. We observe the same unfortunate ignorance of the elementary principles of commerce, in the attempts of the Governor to reduce the prices of the European commodities, by bulletins and authoritative interference, as if there were any other mode of lowering the price of an article (while the demand continues the same) but by increasing its quantity. The avaricious love of gain, which is so feelingly deplored, appears to us a principle which, in able hands, might be guided to the most salutary purposes. The object is to encourage the love of labour, which is best encouraged by the love of money. We have very great doubts on the policy of reserving the

the best timber on the estates as government-timber. Such a reservation would probably operate as a check upon the clearing of lands without attaining the object desired; for the timber, instead of being immediately cleared, would be slowly destroyed, by the neglect or malice of the settlers whose lands it incumbered. Timber is such a drug in new countries, that it is at any time to be purchased for little more than the labour of cutting. To secure a supply of it by vexatious and invidious laws, is surely a work of supererogation and danger. The greatest evil which the government has yet had to contend with is, the inordinate use of spirituous liquors; a passion which puts the interests of agriculture at variance with those of morals: for a dram-drinker will consume as much corn, in the form of alcohol, in one day, as would supply him with bread for three; and thus, by his vices, opens an admirable market to the industry of a new settlement. The only mode we believe of encountering this evil, is by deriving from it such a revenue as will not admit of smuggling. Beyond this, it is almost invincible by authority; and is probably to be cured only by the progressive refinement of manners.

To evince the increasing commerce of the settlement, a list is subjoined of one hundred and forty ships which have arrived there since its first foundation; forty only of which were from England. The colony at Norfolk Island is represented to be in a very deplorable situation, and will most probably be abandoned for one about to be formed on Van Diemen's Land\*, though the capital defect of the former settlement has been partly obviated, by the discovery of a harbour for small craft.

The most important and curious information contained in this volume, is the discovery of straits which separate Van Diemen's Land (hitherto considered as its southern extremity) from New Holland. For this discovery we are indebted to Mr Bass, a surgeon, after whom the straits have been named, and who was led to a suspicion of their existence by a prodigious swell which he observed to set in from the westward, at the mouth of the opening which he had reached on a voyage of discovery, prosecuted in a common whale-boat. To verify this suspicion, he proceeded afterwards in a vessel of 25 tons, accompanied by Mr Flinders, a naval

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\* It is singular that Government are not more desirous of pushing their settlements rather to the north, than the south of Port-Jackson. The soil and climate would probably improve, in the latitude nearer the equator; and settlements in that position would be more contiguous to our Indian colonies.

naval gentleman ; and, entering the straits between the latitudes of  $39^{\circ}$  and  $40'$  south, actually circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land. Mr Bass's ideas of the importance of this discovery, we shall give from his narrative, as reported by Mr Collins.

' The most prominent advantage which seemed likely to accrue to the settlement from this discovery was, the expediting of the passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Port-Jackson ; for, although a line drawn from the Cape to  $44^{\circ}$  of South latitude, and to the longitude of the South Cape of Van Diemen's Land, would not sensibly differ from one drawn to the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$ , to the same longitude ; yet it must be allowed, that a ship will be four degrees nearer to Port-Jackson in the latter situation, than it would be in the former. But there is, perhaps, a greater advantage to be gained by making a passage through the strait, than the mere saving of four degrees of latitude along the coast. The major part of the ships that have arrived at Port-Jackson have met with N. E. winds, on opening the sea round the South Cape, and Cape Pillar, and have been so much retarded by them, that a fourteen-days passage to the port is reckoned to be a fair one, although the difference of latitude is but ten degrees, and the most prevailing winds at the latter place are from S. E. to S. in summer, and from W. S. W. to S. in winter. If, by going through Bass Strait, these N. E. winds can be avoided, which in many cases would probably be the case, there is no doubt but a week or more would be gained by it ; and the expence, with the wear and tear of a ship for one week, are objects to most owners, more especially when freighted with convicts by the run.

' This strait likewise presents another advantage. From the prevalence of the N. E. and easterly winds off the South Cape, many suppose that a passage may be made from thence to the westward, either to the Cape of Good Hope, or to India ; but the fear of the great unknown bight between the South Cape and the S. W. Cape of Lewen's Land, lying in about  $35^{\circ}$  south and  $113^{\circ}$  east, has hitherto prevented the trial being made. Now, the strait removes a part of this danger, by presenting a certain place of retreat, should a gale oppose itself to the ship in the first part of the essay ; and, should the wind come at S. W., she need not fear making a good stretch to the W. N. W., which course, if made good, is within a few degrees of going clear of all. There is, besides, King George the Third's Sound, discovered by Captain Vancouver, situate in the latitude of  $35^{\circ} 03'$  south, and longitude  $118^{\circ} 12'$  east ; and it is to be hoped, that a few years will disclose many others upon the coast, as well as the confirmation or futility of the conjecture, that a still larger than Bass Strait dismembers New Holland' p. 192. 193.

We learn from a note subjoined to this passage, that, in order to verify or refute this conjecture, of the existence of other important



portant inlets on the west coast of New Holland, Captain Flinders has sailed with two ships under his command, and is said to be accompanied by several professional men of considerable ability.

Such are the most important contents of Mr Collins's book, the style of which we very much approve, because it appears to be written by himself; and we must repeat again, that nothing can be more injurious to the opinion the public will form of the authenticity of a book of this kind, than the suspicion that it has been trick'd out and embellished by other hands. Such men, to be sure, have existed as Julius Cæsar; but, in general, a correct and elegant style is hardly attainable by those who have passed their lives in action; and no one has such a pedantic love of good writing, as to prefer mendacious finery to rough and ungrammatical truth. The events which Mr Collins's book records, we have read with great interest. There is a charm in thus seeing villages, and churches, and farms, rising from a wilderness, where civilized man has never set his foot since the creation of the world. The contrast between fertility and barrenness, population and solitude, activity and indolence, fill the mind with the pleasing images of happiness and increase. Man seems to move in his proper sphere, while he is thus dedicating the powers of his mind and body to reap those rewards which the bountiful Author of all things has assigned to his industry. Neither is it any common enjoyment, to turn for a while from the memory of those distractions which have so recently agitated the Old World; and to reflect, that its very horrors and crimes may have thus prepared a long æra of opulence and peace for a people yet involved in the womb of time.

ART. III. *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*. By the Reverend William Shepherd. Printed for Caddell and Davies, London. 4to. pp. 487. Liverpool, 1802.

THE too splendid reputation which the 'Life of Lorenzo de Medicis' acquired for its author, has attracted, as might naturally be expected, a crowd of candidates of fame in the same department of literature. The history of the revival of letters, and the memoirs of those who, by their labours, rescued from absolute destruction the monuments of ancient science and art, had hitherto been little handled, except in the pedantic productions of the schools; but the approbation so lavishly bestowed by the public upon Mr Roscoe's finished performance, soon created a rage for dilating and embellishing, in imitation of him, a subject, which, in its first aspect, assumes so classical an air. But the importance

portance and dignity of these researches have been greatly over-rated; and authors of very inferior talents have presumed upon their laborious industry, in attempting works which can be recommended to public esteem, almost solely by felicity of execution. An inundation of barbarous names, attached to accounts of civil commotions in the petty states of Italy, or the more frivolous, and therefore more violent dissensions of polemics, is poured before the public, as important history, or valuable learning. The enlightened and scientific philosopher of the present day is called upon to peruse the annals of an ignorant or superstitious age, to study the effusions of scholastic ostentation, and to enlarge his understanding, by contemplating the exploits of monks, in plundering half-demolished libraries, and cleansing their mouldy treasures. Even though the private histories of some of the scholars which those ages produced, had been eminently striking or diversified, the scanty materials which remain to this day are insufficient to display them with advantage. Dry details, interspersed with trifling incidents and silly stories, are eked out into expensive works; which are, however, recommended to the taste and judgment of a very large class of readers, by the beauty of the typography, and the vast expanse of margin.

That the revival of learning in the fifteenth century is an interesting subject in itself, and that, as an epoch in the history of man, it is deserving of contemplation, we very readily admit. The reflecting mind, too, may perhaps with pleasure turn back from the violent political distractions of the present period, to repose upon those remote histories and events, when the dawn of science seemed to promise that the prosperity of nations would now be advanced upon the most enlightened principles, and their tranquillity secured upon the firmest foundations. But these speculations, however amusing, are of inferior moment, and productive of little advantage. It is not from the barbarous ages of the Medicis' that improvements in the modern art of government, or the principles of modern policy, are to be derived. Nor is it in those dark and superstitious periods, that we are to search for models of imitation, either in public or in private life. The memoirs of the doubts and difficulties, the vicissitudes of perplexity and illumination, incident to a host of closeted pedants and a few scholars, cannot be accounted very dignified subjects for the pen of the modern historian. They are barren both of instruction and entertainment, and are at best fitted only to amuse the antiquary or the dilettante. Even the political history of the fifteenth century is scarcely worthy of study, as it consists merely of a succession of civil and ecclesiastical dissensions, tedious by the uniformity of their aspect, and

and uninformative from the rare occurrence of great counsels, or great events. And, assuredly, they who have beheld the tremendous convulsions, and gigantic revolutions, which late years have brought forth, cannot but look down with an indifference, mingled perhaps with contempt, upon the petty disputes of popes and cardinals.

The work under review merits a considerable share of the censure we have bestowed upon those productions in general, which over-rate the characters and exploits of the restorers of learning. It challenges censure, too, as a performance (for which there were few materials of interesting biography, or instructive history) eked out by tedious details of pontifical and state affairs, in which the subject of the memoirs had little concern, and from which the reader can derive little amusement. In truth, Poggio Bracciolini does not form the striking figure of the work; nor does his history show, that he was peculiarly distinguished above the other scholars of the revival. Though he filled an important public office, he rarely appears active in public life; and, amidst the distractions of a turbulent period, he seems to have indulged himself in a prudent or contemptible quietude. The scanty records of his private life are hardly sufficient to keep alive the interest of the reader in his personal affairs, through so long a narration and so crowded a detail of popes and prelates. The points of view in which Poggio most engages our attention, and solicits our admiration, are in his industrious and successful labours, as a Restorer of letters, and in his learning and classical accomplishments as a Scholar. To his skill and assiduity we are indebted for the preservation of some of the most valuable productions of the Roman authors. His searches for ancient manuscripts and precious reliques were attended with singular good fortune: and his zeal in the cause, highly meritorious in himself, promoted in no small degree the useful exertions of others. He was likewise active in disseminating amongst his countrymen the love of literature; and persevered in his own studies to the last period of a very long life. As a scholar, Poggio certainly merits high encomiums; and the more so, that in an age when classical learning was not very easy of acquisition, and when bigotry and pedantry were the ordinary produce of the closet, he contrived to accomplish himself in all the departments of literature, and to imbibe in some degree the liberal spirit of his ancient masters.

But our author seems to have cherished a veneration for the subject of his memoirs, which neither his talents, nor the services which he rendered to the world, can authorise. The plundering of monastic libraries, the searching collections of  
manuscripts

manuscripts mouldering under heaps of ruins, and the discovering those lights which have since illuminated a great portion of the globe, sound as mighty exploits in the ears of the vulgar and superficial. Even the cultivated admirer of Old Rome views with fond partiality those achievements, gilded as they are by the distance of four centuries. But, in truth, the talents required and exercised in these occupations are of no very high order : nor, at the same time, are we to consider Poggio and his associates as possessed of some rare and transcendent endowments, which peculiarly enabled them to effect the restoration of letters. That event must be ‘ considered as a step in the natural history of man,’ to which the preceding circumstances of progressive improvement and growing curiosity had led the way, and which must have developed itself about this period, had Poggio and his circle of classical compeers directed their labours to other objects. We have deemed it proper to premise these remarks, that the nature and importance of those studies, which it is at present a good deal the fashion to exalt, may be fairly estimated, and the rank which they are entitled to hold duly ascertained. It is high time to arrest the progress of that rage, which has a rapid tendency to pervert the judgment, and debauch the taste of a very large class of readers, admirers, and critics. Let the press no longer groan under a weight of useless lumber, treasured up as valuable knowledge, and of absurd anecdotes, collected and preserved as precious reliques. The manes of the departed restorers have long ago been appeased, by the ample tributes of applause which all ages have paid to their labours. Let us not, in the nineteenth century, deify monks of the fifteenth, when the present age furnishes subjects infinitely more worthy of those immortal honours.

‘ Poggio, the son of Guccio Bracciolini, was born in the year 1380, at Terranuova, a small town situated in the territory of the republic of Florence, not far from Arezzo.’ After informing us, by a pompous circumlocution, that nothing is known of his grandfather, the author proceeds to relate, that from his father (who exercised the office of notary) Poggio ‘ inherited no advantages of rank or fortune.’ It is probable, therefore, that he was induced to enter upon his literary pursuits, as the road both to emolument and distinction. He studied at Florence, and afterwards at Rome, with ardour and success. And he appears early to have distinguished himself, by the amiableness of his dispositions, and by the warmth and sincerity of his friendships. The first and second chapters of this work present us with few particulars of his life. The hero of the piece is thrown into the  
back-

back-ground, to make way for a long succession of contending pontiffs and factious demagogues. In the latter chapter, however, some amends is made, by the introduction of two very interesting epistles, or rather essays of Poggio's: one describing the customs and amusements of Baden, a German watering-place in the neighbourhood of the Rhine; the other, reciting an account of the trial, or rather the impeachment, conviction, and execution of Jerome of Prague. Both compositions display considerable powers: the former exhibits an elegant, cheerful, and versatile mind; the latter, a liberal spirit and manly understanding. The next chapter details his industrious and successful searches for ancient MSS., the invaluable remains of Roman learning. Assisted by some friends equally zealous with himself, he brought to light a complete copy of Quintilian, part of the *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus, and Asconius Pedianus's comment on Eight of Cicero's orations. He discovered, in the course of various journeys, many of Cicero's orations, 'the poem of Silius Italicus, Lactantius's treatise *de ira Dei, et opificio hominis*, Vegetius *de re militari*, Nonius Marcellus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Lucretius, Columella, and Tertullian.' Poggio likewise sent Nicolas of Treves upon journeys of research to the monasteries of Germany; and he had the good fortune to bring back with him Twelve of the Comedies of Plautus, and a fragment of Aulus Gellius. At this period, many scholars were engaged in the same pursuit; and, in the course of a very short time, was effected the most astonishing revolution in literature and civilization that the world had ever witnessed.

It appears from the narration, that Poggio, like most literary adventurers, met with the vicissitudes of prosperous and adverse fortune; that he was happy in the patronage and assistance of some great men, and harassed by the discouragements of others. About the year 1418, Poggio paid a visit to England, by invitation from Beaufort, at that time Bishop of Winchester. Our author conducts his hero thither in great state, and sensibly sympathises in the mortification which he experienced at the indifferent reception he met with from that ambitious and intriguing prelate. The author here takes the opportunity of digressing upon the causes of the ignorance and barbarism which prevailed in England at that period; and then returns with Poggio to Italy; not, however, without duly apprizing the reader, 'that of the incidents of his journey, no record appears in his works.' The incidents thrown in, to relieve the barrenness of this chapter, are, a tale about a mistress, (which did not merit relation, either by the singularity of the circumstances, or the connection which it holds with the main

main subject;) and a jest upon an Irish sea-captain, the merit of which we have not been able to discover. The latter, however, is introduced with a mock-heroic gravity, under the sanction of Poggio's authority, who had inserted it in his memorable work, entitled *Facetiæ*.

The year 1420 witnessed the final settlement of the dissensions and contests respecting the pontificate. In Martin the Fifth, all parties agreed to recognize the true successor to the Papal throne. About this time, Poggio was advanced by Cardinal St Eusebius to the office of Secretary. Our author next represents Poggio as exercising the amiable office of mediator and peacemaker between Leonardo Aretino and Niccolo Niccoli; in which, after infinite pains he is at last successful. In the year 1429, he offered to public notice his first literary production, a '*Dialogue on Avarice*,' which seems to possess considerable merit. In an age of bigotted reverence for every one who professed sanctity, and of jealousy and fear of whatever tended to weaken the superstitious prejudices of the day, the man who boldly arraigned the vices of the clergy, and pursued the voluptuous and selfish monks into their cloistered retreat, for the purpose of exposing their enormities, merited no mean praise; and to these was Poggio fairly entitled. His situation gave him ample opportunities of witnessing the criminal indulgences and excesses which were practised by men habited in the garb of religion, and professing abstemiousness of life, and austerity of manners; and, in opposition to the earnest and repeated entreaties of his more prudent friends, he embraced every opportunity of fearlessly expressing his detestation of them.

The fifth chapter contains a long and not very interesting detail of the contentions carried on between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basil, headed by Angelotto, Cardinal of St Mark. In the end, Eugenius is forced from his throne, and obliged to fly to Florence; whether Poggio, in attempting to follow him, is captured, and for some time detained in confinement. By the payment of a ransom, which his pecuniary circumstances rendered very oppressive, he is set free, and, finally, accomplishes his retreat to Florence. Poggio's residence in Florence naturally introduces some account of the illustrious family of Medicis. And our author quits this subject to detail a fierce quarrel and lampoon war which took place between Poggio and Filelfo, in which they seem to have vied with each other in inventing falsehoods of the blackest nature, and in disgracing their pages by the most malevolent, indecent, and filthy calumnies. Filelfo, who was a public teacher, appears not to have been destitute of talents, but scurrilous and inveterate to the last degree. A long extract is quoted from his satire, and translated in a style which  
does

does too much honour to the original. Poggio was content to reply in prose ; and the contest between two of the most learned men of the age, was thus conducted, no doubt, to the amusement of their contemporaries, but to the lasting disgrace of both parties with posterity.

In the seventh chapter, our author conducts into retreat, somewhat too pompously and pathetically, a man who does not appear ever to have greatly distinguished himself in public life. From the preceding part of his history, the reader would naturally conclude, that the greatest part of Poggio's time had been devoted to his studies, or to his searches for MSS. in monasteries and secluded places. His retirement to a villa which he purchased in the delightful district of Valdarno, might therefore have been announced with less parade, as it was indeed only a continuation of his very private life. The taste and curiosity of Poggio had led him to pay considerable attention to statuary ; and in his travels, he had not neglected to procure some fine specimens of ancient skill in this art. His mansion and gardens were adorned by an elegant distribution of busts and statues ; and it seemed his favourite object to draw together all the literati of his day, to admire his collection, and to enjoy the pleasures of classical conversation.

To this account of Poggio's occupations, succeeds the detail of his marriage, which confers on him no new title to praise, and the recital of which borders upon the disgusting. It is sufficient to say, that, at the age of fifty five, he married a young lady of honourable family in her eighteenth year ; and that to this alliance he sacrificed a mistress, by whom he had twelve sons and two daughters, and set aside a bull of legitimacy, which he had procured for them, in order that they might be enabled to inherit his fortune. This anecdote is certainly the principal feature of his private life ; and we are inclined to think it a sufficient proof that such a life need not have been recorded. Not long after this event (1437), his friend Niccolo Niccoli died, and Poggio composed and published his funeral eulogium. The extracts which the author presents to the reader, exhibit some eloquence and pathos.

The eighth chapter is almost entirely taken up by a tedious recital of the dissensions between the Greek and the Roman churches, and between the Pontiff Eugenius and the duke of Milan. It concludes with the cursory review of a literary performance of Poggio's, ' A Dialogue on Nobility.' Lorenzo de Medicis and Niccolo Niccoli are the interlocutors, and the scene of the discussion is laid in Poggio's gardens. Such arguments appear at the present day trifling and unimportant. To ascertain

ascertain the precise meaning of the word *nobility*, (upon which the principal part of the discussion rested,) a term which varies with the customs of every different nation, if it were possible, would be useless; and to dispute whether it *ought* to signify pre-eminence in wealth, power or virtue, is to quibble upon what all are agreed, that the highest species of nobility unites all the three. Any subject, however, may, to a well-furnished mind, afford occasion for the display of taste, sentiment, and even acuteness. But what shall we say of the dilettante, who could seriously compose a formal dissertation on the question, 'Whether the master of a feast ought to thank his guests for the honour of their company, or whether the guests should express their gratitude to their host for his hospitality?' p. 448. We agree with our biographer, that this must have been a very '*whimsical*' manner of person.

The ninth and tenth chapters conduct the reader through a series of pontifical and state affairs. Poggio, as we before observed, never appears in the fore ground of the picture. A circumstance which induces the reader either to lower his estimation of the subject, or to censure the author of his life, for interweaving with private biography, so great a mass of public and irrelevant matter. It is improbable, however, that Poggio took a more active part in state-business, than the scanty materials of his history enable us now to ascertain. In the latter of these chapters, are many extracts from his occasional compositions, translated with our author's usual felicity, several of which are interesting and amusing.

The concluding chapter commences with Poggio's elevation to the Chancellorship of Florence, A. D. 1453. At the same time, he was chosen one of the *Priori degli arti*. These offices he held till his death, which happened on the 30th of October 1459. He continued, even in his very old age, that unremitting assiduity in his studies which he had all along pursued; and seems to have concluded his career in the dignified possession of universal respect, and in the tranquil enjoyment of social and domestic comforts. His last literary production was a History of Florence, a work of some value, and in high esteem amongst his countrymen.

Upon the whole, we are of opinion, that the '*Life of Poggio Bracciolini*' displays some ingenuity, and powers of composition. To the mere English reader, however, it cannot be very interesting or instructive, as the narration is not sufficiently diversified to amuse, nor the political history sufficiently important to enlighten. Even for the perusal of the scholar, it is in many parts ponderous; a fault not solely proceeding from the nature of the subject, but in a very great measure, resting with the author,



who has injudiciously swelled into a quarto, materials that would have better suited the size of a small octavo. We have to regret, that the author did not introduce into his work more specimens of Poggio's Latin compositions, and some of his Italian, which, however, we know nothing about.

Of Mr Shepherd's style, we hardly know what judgment to give. It is, for the most part, elegant and classical; but too much laboured, and in many places ludicrously pompous upon a trivial subject, or a hackneyed sentiment. For instances of these, we refer the reader particularly to pages 476.477. Many similar specimens of false taste may be found scattered throughout the performance. Some of these are so amusing, that we cannot forbear gratifying our readers with a sample, while we suppress many examples of dullness, which could only fatigue and disgust.

In p. 475, we are introduced to the author of the '*Art of Love*,' under the title of the '*Amiable Ovid*.' Unless this epithet is a wretched pun, (imitated, perhaps, from Poggio's Jest-book,) it is ludicrously false. This jest-book of Poggio, indeed, frequently appears in Mr Shepherd's narrative, and is the occasion of an elaborate and impassioned defence of jest-books in general. In the following passage, the '*fancy*' is mistaken for the *diaphragm* or the *epiglottis*, or whatever part of the body is the seat of laughter; and a book is curiously termed the '*representative*' of its author. It would have been more intelligible, though less uncommon, to have called it 'the work of its author.'

'The idle and the dissipated are pleased with a sally of hilarity, which gives a stimulus to their fancy: and they who are habituated to study, or who are fatigued by the more weighty concerns of life, are happy to enjoy an opportunity of occasional relaxation. As a vehicle of sentiment, a book may be considered as the representative of its author; and in a world of anxiety and trouble, he who is endued with the happy talent of causing the wrinkle of care to give place to the pleasing convulsion of mirth, will find few circles of society in which he is not a welcome guest.' p. 446.-7:

In the passage immediately following, we meet with a grotesque and fantastic group of portraits. 'Poggio aims a thrust at Filelfo'—in a tale. At this ridiculous pass, '*gravity*,' who happens to be on the spot, '*has her steady countenance visibly disturbed*,' and her '*relative strictest severity*' falls a '*smiling*' at the '*indelicate*' part to which Poggio's stroke is directed. Filelfo, in his distress, is introduced invoking a being whose existence is entirely new to us—the Muse of Satire; and the friends of both these '*redoubted champions*' then interfere to make up the matter.

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In p. 277, our author gives us a parallel between prose and poetical invective. The former, he ingeniously terms 'a ponderous mace, the unmanageable weight of which is the best security of him at whom the blow is aimed.' We do not desire Mr Shepherd to read Hottoman's *Antitribonianus*; but we envy him the pleasure that awaits him, when he shall have the curiosity to turn from the age of Eugenius IV. to the times of George III., and take a look at 'the ponderous maces' which Wilkes and Junius aimed at the devoted heads of the Butes, the Graftons, and the Bedfords.

With the indecent detail of pages 266-7 and 8, executed by no necessity, and redeemed by no spark of genius or merit of any species, we have been so disgusted, that we entreat the *Reverend* author (if his work shall see another edition) to veil, in some foreign tongue, so odious a collection of images, if he cannot prevail upon himself to cleanse his page of them altogether.

The whole of p. 235 and 6, is absurdly pompous and empty. The following exclamation is not very novel; yet we really do not remember ever having seen it in a book before. 'How frequently do events demonstrate the fallaciousness of human expectations!'

In p. 198, the author is prompted, evidently by the same love of truth which dictated the last sentence, to inform us, that 'a mind irritated by disappointment and disgrace, is but ill prepared to bear with patience the lashes of satyric wit.' Perhaps the most delicate part of the historian's task is, the skilful introduction of those general observations which at once diversify the narrative, and smooth the different joinings of its parts. But, alas! such observations as Mr Shepherd's, though abundantly general, and unquestionably true, tend only to render the narration more heavy: they are as little worthy of enunciation, as the facts which they connect are deserving of record: they preserve, indeed, that unbroken consistency of insipidity, which the weary reader of Poggio's life so often deploras, and which often forces from him a wish that Horace had never said,

'Qualis ab incepto,' &c.

At the same time, we must remark, that in many parts of this work we meet with successful attempts at fine writing.

For the benefit of our readers, we shall quote the character of Pope Nicolas V.

'Nicolas V. was one of the brightest ornaments of the pontifical throne. In the exercise of authority over the ecclesiastical domi-

nions, he exhibited a happy union of the virtues of gentleness and firmness. Purely distinterested in his views, he did not lavish upon his relatives the wealth which the prudent administration of his finances poured into his coffers; but appropriated the revenues of the church to the promotion of its dignity. The gorgeous solemnity which graced his performance of religious rites, evinced his attention to decorum, and the grandeur of his taste. In the superb edifices which were erected under his auspices, the admiring spectator beheld the revival of ancient magnificence. As the founder of the Vatican library, he claims the homage of the lovers of classic literature. His court was the resort of the learned, who found in him a discriminating patron, and a generous benefactor. It was the subject of general regret, that the brief term of his pontificate prevented the maturing of the mighty plans which he had conceived for the encouragement of the liberal arts. When his lifeless remains were consigned to the grave, the friends of peace lamented the premature fate of a pontiff, who had assiduously laboured to secure the tranquillity of Italy, and they who were sensible of the charms of enlightened piety, regretted the loss of a true father of the faithful, who had dedicated his splendid talents to the promotion of the temporal, as well as the spiritual welfare of the Christian community.' p. 462-3.

As a specimen of the author's talents for versification, we shall favour the reader with the following extract from the translation of Filelfo's satire on Poggio.

' Poggio ! ere long thy babbling tongue shall feel  
 The keen impression of the trenchant steel ;  
 That tongue, the herald of malicious lies,  
 That sheds its venom on the good and wise.  
 What mighty master in detraction's school  
 Thus into knavery has matured a fool ?  
 Has Niccolo—that scandal of the times,  
 Taught thee to dare the last extreme of crimes ?  
 Yes !—taught by Niccolo, thou spread'st thy rage  
 O'er the wide æra of thy feeble page.  
 Fain would'st thou pour the torrent of thine ire  
 From lips that glow with all a Tully's fire ;  
 But, thy weak nerves, by pale debauch unstrung,  
 Thy half-form'd accents tremble on thy tongue.'

One curious circumstance, which must strike every reader of this history, we cannot avoid remarking : It is the frequent mention that occurs of young students becoming, at the age of eighteen, public instructors and lecturers in the two most learned cities of the world at that period. It serves to mark the manners, and the cultivation, in respect of letters, to which the Italians

lians had then arrived. It may suggest likewise this reflection, that if dignified and momentous subjects for history be required, we need look only to our own times for ample scope and abundant materials; where the politician may cultivate and enlarge his science, and the moralist learn to ascertain the proper objects and most important duties of human life. In this age, the public would be more edified by dwelling upon the characters of a Washington, a Burke, or a Pitt, than a Poggio, or even a Lorenzo de Medicis. And for eminent examples in private life, we need not assuredly turn to a period, when superstition chained down a great part of mankind to absurd observances and useless duties, when manners had not yet been systematised into decorum, and when morals were guarded only by loose rhetorical precepts, and a religion that held out its sanctions in one hand, and its dispensations in the other.

#### ART. IV. *Accounts of the Egyptian Expedition.*

*State of Egypt after the Battle of Heliopolis.*

By General Reynier, 1802. Robinson.

*History of the British Expedition in Egypt.*

By Sir R. T. Wilson. 4to. Egerton. 1803.

*Walsh's Journal of the Campaign in Egypt.*

4to. Cadell & Davies. 1803.

*Journal of the Forces which sailed from the Downs in April 1800, till their arrival in Minorca; and of their subsequent Transactions, till the Reduction of Alexandria.* By Æneas Anderson. Debrett. 4to. 1802.

TO avoid unpleasant repetition, we have preferred including the above-mentioned articles under one head; and, by this means, we shall also be enabled to correct errors, to refute misrepresentation, and to give additional confirmation to narrative that is really accurate and candid. Military authors, who have themselves participated in the actions which they relate, are too strongly under the influence of personal glory, to preserve a steady impartiality in their relations. The feeling of personal glory is exasperated again by national vanity, an amiable (perhaps an useful) weakness, from which few understandings can claim an exemption. Neither is it any degradation of the military character, to suppose that some degree of asperity may still pursue the me-

mory of men, whom honour and duty have urged their opponents to destroy and to harass, and who, in their turn, have endeavoured to inflict all the evils by which they have been threatened.

The public are now in possession of sufficiently ample materials, to enable them to form a very correct notion of the campaign in Egypt. The whole period of its duration was short, and the operations so few and so simple, that it is matter of some surprise they were protracted even for the length of time to which they really did extend. It happens fortunately, too, for the interests of truth, that the military character of the English has been severely questioned by General Reynier, and warmly defended by Sir Robert Wilson : so that, in those points in which they differ, by knowing the extremes, we may deduce a fair medium, and admit every important fact, redounding to the credit of one party, and uncontradicted by the other, with the utmost confidence in its veracity. Before we appeal to these four publications as documents, it will be proper to estimate the value of each.

The best of the English accounts is certainly that of Sir Robert Wilson. Of the style we say nothing ; and, in fact, it is of very little importance. The narrative is extremely full, and very entertaining. The military questions on the conduct of the campaign, are rationally and intelligibly discussed ; the French are spoken of with a very commendable liberality ; and considering that it is partly a book of controversy, the candour with which it is conducted, is, upon the whole, extremely creditable to its author.

Mr Walsh's book is plain and perspicuous, but rather jejune. It is a barren summary of events, which affixes the thing done to the corresponding day in the almanack, without pausing to expatiate and explain, or gratify a curiosity wound up to the highest, by novelty of glory, and novelty of scene. The life of a soldier in actual service, the habits, and interior perspective of an army, are so interesting, and so unknown to men who pass their lives by their fire-side, that we have often lamented this unamusing brevity of military writers, and desiderated an annalist with some genius for anecdote, and some talents for description. Though Mr Walsh is somewhat dry and succinct, he does not derive that accuracy from the absence of imagination, which is commonly supposed to atone for the deficiency. We shall have occasion, in the progress of the narrative, to remark some errors into which he has fallen, in his enumeration of forces. Too much praise cannot be given to the elegance and perspicuity of his topographical charts, and military plans. The book itself is a good specimen of the effect of luxury, in raising the price of knowledge. In its present state, it cannot sell for less than three or four guineas, though all the narrative might be printed on good paper, and in a legible type, for tenpence.

Mr Æneas Anderson we only mention, to evince our willingness to consult every book upon the subject by which we are occupied. It may be pronounced to be a wanton deterioration of the Morning Post; and will certainly never elevate Mr Æneas Anderson to those heights of fame, which his pious and erratic Synominin declares himself to have reached.

*Sum pius Æneas, fama super æthera notus.* VIRGIL.

General Reynier's book is the production of a man very superior to any of the preceding writers. His observations on the state of society in Egypt, the politics of that country, its revenues, its physical state, the mode of attacking or defending it, evince him to possess an understanding of an high cast, and entitle his book to the praise of being very superior to all others which have been written on the subject of Egypt since the French invasion. One of the principal objects of the military part of the book, is the depreciation of General Menou; yet it cannot by any means be considered as an attack made merely in the spirit of party. He allows to him some good qualities, particularly praises his disinterestedness; and, in his attack upon that officer's military character, appears to be so entirely borne out by matter of fact, that we are strongly inclined to subscribe to the fairness of his motives in making it. His criticisms on the military operations of the English, are very uncandid in some subordinate points. If they are not just in the more material parts, they are at least such as we are unable to answer; of this inability, his opponent, Sir Robert Wilson, partakes in common with ourselves, and to him, certainly, no deficiency of zeal can be imputed.

Egypt is accessible to an enemy on the north, the north east and the east, by the Mediterranean, the Syrian desert, and the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. On the northern coast, there are only two or three spots (Alexandria, Aboukir Bay, and the Arab's Tower) accessible to invasion. The bars, both at Rosetta and Damietta, are hardly passable for small craft; and these are the only two remaining mouths of the Nile. The passage of a large army over either the Syrian or the Eastern desert, would be attended with great difficulty, from the want of water, as well as from the extraordinary apparatus of camels which it would be necessary to collect. To the east, Egypt is bordered by the Arabs of the desert: to the south, Upper Egypt, only a few miles broad, stretches on for an immense distance in length, towards Nubia; and, from the high mountains to which it is limited on both sides, presents a most defensible aspect to any irruption with which it may be menaced from that quarter. The only sea-ports with which Egypt has any communication, are Cossir and Suez on the Red Sea, and Alexandria on the Mediterranean.

Both

Both the former sea-ports are very bad ; Suez is utterly devoid of fresh water : Alexandria, though now almost insulated by the repletion of Lake Mareotis, is undoubtedly the key of Egypt to any European power.

Military operations can only be carried on in Egypt for about seven months in the year. The swelling of the Nile begins in the summer solstice, and reaches its greatest extent in the autumnal equinox, when, having displayed its grandeur for a few days, it begins to subside. Its rise and fall happen earlier or later, by fifteen days, or sometimes even a month ; but it may be established as a rule, that Lower Egypt is passable from the beginning of February to the end of August. None but the great branches, at this time, contain water ; and, on them, may always be found boats for passage. It is possible, during the other months, to march on the borders of the desert ; but the villages in that quarter are by no means able to supply those wants which an army must experience after the passage of the desert.

At the time of our arrival in Egypt, the force of the Mamelukes seems to have been almost subdued. The Arabs, after their manner, trafficked with both parties, and waited for the termination of the contest, to side with the strongest. The French, dispirited with the flight of Bonaparte, and the assassination of Kleber, appear to have fallen under the command of a man extremely inferior to his predecessors in military talents and experience, and who, if he did not foment the parties into which his army was divided at the time of our landing, certainly had not influence enough to overawe them.

The French had made very little progress in the fortifications of Egypt. General Reynier complains of the want of wood and of tools, a great quantity of which were lost with the fleet. He observes, that the troops, worn out with change of climate and perpetual marches, and entirely deprived of spiritous liquors, were with difficulty brought to work at the fortifications, and hardly tempted to do so even by excessive prices.

\* A very erroneous idea (says the General) will be formed of the fortifications constructed in Egypt, if the reader applies to them what is understood in Europe by the words, strong place, fort, military post, &c. What I have said before of the obstacles that were to be surmounted, is always to be called to mind. The French had to create a new kind of fortifications and works applicable to the country, consistent with the materials that could be obtained, and relative to the several kinds of attack which might be expected. The engineer officers cannot be too highly praised for having effected as much as they did within the space of three years.

Houses, or the remains of ancient works, with the addition of a battlement, are mounted with a few pieces of cannon, small towers surmount

mounted with a terrace, and one or two pieces of cannon, formed posts in which twenty French soldiers fearlessly expected and repulsed all the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, or the insurrections of multitudes, sometimes aided by artillery, although ill-served. Many of the posts which I have called forts were of this kind. Provisions and ammunition for a garrison, as well as such as were stored up for the army, were deposited in magazines constructed within these forts, or built against them, and protected by them.

'To render these posts, in some degree, from the fire of artillery, sometimes they were surrounded with a parapet or covered way, in which case they formed redoubts; and, to attack them with success, the enemy must have gained some ground, and established a battery on the glacis. This plan was adopted for Salahieb, which, by a succession of works, might have been converted into a regular fortress.

'Ancient castles, round which there was no time to sink ditches, and to construct lined counterscarps, bore the name of forts. These forts could not of course resist artillery; the greater number of them were merely field-redoubts, which the French had scarcely begun to line, and were without counterscarps.

'Most of these works were surrounded with palm-trees, ruins, mounds of sand, &c. which rendered the approaches to them easy, and from which they could not be disengaged. All these inconveniences were united at Alexandria. The works of that place, although dispersed over a large circuit, reciprocally supported each other; but the approaches were easy, and many important points were necessarily neglected, to strengthen the principal works. Latterly, neither the money nor the hands were given to these works which ought to have been sacredly reserved for them; and Alexandria was not in a condition to resist more than eight days against a regular attack.' P. 35—37.

This account of the fortifications of Alexandria is fully confirmed by Mr Walsh, p. 229, and not denied by Sir Robert Wilson. In like manner, Reynier's account of the weakness of the fortifications at Cairo, are confirmed by Walsh, and not disputed by Sir Robert. Such was the state of the fortifications of the only two important towns in Egypt. The number of French fighting men in Egypt, at the time of our arrival, are stated to be, by Reynier, 24,732, and 1128 Greek and Copt auxiliaries; by Walsh, 20,950, (p. 124, Appendix); by Sir Robert Wilson, 32,000. The average of these three accounts, two of which are English, gives, in round numbers, 26,000 Frenchmen\*. The number

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\* This includes sailors acting with the army, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, sick, military, the artillery, cavalry, and every description of persons attached to the army. We follow the same mode of calculation in speaking of the English army, except where we use the expression *rank and file*.



number of English is stated, by Reynier, to have been 23,000; by Walsh and Sir Robert Wilson, admitted to have been about 26,000\*; to which ought to be added at least 1000 sailors employed in the gun-boats on the sea-coast, flanking the army on Lakes Mareotis and Aboukir, and on the Nile. The corps of the Capitan Pacha is admitted, on all sides, to have amounted to about 6000 men; the Indian army to the same number; the army of the Grand Visir to about 16,000 men, exclusive of a vast number of irregular troops — The Indian army did not arrive till after the conclusion of the campaign.

The plans for the conduct of the campaign, suggested by General Reynier to Menou, is contained in the following extract of Reynier's letter.

“ LETTER from General REYNIER to General MENOÜ.

“ Cairo, the 13th of Ventose, 9th year,  
(the 4th of March, 1801.)

“ You have sent me, Citizen General, orders to March to Belbeis with two demi-brigades, taking with me General Robin; and I shall execute your orders, because the first duty of a soldier is to obey. But the interest of the army constrains me to make some observations, which you will listen to with candour. I am ordered to defend the frontier, which may be attacked by the Visir. But in our circumstances it appears to me, that this frontier ought for the present to be left to itself. The Visir is arrived, or expected, at El Arish; but it is not probable that he will march before he hears of the success of the English. His preparations to pass the desert are not completed; and he will do no more than to push some parties to Katieh, or perhaps a little further. If he should attack Salahieh, that place is in a condition to hold out till it can be succoured. While we engage the English, he will push, perhaps, some troops to Belbeis and Cairo; but that is less dangerous than to give the English opportunity to make any progress.

“ The army, which is to attempt a landing at Aboukir, must amount to between 10 and 12,000 men. If General Friant has not been able to prevent their debarkation, he must at this moment be shut up in Alexandria; and, to meet the English with hopes of success, we have occasion for the whole of our disposeable force.

“ At

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\* This number includes the reinforcements that arrived from Europe after the battle of the 21st. Mr Walsh, in his estimate, NO. 29, compares only the rank and file of the British army with the gross amount of the French military; and, even in that comparison, omits all the English cavalry, artillery, and marines, amounting to above 2600 rank and file. His statement, as quoted in the text, is taken from his Appendix, No. 36, to the *Annals* of which he has not attended, in giving general result in the Appendix, NO. 29, before quoted.

“ At the time of the landing of the Turks at Aboukir, Bonaparte left at Belbeis and Salahieh no more than a hundred men, a very few troops at Damietta, and a very small garrison at Cairo. He concentrated the army to march to Aboukir. Our situation is similar; and we ought to make like dispositions. It is most especially in this army, that the great maxim of war should be practised, to supply the want of numbers by the rapidity of movements.

“ I am of opinion, that it would be proper to march my division, with all the disposeable troops, to Alexandria.

“ The garrison of Salahieh is more than sufficient to its purposes. I will throw a small reinforcement into Belbeis. Dromedaries will reconnoitre the desert; and I will leave the necessary instructions to the commanding officers of the above places.” P. 236, 237.

Fortunately for the English, this plan of the campaign was rejected. The troops were divided; a considerable body sent to oppose the Turks; and by these means every facility given to the first operations of the English. The event completely justified General Reynier's predictions. The Turks did not arrive on the confines of habitable Egypt till the 27th of April, fifty days after the landing of the English, who, both on their landing, and on the battle of the 13th, were attacked only by the half of their own numbers, and, on the 21st, by a force rather inferior to their own. In the battle of the 13th, by the English accounts, their own army consisted of about 14,000 rank and file, who, they admit, were opposed by only 6000 French, with the loss, nevertheless, by their own admission, of 1300 men. We have the highest opinion of the courage of our countrymen; but we cannot avoid thinking, that the event would have been extremely problematical, if the whole French army, with their numerous train of artillery, and their great superiority in cavalry, had been brought down to the coast, before their opponents could have gained time to organize and arrange their forces.

General Reynier imputes to both English and French a want of enterprize. We have not the smallest pretensions to military knowledge; but the facts upon which he grounds these animadversions, do certainly *appear* to us to warrant his conclusions: — not that we have received these facts upon General Reynier's assertions; but, after having compared his accounts with those of the opposite party, we have satisfied ourselves, that he is in general an accurate writer; and that he by no means merits those invectives which Sir Robert Wilson so liberally bestows upon him.

The charges against the English are thus summed up at the conclusion of his work :

‘ The only military operation that does honour to the English, is their debarkation ; and the success of that they owe to their fleet ; for 6000 men that they threw at once upon the coast were checked by 1700, forced to watch at the same time over the whole extent of the Bay of Aboukir, and consequently, incapable of acting together at the point of attack.

‘ The English army, after its landing, did not attempt to approach Alexandria until the 2d of Ventose. There they ought to have found the whole French army concentrated ; but they found only 4000 men ; who nevertheless disputed the ground, intimidating them to such a degree, that they dared not attack the town ; and, far from availing themselves of their advantages, stood on the defensive, and entrenched themselves.

‘ On the 30th of Ventose, the French marched out to attack them, in a strong and narrow position, time to fortify which had been given them. Gun-boats on the sea and Lake Maadieh covered their flanks. Their troops were double in number. The darkness of the night, and the death of several commanding officers, threw disorder into the French army ; and the Commander in Chief keeping himself at a distance, neither could form the troops anew himself, nor would confide the charge to any other officer. His movements overthrew and dispersed the cavalry. The army is compelled to retire, and the English lose this occasion also to avail themselves of their success.

‘ Shut up in their entrenchments, they attempt no movement till twenty days afterwards, when they marched to Rosetta, an important post to them, but which the French army did not attempt to preserve.

‘ They remain a month at Rosetta, before they proceed towards Rhamanieh, which it was equally important for them to occupy, to intercept the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The troops they found there, too few to resist, retired towards Cairo. It was the interest of the English to follow them by rapid marches, and they employed forty days in marching over a space that the French usually traversed in four.

‘ They finally arrived at Cairo with the Capitan-Pacha, where they are joined by the Visir : and these armies, six times more numerous than the French, still fear the hazards of an engagement, and receive, rather than dictate, the law in the treaty of evacuation.

‘ They then descend towards Alexandria, and the same supineness infects all their operations ; and it is the want of provisions, rather than their enterprize, with accelerates the fall of that place.

‘ The expedition of the English has succeeded ; but they have gathered only the laurels of success ; for never did they insure victory either by their military movements, their courage, or their enterprize. Their timid march, notwithstanding their enormous superiority, perfectly points out what would have been their fate, if the chief of the East had been worthy of his troops.’ P. 346-349.

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The whole campaign in Egypt was, in fact, fought in the first ten days, by the three battles of the 8th, the 13th, and the 21st\*. The merit of the 8th, the General seems very reluctantly to admit; on the 13th, the English lost no reputation, but they gained none. The battle of the 21st undoubtedly reflects upon them the highest credit; it is unworthy of General Reynier to deny it, and impossible to read the details of the engagement (in which the whole French army were engaged with the right wing of the English), without admiring the extraordinary firmness of our troops. After this period, both parties appear to have remained in a state of inertness and stupefaction; the English surprised at their own success, and the French waiting quietly to see them improve it. After the battle of the 21st March, we waited till the 14th of April, before we presented ourselves at the gates of Rosetta, which were flung open at our approach. From the 21st of March to the 5th of May, the only opposition we experienced, and the only military operation we performed, was the capture of Fort Julien, garrisoned by 260 men, which we took in two days. On the 5th of May, General Hutchinson began his march for Cairo from El-Hamed, a distance which cannot exceed 120 miles, and which he traversed in forty-two days. The only opposition he experienced was at Rhamanieh, where he lost twenty men. This skirmish at Rhamanieh took place on the 9th of May. The French who retired from thence before General Hutchinson, reached Cairo in three days†. General Hutchinson travelled the same distance in thirty-eight days, without seeing an enemy, or firing a shot the whole of the way. The Turks fought the French (including the very same troops which had retreated before the English at Rhamanieh) at the springs of El-Hanka, six miles from Cairo; on the 16th of May, a whole month before our troops appeared before the town. The army had the entire command of the Nile all the way from Rhamanieh to Cairo, and was accompanied by a large flotilla. This deliberate progress is the more unintelligible, as any delay in the formation and operations of the siege approximated the period at which all military operations would be suspended by the rise of the Nile. Cairo capitulated on the 26th of June. The siege of Alexandria was begun fifty days after †, and it capitulated in fifteen.

On

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\* In the battle of the 21st, Walsh asserts in his text, that the French brought 12 or 13,000 effective men into the field. To his plan of the battle, he subjoins the number of 10,000; of which, he says, the French forces consisted.

† Walsh, p. 138. † Not a shot was fired in these fifty days.

On the other hand, it is extremely singular, that General Coote should have remained with an inferior force so long before Alexandria, in the absence of General Hutchinson, without having experienced the slightest attack on the part of the French; that General Beliard should have employed his numerous garrison to so little purpose; and that the same troops who, under other leaders, had attracted the admiration of Europe, should retreat before an army of Turks at El-Hanka.

In stating these facts, which we have endeavoured to do with the greatest impartiality, we trust we shall not be accused of want of patriotism; for patriotism does not consist in loving our country better than truth: neither do the real merits of the English in this expedition require the aid of misrepresentation. We were dispirited by the bad success of our previous military expeditions: the French, guided by extraordinary men, at one of those periods when extraordinary men have opportunities of shewing themselves, and universally under the influence of the most inspiring passions, had astonished all Europe by the splendour of their military achievements. The English expedition was opposed to their *immortals*, to troops covered with trophies and scars, who in every new climate had breathed the same courage—who had triumphed alike over the tactics of Europe, and the furious crowds of the East. We were upon an element not natural to us; unskilful, because we were without experience; and unexperienced, because we had no opportunities of improvement. The whole bent of our genius, our resources, and our pride, is turned to another species of glory. In that war we were, and in every war we are, not soldiers, but disembarked marines, dragged out of our ships to effect a particular object; doubtful creatures, hardly sure of our feet, and exposed to all the inconvenience of amphibious awkwardness. The fair way of estimating the merits of such a conquest, is not by numbering men, and counting fortified places; but by reflecting on the habits and characters of the different people opposed to each other, by remembering what each nation studies; what it affects; upon what cardinal points it founds its claim to the respect and admiration of other people. In this manner of viewing the question, the wonder is, not that we did not effect our object in a more masterly manner, but that we were able to effect it at all. Modes may be questioned; the fact remains, and reflects the highest credit upon the energy of our government, and the courage of our soldiers. There is an attack in Sir Robert Wilson's book, upon the character of the First Consul, which, in our opinion, either should not have been made at all, or should have been better proved. Buonaparte is said by Sir Robert to have massacred

3800\* Turks at Jaffa, three days after the surrender of the place, and to have poisoned 380 of his own soldiers at the same place, who were infected with the plague. This may be very true; but to prove it, Sir Robert Wilson merely says, 'It was General Bon's division who fired upon the Turks. Inquire of any of the officers serving in it, if the facts be as I have related. Inquire of the members of the Institute at Cairo, if the story of the poison be true. They have both been confirmed to me; but I cannot mention the names of those from whom I derived my information, on account of the dangers to which I should expose them by such a publication.' In such tremendous imputations, this is hardly a fair mode of attack. Delicacy should suppress the fact, if it suppresses the evidence on which the fact is founded. We are no very violent partizans for the morality of the First Consul; but we love justice, and respect the old English proverb so much, that we would give even the devil his due, and by no means say any ill of him which we could not prove.

At the beginning of the campaign, Sir Sydney Smith served with the armies, and evinced, in his advice given to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the same spirit of military enterprise, for which we are indebted to the most extraordinary event to which this war has given birth—the defence of Acre. When the army advanced towards Cairo, by a very unworthy compliance with the antipathies of the Capitan Pacha, he was sent on board his ship. The following reason is assigned by Sir Robert Wilson for the aversion of the Capitan to Sir Sydney.

'Sir Sydney, on receiving Lord Keith's refusal to the convention of El-Arish, instantly sent off an express with it to Cairo, as he knew General Kleber was to evacuate that city immediately on the faith of that treaty; thus preferring the maintenance of his own and nation's honour, to a temporary advantage. The messenger arrived a few hours before the evacuation was to have been completed, and the consequences are well known. But certainly the Turks had so fully depended on its execution, as to have advanced without artillery or ammunition.' p. 64.

Independently of the ignominy of permitting our barbarous allies to dictate what officers we should, or should not employ, we have considerable doubts whether the presence of Sir Sydney was not of more importance to the army, than that of the Capitan Pacha and all his forces.

We

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\* The account given by General Berthier, in his *Memoirs*, is, that the garrison of Jaffa, consisting of 1200 Turks, and 2500 Arnauts and Magranbians, were put to the sword in the storming of the city.—*Relation des Campagnes*, p. 60.

We have been enabled, from the long residence of such numerous bodies of Europeans in Egypt, to form some more correct notions of the nature and the fatality of the plague. Of 360 English attacked by this disorder, 173 died, and 200 recovered; the French saved about two out of three of their patients. It is highly probable, that the virulence of the plague would so far yield to the cleanliness, the watchfulness, and the science of Europeans, as to be ranked with ordinary fevers in danger and malignancy. We may carry our views still farther, and consider the powerful influence which Egypt, colonized by Europeans, would exercise upon the civilization of Africa. We may amuse ourselves with the imaginary spectacle of Europe carrying back to the banks of the Nile the arts and sciences, which she received from thence 3000 years ago; and raising from the dust those venerable cities which were animated with commerce, and adorned with learning, ages before the naked savage of Europe could delve, or spin, or govern, or obey. But this is a short-sighted benevolence. Europe is the light of the world, and the ark of knowledge; upon the welfare of Europe hangs the destiny of the most remote and savage people. Europe, to be great and happy, must be free; and to be free, she must ever strive against the usurpations of faithless ambition, with the same unquenchable courage which this little island has always displayed in the perils of nations, and which she will never lose, but in the extinction of that manly race in whose hearts it lives.

ART. V. *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esq. With an Introductory Letter to the Right Honourable Earl Cowper.* By William Hayley, Esq. Two volumes, 4to. Chichester, 1803.

THIS book is too long; but it is composed on a plan that makes prolixity unavoidable. Instead of an account of the poet's life, and a view of his character and performances, the biographer has laid before the public a large selection from his private correspondence, and merely inserted as much narrative between each series of letters, as was necessary to preserve their connection, and make the subject of them intelligible.

This scheme of biography, which was first introduced, we believe, by Mason, in his *Life of Gray*, has many evident advantages in point of liveliness of colouring, and fidelity of representation. It is something intermediate between the egotism of confessions, and the questionable narrative of a surviving friend, who must be partial, and may be mistaken: It enables the reader

reader to judge for himself, from materials that were not provided for the purpose of determining his judgment, and holds up to him, instead of a flattering or unfaithful portrait, the very living lineaments and features of the person it intends to commemorate. It is a plan, however, that requires so much room for its execution, and consequently so much money, and so much leisure in those who wish to be masters of it, that it ought to be reserved, we conceive, for those great and eminent characters that are likely to excite an interest among all orders and generations of mankind. While the biography of Shakespeare and Bacon shrinks into the corner of an octavo, we can scarcely help wondering that the history of the sequestered life and solitary studies of Cowper should have extended into two quarto volumes.

The little Mr Hayley writes in these volumes, is by no means well written. In the very first paragraph, we stumble upon the following involved and unintelligible sentences.

‘ This lady, the wife of Colonel Madan, transmitted her own poetical and devout spirit to her daughter Frances-Maria, who was married to her cousin Major Cowper, and whose amiable character will unfold itself in the course of this work; as the friend and correspondent of her more eminent relation, the second grandchild of the judge, destined to honour the name of Cowper, by displaying, with peculiar purity and fervour, the double enthusiasm of poetry and devotion. The father of the great author to whom I allude, was John Cowper, the judge’s second son, who took his degrees in divinity, was chaplain to King George the Second, and resided at his rectory of Great Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, the scene of the poet’s infancy.’ Vol. i. p. 2.

The book, however, is written, upon the whole, with a very amiable gentleness of temper, and with the strongest appearance of a sincere veneration and affection for the departed friend to whose memory it is consecrated. It will be very hard, too, if it do not become popular, as Mr Hayley seems to have exerted himself to conciliate readers of every description, not only by the most lavish and indiscriminate praise of every individual he has occasion to mention, but by a general spirit of approbation and indulgence towards every practice and opinion which he has found it necessary to speak of. Among the other symptoms of *book-making* which this publication contains, we can scarcely forbear reckoning the expressions of this obsequious and unoffending philanthropy.

Our readers, we presume, will be satisfied with the account of the poet’s genealogy contained in the sentences we have already extracted; the remainder of his history shall be given as



much as possible in his own words. The constitutional shyness and diffidence of Cowper appeared in his earliest childhood, and was not subdued in any degree by the bustle and contention of a Westminster education, where, though he acquired a considerable portion of classical learning, he has himself declared, that 'he was never able to raise his eye above the shoe-buckles of the elder boys, who tyrannized over him.' From this seminary, he seems to have passed, without any academical preparation, into the Society of the Inner Temple, where he continued to reside to the age of thirty-three. Neither his biographer nor his letters give any satisfactory account of the way in which this large, and most important part of his life was spent. Although Lord Thurlow was one of his most intimate associates, it is certain that he never made any proficiency in the study of the law; and the few slight pieces of composition, in which he appears to have been engaged in this interval, are but a scanty produce for fifteen years of literary leisure. That a part of these years was very idly spent, indeed, appears from his own account of them. In a letter to his cousin, in 1786, he says,

'I did actually live three years with Mr Chapman, a solicitor, that is to say, I slept three years in his house; but I lived, that is to say, I spent my days in Southampton Row, as you very well remember. There was I, and the future Lord Chancellor, constantly employed, from morning to night, in giggling, and making giggle, instead of studying the law.' Vol. i. p. 178.

And, in a more serious letter to Mr Rose, he makes the following just observations.

'The colour of our whole life is generally such as the three or four first years, in which we are our own masters, make it. Then it is that we may be said to shape our own destiny, and to treasure up for ourselves a series of future successes or disappointments. Had I employed my time as wisely as you, in a situation very similar to yours, I had never been a poet perhaps, but I might by this time have acquired a character of more importance in society; and a situation in which my friends would have been better pleased to see me. But three years mis-spent in an attorney's office, were almost of course followed by several more equally mis-spent in the Temple; and the consequence has been, as the Italian epitaph says, "*Sto qui*."—The only use I can make of myself now, at least the best, is to serve *in terrorem* to others, when occasion may happen to offer, that they may escape (so far as my admonitions can have any weight with them) my folly and my fate.' Vol. i. p. 82.

Neither the idleness of this period, however, nor the gaiety in which it appears to have been wasted, had corrected that radical

dical defect in his constitution, by which he was disabled from making any public display of his acquisitions ; and it was the excess of this diffidence, if we rightly understand his biographer, that was the immediate cause of the unfortunate derangement that overclouded the remainder of his life. In his thirty-first year, his friends procured for him the office of reading-clerk to the House of Lords ; but the idea of reading in public, was the source of such torture and apprehension to him, that he very soon resigned that place, and had interest enough to exchange it for that of clerk of the journals, which was supposed to require no attendance whatsoever. An unlucky dispute in Parliament, however, made it necessary for him to appear in his place ; and the consequences of this requisition are stated by Mr Hayley in the following words :

‘ His terrors on this occasion arose to such an astonishing height, that they utterly overwhelmed his reason : for although he had endeavoured to prepare himself for his public duty, by attending closely at the office, for several months, to examine the Parliamentary journals, his application was rendered useless by that excess of diffidence, which made him conceive, that whatever knowledge he might previously acquire, it would all forsake him at the bar of the House. This distressing apprehension increased to such a degree, as the time for his appearance approached, that when the day so anxiously dreaded arrived, he was unable to make the experiment. The very friends, who called on him for the purpose of attending him to the House of Lords, acquiesced in the cruel necessity of his relinquishing the prospect of a station so severely formidable to a frame of such singular sensibility.

‘ The conflict between the wishes of just affectionate ambition, and the terrors of diffidence, so entirely overwhelmed his health and faculties, that after two learned and benevolent divines (Mr John Cowper, his brother, and the celebrated Mr Martin Madan, his first cousin) had vainly endeavoured to establish a lasting tranquillity in his mind, by friendly and religious conversation, it was found necessary to remove him to St Alban's, where he resided a considerable time, under the care of that eminent physician Dr Cotton, a scholar and a poet, who added to many accomplishments a peculiar sweetness of manners, in very advanced life, when I had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him.’ Vol. i. p. 25-6.

In this melancholy state he continued for upwards of a year, when his mind began slowly to emerge from the depression under which it had laboured, and to seek for consolation in the study of the Scriptures, and other religious occupations. In the city of Huntingdon, to which he had been removed in his illness, he now formed an acquaintance with the family of the Reverend Mr Unwin, with whose widow the greater part of his

after life was passed. The series of letters, which Mr Hayley has introduced in this place, are altogether of a devotional cast, and bear evident symptoms of continuing depression and anxiety. He talks a great deal of his *conversion*, of the levity and worldliness of his former life, and of the *grace* which had at last been vouchsafed to him ; and seems so entirely and constantly absorbed in those awful meditations, as to consider not only the occupations of his earlier days, but all temporal business or amusement, as utterly unworthy of his attention. We do not think it necessary to make any extract from this part of the publication ; and perhaps Mr Hayley might have spared some of the Methodistical raptures and dissertations that are contained in these letters, without any injury either to the memory of his friend, or the reputation of his own performance. The life of Cowper at this time was more like that of a penitentiary friar, than of a Protestant layman. He describes it himself in the following manner :

‘ We breakfast commonly between eight and nine ; till eleven, we read either the Scripture, or the sermons of some faithful preacher of these holy mysteries : at eleven we attend divine service, which is performed here twice every day ; and from twelve to three we separate, and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval, I either read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but, if the weather permits, adjourn to the garden, where, with Mrs Unwin and her son, I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors, or sing some hymns of Martin’s collection, and, by the help of Mrs Unwin’s harpsichord, make up a tolerable concert, in which our hearts, I hope, are the best and most musical performers. After tea, we sally forth to walk in good earnest. Mrs Unwin is a good walker, and we have generally travelled about four miles before we see home again. When the days are short, we make this excursion in the former part of the day, between church-time and dinner. At night, we read and converse as before till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns or a sermon ; and last of all, the family are called to prayers.’ Vol. i. p. 55.

After the death of Mr Unwin, he retired with his widow to the village of Olney in 1768, where he continued in the same pious and sequestered habits of life to which he had devoted himself ever since his recovery, till the year 1772, when a second and more protracted visitation of the same tremendous malady obscured his faculties for a melancholy period of eight years, during which he was attended by Mrs Unwin with a constancy and tenderness of affection, which it was the great business of his

his life to repay. In 1780, he began gradually to recover; and in a letter of that year to his cousin, describes himself in this manner :

‘ You see me sixteen years older, at the least, than when I saw you last; but the effects of time seem to have taken place rather on the outside of my head, than within it. What was brown is become grey, but what was foolish remains foolish still. Green fruit must rot before it ripens, if the season is such as to afford it nothing but cold winds and dark clouds, that interrupt every ray of sunshine. My days steal away silently, and march on (as poor mad King Lear would have made his soldiers march) as if they were shod with felt; not so silently but that I hear them; yet were it not that I am always listening to their flight, having no infirmity that I had not when I was much younger, I should deceive myself with an imagination that I am still young.’ Vol. i. p. 96-7.

One of the first applications of his returning powers of attention, was to the taming and education of the three young hares, which he has since celebrated in his poetry: and, very soon after, the solicitations of his affectionate companion first induced him to prepare some moral pieces for publication, in the hope of giving a salutary employment to his mind. At the age of fifty, therefore, and at a distance from all the excitements that emulation and ambition usually hold out to a poet, Cowper began to write for the public, with the view of diverting his own melancholy, and doing service to the cause of morality. Whatever effect his publications had on the world, the composition of them certainly had a most beneficial one on himself. In a letter to his cousin he says,

‘ Dejection of spirits, which I suppose may have prevented many a man from becoming an author, made me one. I find constant employment necessary, and therefore take care to be constantly employed.— Manual occupations do not engage the mind sufficiently, as I know by experience, having tried many. But composition especially, of verse, absorbs it wholly. I write, therefore, generally three hours in a morning, and in an evening I transcribe. I read also, but less than I write.’ Vol. i. p. 147.

In a preceding letter, he speaks of his motives for publication in this manner;

‘ It is a bold undertaking at this time of day, when so many writers of the greatest abilities have gone before, who seem to have anticipated every valuable subject, as well as all the graces of poetical embellishment, to step forth into the world in the character of a bard, especially when it is considered, that luxury, idleness, and vice, have debauched the public taste, and that nothing hardly is welcome but  
childish

childish fiction, or what has at least a tendency to excite a laugh. I thought, however, that I had stumbled upon some subjects that had never before been poetically treated, and upon some others, to which I imagined it would not be difficult to give an air of novelty by the manner of treating them. My sole drift is to be useful; a point which, however, I knew I should in vain aim at, unless I could be likewise entertaining. I have therefore fixed these two strings upon my bow, and, by the help of both, have done my best to send my arrow to the mark. My readers will hardly have begun to laugh, before they will be called upon to correct that levity, and peruse me with a more serious air.' Vol. i. p. 107-8.

There is another passage in which he talks of his performance in so light and easy a manner, and assumes so much of the pleasing, though antiquated language of Pope and Addison, that we cannot avoid extracting it.

' My labours are principally the production of the last winter; all indeed, except a few of the minor pieces. When I can find no other occupation, I think; and when I think, I am very apt to do it in rhyme. Hence it comes to pass, that the season of the year which generally pinches off the flowers of poetry, unfolds mine, such as they are, and crowns me with a winter garland. In this respect, therefore, I and my contemporary bards are by no means upon a par. They write when the delightful influences of fine weather, fine prospects, and a brisk motion of the animal spirits, make poetry almost the language of nature; and I, when icicles depend from all the leaves of the Parnassian laurel, and when a reasonable man would as little expect to succeed in verse, as to hear a blackbird whistle. This must be my apology to you for whatever want of fire and animation you may observe in what you will shortly have the perusal of. As to the public, if they like me not, there is no remedy.' Vol. i. p. 105-6.

The success of his first volume, which appeared in the end of the year 1781, was by no means such as to encourage him to proceed to a second; and, indeed, it seems now to be admitted by every body but Mr Hayley, that it was not well calculated for becoming popular. Too serious for the general reader, it had too much satire, wit, and criticism, to be a favourite with the devout and enthusiastic; the principal poems were also too long and desultory, and the versification throughout was more harsh and negligent, than the public had yet been accustomed to.—The book therefore was very little read, till the increasing fame of the author brought all his works into notice; and then, indeed, it was discovered, that it contained many traits of strong and original genius, and a richness of idiomatical phraseology, that has been but seldom equalled in our language.

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In the end of this year, Cowper formed an accidental acquaintance with the widow of Sir Thomas Austen, which, in spite of his insuperable shyness, ripened gradually into a mutual and cordial friendship, and was the immediate source of some of his happiest hours, and most celebrated productions.—The facetious history of ‘John Gilpin’ arose from a suggestion of that lady, in circumstances, and in a way that marks the perilous and moody state of Cowper’s understanding more strikingly than any general description.

‘It happened one afternoon, in those years, when his accomplished friend Lady Austen made a part of his little evening circle, that she observed him sinking into increasing dejection; it was her custom, on these occasions, to try all the resources of her sprightly powers for his immediate relief. She told him the story of John Gilpin (which had been treasured in her memory from her childhood) to dissipate the gloom of the passing hour. Its effect on the fancy of Cowper had the air of enchantment. He informed her the next morning, that convulsions of laughter, brought on by his recollection of her story, had kept him waking during the greatest part of the night, and that he had turned it into a ballad.—So arose the pleasant poem of John Gilpin.’ Vol. i. p. 126, 129.

In the course of the year 1783, however, Lady Austen was fortunate enough to direct the poet to a work of much greater importance, and to engage him, from a very accidental circumstance, in the composition of ‘The Task,’ by far the best and the most popular of all his performances. The anecdote, which is such as the introduction of that poem has probably suggested to most readers, is given in this manner by Mr Hayley.

‘This lady happened, as an admirer of Milton, to be partial to blank verse, and often solicited her poetical friend to try his powers in that species of composition. After repeated solicitation, he promised her, if she would furnish the subject, to comply with her request. “O!” she replied, “you can never be in want of a subject:—you can write upon any—write upon this sofa!” The poet obeyed her command; and, from the lively repartee of familiar conversation, arose a poem of many thousand verses, unexampled, perhaps, both in its origin and its excellence.’ Vol. i. p. 135.

This extraordinary production was finished in less than a year, and became extremely popular from the very first month of its publication. The charm of reputation, however, could not draw Cowper from his seclusion; and his solitude became still more dreary about this period, by the cessation of his intercourse with Lady Austen, with whom certain little jealousies on the part of Mrs Unwin (which the biographer might as well have passed

over in silence) obliged him to renounce any farther connection. Besides the *Task* and John Gilpin, he appears to have composed several smaller poems for this lady, which are published, for the first time, in the work now before us. We were particularly struck with a ballad on the unfortunate loss of the *Royal George*, of which the following stanzas may serve as a specimen.

- ‘Toll for the brave !  
 Brave Kempenfelt is gone ;  
 His last sea fight is fought ;  
 His work of glory done.
- ‘ It was not in the battle ;  
 No tempest gave the shock :  
 She sprang no fatal leak ;  
 She ran upon no rock.
- ‘ His sword was in its sheath ;  
 His fingers held the pen,  
 When Kempenfelt went down,  
 With twice four hundred men.’ Vol. i. p. 127.

The same year that saw the conclusion of ‘*The Task*,’ found Cowper engaged in the translation of Homer. This laborious undertaking is said, by Mr Hayley, to have been first suggested to him by Lady Austen also ; though there is nothing in the correspondence he has published, that seems to countenance that idea. The work was pretty far advanced before he appears to have confided the secret of it to any one. In a letter to Mr Hill, he explains his design in this manner :

‘ Knowing it to have been universally the opinion of the literati, ever since they have allowed themselves to consider the matter coolly, that a translation, properly so called, of Homer, is, notwithstanding what Pope has done, a desideratum in the English language, it struck me, that an attempt to supply the deficiency would be an honourable one ; and having made myself, in former years, somewhat critically a master of the original, I was, by this double translation, induced to make the attempt myself. I am now translating into blank verse the last book of the *Iliad*, and mean to publish by subscription.’ Vol. i. p. 154.

In another letter to his cousin, he explains his idea of the task which he was now engaged in this manner :

‘ I wish that all English readers had your unsophisticated, or rather unadulterated taste, and could relish simplicity like you. But I am well aware, that in this respect, I am under a disadvantage, and that many, especially many ladies, missing many turns and prettinesses of expression that they have admired in Pope, will account my translation in those particulars

particulars defective. But I comfort myself with the thought, that in reality it is no defect; on the contrary, that the want of all such embellishments as do not belong to the original, will be one of its principal merits with persons indeed capable of relishing Homer. He is the best poet that ever lived, for many reasons, but for none more than for that majestic plainness that distinguishes him from all others. As an accomplished person moves gracefully without thinking of it, in like manner the dignity of Homer seems to have cost him no labour. It was natural to him to say great things, and to say them well; and little ornaments were beneath his notice.'

Some observations that were made by Dr Maty and others, upon a specimen of his translation, about this time, seem to have drawn from him the following curious and unaffected delineation of his own thoughts and feelings.

'The frown of a critic freezes my poetical powers, and discourages me to a degree that makes me ashamed of my own weakness. Yet I presently recover my confidence again. The half of what you so kindly say in your last, would at any time restore my spirits; and, being said by you, is infallible. I am not ashamed to confess, that having commenced an author, I am most abundantly desirous to succeed as such, *I have (what perhaps you little suspect me of) in my nature, an infinite share of ambition.* But with it, I have at the same time, as you well know, an equal share of diffidence. To this combination of opposite qualities it has been owing, that, till lately, I stole through life without undertaking any thing, yet always wishing to distinguish myself. At last I ventured, ventured, too, in the only path that, at so late a period, was yet open to me; and I am determined, if God hath not determined otherwise, to work my way through the obscurity that hath been so long my portion, into notice. Every thing, therefore, that seems to threaten this, my favourite purpose, with disappointment, affects me nearly. I suppose that all ambitious minds are in the same predicament. He who seeks distinction must be sensible of disapprobation, exactly in the same proportion as he desires applause.' Vol. i. p. 190.

As he advanced in his work, however, he seems to have become better pleased with the execution of it; and, in the year 1790, addresses to his cousin the following candid and interesting observations:

'To say the truth, I have now no fears about the success of my translation, though in time past I have had many. I knew there was a style somewhere, could I but find it, in which Homer ought to be rendered, and which alone would suit him. Long time I blundered about it, ere I could attain to any decided judgment on the matter. At first I was betrayed, by a desire of accommodating my language to the simplicity of his, into much of the quaintness that belonged to our writers of the fifteenth century. In the course  
of



of many revisals I have delivered myself from this evil, I believe, entirely; but I have done it slowly, and as a man separates himself from his mistress, when he is going to marry. I had so strong a predilection in favour of this style, at first, that I was crazed to find that others were not as much enamoured with it as myself. At every passage of that sort, which I obliterated, I groaned bitterly, and said to myself, I am spoiling my work to please those who have no taste for the simple graces of antiquity. But in measure, as I adopted a more modern phraseology, I became a convert to their opinion; and in the last revisal, which I am now making, am not sensible of having spared a single expression of the obsolete kind. I see my work so much improved by this alteration, that I am filled with wonder at my own backwardness to assent to the necessity of it; and the more, when I consider, that Milton, with whose manner I account myself intimately acquainted, is never quaint, never twangs through the nose, but is every where grand and elegant, without resorting to musty antiquity for his beauties. On the contrary, he took a long stride forward, left the language of his own day far behind him, and anticipated the expressions of a century yet to come.\* Vol. i. p. 360, 361.

The translation was finished in the year 1791, and published by subscription immediately after. Several applications were made to the University of Oxford for the honour of their subscription, but without success. Their answer was, 'That they subscribed to nothing.'—'It seems not a little extraordinary,' says the offended poet on this occasion, 'that persons so nobly patronized themselves on the score of literature, should resolve to give no encouragement to it in return.' We think so too.

The period that elapsed from the publication of his first volume in 1781, to that of his *Homer* in 1791, seems to have been by far the happiest and most brilliant part of Cowper's existence. It was not only animated by the vigorous and successful exertions of genius in which he was engaged, but enlivened, in a very pleasing manner, by the correspondence and society of his cousin, Lady Hesketh, who renewed, about this time, an intimacy that seems to have endeared the earlier days of their childhood. In his letters to this lady, we have found the most interesting traits of his simple and affectionate character, combined with an innocent playfulness, and vivacity, that becomes the more striking, when it is contrasted with the gloom and horror to which it succeeded, and by which it was unfortunately replaced. Our limits will not allow us to make many extracts from this part of the publication. We insert the following letter, in answer to one from Lady Hesketh, promising to pay him a visit during the summer.

‘ I shall see you again—I shall hear your voice, we shall take walks together; I will shew you my prospects, the hovel, the alcove, the Ouse, and its banks, every thing that I have described. I anticipate the pleasure of those days not very far distant, and feel a part of it at this moment. Talk not of an inn; mention it not for your life. We have never had so many visitors, but we could easily accommodate them all, though we have received Unwin, and his wife, and his sister, and his son, all at once. My dear, I will not let you come till the end of May, or beginning of June, because before that time my green-house will not be ready to receive us; and it is the only pleasant room belonging to us. When the plants go out, we go in. I line it with mats, and spread the floor with mats, and there you shall sit with a bed of mignonette at your side, and a hedge of honeysuckles, roses, and jessamine; and I will make you a bouquet of myrtle every day. Sooner than the time I mention, the country will not be in complete beauty. And I will tell you what you shall find at your first entrance. *Imprimis*, as soon as you have entered the vestibule, if you cast a look on either side of you, you shall see on the right hand a box of my making. It is the box in which have been lodged all my hares, and in which lodges puss at present. But he, poor fellow, is worn out with age, and promises to die before you can see him. On the right hand stands a cupboard, the work of the same author. It was once a dove-cage, but I transformed it. Opposite to you stands a table, which I also made; but a merciless servant having scrubbed it until it became paralytic, it serves no purpose now but of ornament; and all my clean shoes stand under it. On the left hand, at the farther end of this superb vestibule, you will find the door of the parlour into which I shall conduct you, and where I will introduce you to Mrs Unwin (unless we should meet her before), and where we will be as happy as the day is long. Order yourself, my cousin, to the Swan at Newport, and there you shall find me ready to conduct you to Olney.

‘ My dear, I have told Homer what you say about casks and urns; and have asked him whether he is sure that it is a cask in which Jupiter keeps his wine. He swears that it is a cask, and that it will never be any thing better than a cask to eternity. So if the god is content with it, we must even wonder at his taste, and be so too.’ Vol. i. p. 161—163.

The following is very much in the same style—

‘ This house accordingly, since it has been occupied by us, and our *Meubles*, is as much superior to what it was when you saw it, as you can imagine. The parlour is even elegant. When I say that the parlour is elegant, I do not mean to insinuate that the study is not so. It is neat, warm, and silent, and a much better study than I deserve, if I do not produce in it an incomparable translation of Homer. I think every day of those lines of Milton, and congratulate myself on having

having obtained, before I am quite superannuated, what he seems not to have hoped for sooner.

“ And may at length my weary age,  
Find out the peaceful hermitage.”

For if it is not a hermitage, at least it is a much better thing ; and you must always understand, my dear, that when poets talk of cottages, hermitages, and such like things, they mean a house with six sashes in front, two comfortable parlours, a smart stair-case, and three bed-chambers of convenient dimensions ; in short, exactly such a house as this.\* Vol. i. p. 227, 228.

In another letter, in a graver humour, he says—

‘ I am almost the only person at Weston, known to you, who have enjoyed tolerable health this winter. In your next letter give us some account of your own state of health, for I have had my anxieties about you. The winter has been mild ; but our winters are in general such, that when a friend leaves us in the beginning of that season, I always feel in my heart a *perhaps*, importing that we have possibly met for the last time, and that the Robins may whistle on the grave of one of us before the return of Summer.

‘ Many thanks for the cuckow, which arrived perfectly safe, and goes well, to the amusement and amazement of all who hear it. Hannah lies awake to hear it ; and I am not sure that we have not others in the house that admire his music as much as she.’ Vol. i. p. 331.

In the following passage, we have all the calmness of a sequestered and good-natured man—

‘ The French, who, like all lively folks, are extreme in every thing, are such in their zeal for freedom ; and, if it were possible to make so noble a cause ridiculous, their manner of promoting it could not fail to do so. Princes and peers reduced to plain gentlemanship, and gentles reduced to a level with their own lackeys, are excesses of which they will repent hereafter. Difference of rank and subordination, are, I believe, of God’s appointment, and consequently essential to the well-being of society : but what we mean by fanaticism in religion, is exactly that which animates their politics ; and, unless time should sober them, they will after all, be an unhappy people. Perhaps it deserves not much to be wondered at, that at their first escape from tyrannic shackles, they should act extravagantly, and treat their kings, as they have sometimes treated their idols. To these, however, they are reconciled in due time again ; but their respect for monarchy is at an end. They want nothing now but a little English sobriety, and that they want extremely. I heartily wish them some wit in their anger ; for it were great pity that so many millions should be miserable for want of it.’ Vol. i. p. 379.

Homer was scarcely finished, when a proposal was made to the indefatigable translator, to engage in a magnificent edition of Milton, for which he was to furnish a version of his Latin and Italian poetry, and a critical commentary upon his whole works. Mr Hayley had, at this time, undertaken to write a life of Milton; and some groundless reports, as to an intended rivalry between him and Cowper, led to a friendly explanation, and to a very cordial and affectionate intimacy. In the year 1792, Mr Hayley paid a visit to his newly acquired friend at Weston; and happened to be providentially present with him, when the agony which he experienced from the sight of a paralytic attack upon Mrs Unwin, had very nearly affected his understanding. The anxious attention of his friend, and the gradual recovery of the unfortunate patient, prevented any very calamitous effect from this unhappy occurrence; but his spirits appear never to have recovered the shock; and the solicitude and apprehension that he constantly felt for his long tried and affectionate companion, suspended his literary exertions, aggravated the depression to which he had always been occasionally liable, and rendered the remainder of his life a very precarious struggle against that overwhelming malady by which it was at last obscured. In the end of summer, he returned Mr Hayley's visit at Earham; but came back again to Weston, with spirits as much depressed, and forebodings as gloomy as ever. His constant and tender attention to Mrs Unwin, was one cause of his neglect of every thing else. 'I cannot sit,' he says in one of his letters, 'with my pen in my hand, and my books before me, while she is, in effect, in solitude, silent, and looking in the fire.' A still more powerful cause was, the constant and oppressive dejection of spirits that now began again to overwhelm him. 'It is in vain,' he says, 'that I have made several attempts to write since I came from Sussex. Unless more comfortable days arrive, than I have now the confidence to look for, there is an end of all writing with me. I have no spirits. When Rose came, I was obliged to prepare for his coming, by a nightly dose of laudanum.'

In the course of the year 1793, he seems to have done little but revise his translation of Homer, of which he meditated an improved edition. Mr Hayley came to see him a second time at Weston, in the month of November; and gives this affecting and prophetic account of his situation—

'He possessed completely at this period all the admirable faculties of his mind, and all the native tenderness of his heart; but there was something indescribable in his appearance, which led me to apprehend, that, without some signal event in his favour, to re-animate his spirits,

spirits, they would gradually sink into hopeless dejection. The state of his aged infirm companion, afforded additional ground for increasing solicitude. Her cheerful and beneficent spirit could hardly resist her own accumulated maladies, so far as to preserve ability sufficient to watch over the tender health of him whom she had watched and guarded so long. Imbecility of body and mind must gradually render this tender and heroic woman unfit for the charge which she had so laudably sustained. The signs of such imbecility were beginning to be painfully visible; nor can nature present a spectacle more truly pitiable, than imbecility in such a shape, eagerly grasping for dominion, which it knows not either how to retain, or how to relinquish.' Vol. ii. p. 161, 162.

From a part of these evils, however, the poet was relieved, by the generous compassion of Lady Hesketh, who nobly took upon herself the task of superintending this melancholy household. We will not withhold from our readers the encomium she has earned from the biographer.

'Those only, who have lived with the superannuated and the melancholy, can properly appreciate the value of such magnanimous friendship, or perfectly apprehend, what personal sufferings it must cost the mortal who exerts it, if that mortal has received from nature a frame of compassionate sensibility. The lady, to whom I allude, has felt but too severely, in her own health, the heavy tax that mortality is forced to pay for a resolute perseverance in such painful duty.' Vol. ii. p. 177.

\* It was impossible, however, for any care or attention to arrest the progress of that dreadful depression, by which the faculties of this excellent man were destined to be extinguished. In the beginning of the year 1794, he became utterly incapable of any sort of exertion, and ceased to receive any pleasure from the company or conversation of his friends. Neither a visit from Mr Hayley, nor his Majesty's order for a pension of £300 a-year, was able to rouse him from that languid and melancholy state into which he had gradually been sinking; and, at length, it was thought necessary to remove him from the village of Weston to Tuddenham in Norfolk, where he could be under the immediate superintendence of his kinsman, the Reverend Mr Johnson. After a long cessation of all correspondence, he addressed the following very moving lines to the clergyman of the favourite village, to which he was no more to return:

"I will forget, for a moment, that to whomsoever I may address myself, a letter from me can no otherwise be welcome, than as a curiosity. To you, Sir, I address this, urged by extreme penury of employment, and the desire I feel to learn something of what is doing, and has been done, at Weston (my beloved Weston!) since I left it.

No

No situation, at least when the weather is clear and bright, can be pleasanter than what we have here ; which you will easily credit, when I add, that it imparts something a little resembling pleasure even to me—Gratify me with news of Weston!—If Mr Gregson and the Courtneys are there, mention me to them in such terms as you see good. Tell me if my poor birds are living ! I never see the herbs I used to give them, without a recollection of them, and sometimes am ready to gather them, forgetting that I am not at home.—Pardon this intrusion."

In summer 1796, there were some faint glimmerings of returning vigour, and he again applied himself, for some time, to the revisal of his translation of Homer. In December, Mrs Unwin died ; and such was the severe depression under which her companion then laboured, that he seems to have suffered but little on the occasion. He never afterwards mentioned her name. At intervals, in the summer, he continued to work at the revisal of his Homer, which he at length finished in 1799 ; and afterwards translated some of Gay's Fables into Latin verse, and made English translations of several Greek and Latin Epigrams. This languid exercise of his once-vigorous powers was continued till the month of January 1800, when symptoms of dropsy became visible in his person, and soon assumed a very formidable appearance. After a very rapid but gradual decline, which did not seem to affect the general state of his spirits, he expired without struggle or agitation, on the 25th of April 1800. \*

Of the volumes now before us, we have little more to say. The biography of Cowper naturally terminates with this account of his death ; and the posthumous works that are now given to the public require very few observations. They consist chiefly of short and occasional poems, that do not seem to have been very carefully finished, and will not add much to the reputation of their author. The longest is a sort of ode upon Friendship, in which the language seems to be studiously plain and familiar, and to which Mr Hayley certainly has not given the highest poetical praise, by saying that it ' contains the essence of every thing that has been said on the subject, by the best writers of different countries.' Some of the occasional songs and sonnets are good ; and the translations from the *anthologia*, which were the employment of his last melancholy days, have a remarkable closeness and facility of expression. There are two or three little poetical pieces, written by him in the careless days of his youth, while he resided in the Temple, that are, upon the whole, extremely poor and unpromising. It is almost inconceivable, that the author of *The Task* should ever have been guilty of such verses as the following :

' 'Tis

'Tis not with either of these views,  
 That I presume to address the Muse ;  
 But to divert a fierce banditti,  
 (Sworn foes to every thing that's witty !)  
 That, with a black, infernal train,  
 Make cruel inroads in my brain,  
 And daily threaten to drive thence  
 My little garrison of sense :  
 The fierce banditti which I mean,  
 Are gloomy thoughts, led on by spleen.  
 Then there's another reason yet,  
 Which is, that I may fairly quit  
 The debt which justly became due  
 The moment when I heard from you :  
 And you might grumble, crony mine,  
 If paid in any other coin.'

Vol. i. p. 15.

It is remarkable, however, that his prose was at this time uncommonly easy and elegant. Mr Hayley has preserved three numbers of the *Connoisseur*, which were written by him in 1756, and which exhibit a great deal of that point and politeness, which has been aimed at by all our periodical essayists since the days of Addison.

The personal character of Cowper is easily estimated, from the writings he has left, and the anecdotes contained in this publication. He seems to have been chiefly remarkable for a certain feminine gentleness, and delicacy of character, that shrunk back from all that was boisterous, presumptuous, or rude. His secluded life, and awful impressions of religion, concurred in fixing upon his manners, something of a saintly purity and decorum, and in cherishing that pensive and contemplative turn of mind, by which he was so much distinguished. His temper appears to have been yielding and benevolent ; and though sufficiently steady and confident in the opinions he had adopted, he was very little inclined, in general, to force them upon the conviction of others. The warmth of his religious zeal made an occasional exception : but the habitual temper of his mind was toleration and indulgence ; and it would be difficult, perhaps, to name a satirical and popular author so entirely free from jealousy, and fastidiousness, or so much disposed to show the most liberal and impartial favour to the merit of others in literature, in politics, and in the virtues and accomplishments of social life. No angry or uneasy passions, indeed, seem at any time to have found a place in his bosom ; and, being incapable of malevolence himself, he probably passed through life, without having once excited that feeling in the breast of another.

As the whole of Cowper's works are now before the public, and as death has finally closed the account of his defects and excellencies,

cellencies, the public voice may soon be expected to proclaim the balance, and to pronounce that impartial and irrevocable sentence which is to assign him his just rank and station in the poetical commonwealth, and to ascertain the value and extent of his future reputation. As the success of his works has, in a great measure, anticipated this sentence, it is the less presumptuous in us to offer our opinion of them.

The great merit of this writer appears to us to consist in the boldness and originality of his composition, and in the fortunate audacity with which he has carried the dominion of poetry into regions that had been considered as inaccessible to her ambition. The gradual refinement of taste had, for nearly a century, been weakening the figure of original genius. Our poets had become timid and fastidious, and circumscribed themselves both in the choice and the management of their subjects, by the observance of a limited number of models, who were thought to have exhausted all the legitimate resources of the art. Cowper was one of the first who crossed this enchanted circle, who regained the natural liberty of invention, and walked abroad in the open field of observation as freely as those by whom it was originally trodden; he passed from the imitation of poets, to the imitation of nature, and ventured boldly upon the representation of objects that had not been sanctified by the description of any of his predecessors. In the ordinary occupations and duties of domestic life, and the consequences of modern manners, in the common scenery of a rustic situation, and the obvious contemplation of our public institutions, he has found a multitude of subjects for ridicule and reflection, for pathetic and picturesque description, for moral declamation, and devotional rapture, that would have been looked upon with disdain, or with despair, by most of our poetical adventurers. He took as wide a range in language, too, as in matter; and, shaking off the tawdry incumbrance of that poetical diction which had nearly reduced the art to the skilful collocation of a set of appropriated phrases, he made no scruple to set down in verse every expression that would have been admitted in prose, and to take advantage of all the varieties with which our language could supply him.

But while, by the use of this double licence, he extended the sphere of poetical composition, and communicated a singular character of freedom, force, and originality, to his own performances, it must not be dissembled, that the presumption which belongs to most innovators, has betrayed him into many defects. In disdaining to follow the footsteps of others, he has frequently mistaken the way, and has been exasperated, by their blunders, to rush into an opposite extreme. In his contempt for their scrupulous



scrupulous selection of topics, he has introduced some that are unquestionably low and uninteresting; and in his zeal to strip off the finel and embroidery of their language, he has torn it (like Jack's coat in the Tale of a Tub) into terrible rents and beggarly tatters. He is a great master of English, and evidently values himself upon his skill and facility in the application of its rich and diversified idioms: but he has indulged himself in this exercise a little too fondly, and has degraded some grave and animated passages by the unlucky introduction of expressions unquestionably too colloquial and familiar. His impatience of controul, and his desire to have a great scope and variety in his compositions, have led him not only to disregard all order and method so entirely in their construction, as to have made each of his larger poems professedly a complete miscellany, but also to introduce into them a number of subjects that prove not to be very susceptible of poetical discussion. There are specimens of argument, and dialogue, and declamation, in his works, that partake very little of the poetical character, and make rather an awkward appearance in a metrical production, though they might have had a lively and brilliant effect in an essay or a sermon. The structure of his sentences, in like manner, has frequently much more of the copiousness and looseness of oratory, than the brilliant compactness of poetry; and he heaps up phrases and circumstances upon each other, with a profusion that is frequently dazzling, but which reminds us as often of the exuberance of a practised speaker, as of the holy inspiration of a poet.

Mr Hayley has pronounced a warm eulogium on the satirical talents of his friend: but it does not appear to us, either that this was the style in which he was qualified to excel, or that he has made a judicious selection of subjects upon which to exercise it. There is something too keen and vehement in his invective, and an excess of austerity in his doctrine, that is not atoned for by the truth or the beauty of his descriptions. Foppery and affectation are not such hateful and gigantic vices, as to deserve all the anathemas that are bestowed upon them; nor can we believe that soldiership, or Sunday music, have produced all the terrible effects which he ascribes to them: There is something very undignified, too, to say no worse of them, in the protracted parodies and mock-heroic passages with which he seeks to enliven some of his gravest productions. *The Sofa* (for, instance, in the *Task*) is but a feeble imitation of 'The Splendid Shilling'; the *Monitor* is a copy of something still lower; and the tedious directions for raising cucumbers, which begin with calling a botched 'a stercorarius heap,' seem to have been intended as a counterpart to the tragedy of *Tom Thumb*. All his serious pieces

pieces contain some fine devotional passages : but they are not without a taint of that enthusiastic intolerance which religious zeal seems so often to produce. In a few places, there are symptoms of superstition, also, that do not produce even a good poetical effect. The story of ' Young Misagathus,' whose horse pitched him over its head into the sea, as a punishment for his blasphemy, is fit only for the *Missionary* or the *Wonderful Magazine*.

It is impossible to say any thing of the defects of Cowper's writings, without taking notice of the occasional harshness and inelegance of his versification. From his correspondence, however, it appears that this was not with him the effect of negligence merely, but that he really imagined that a rough and incorrect line now and then had a very agreeable effect in a composition of any length. This prejudice, we believe, is as old as Cowley among English writers ; but we do not know that it has of late received the sanction of any one poet of eminence. In truth, it does not appear to us to be at all capable of defence. The very essence of versification is uniformity ; and while any thing like versification is preserved, it is evident that uniformity continues to be aimed at. What pleasure is to be derived from an occasional failure in this aim, we cannot exactly understand. It must afford the same gratification, we should imagine, to have one of the buttons on a coat a little larger than the rest, or one or two of the pillars in a colonnade a little out of the perpendicular. If variety is wanted, let it be variety of excellence, and not a relief of imperfection : Let the writer alter the measure of his piece, if he thinks its uniformity disagreeable ; or let him interchange it every now and then, if he thinks proper, with passages of plain and professed prose ; but do not let him torture an intractable scrap of prose into the appearance of verse, nor slip in an illegitimate line or two among the genuine currency of his poem. It can afford no pleasure, we should imagine, to a reviewing general to see a miserable rickety and distorted creature staggering along in uniform, amidst the tall and stately battalions that march past in splendid regularity before him.

There is another view of this matter that has a little more reason in it. A smooth and harmonious verse is not so easily written, as a harsh and clumsy one ; and, in order to make it smooth and elegant, the strength and force of the expression must often be sacrificed. This seems to have been Cowper's view of the subject, at least in one passage. ' Give me,' says he in a letter to his publisher, ' a manly rough line, with a deal of meaning in it, rather than a whole poem full of musical periods, that have nothing but their smoothness to recommend them.' It is obvious, however, that this is not a defence of harsh versification,

but a confession of inability to write smoothly. Why should not harmony and meaning go together? It is difficult, to be sure; and so it is, to make meaning and verse of any kind go together; but it is the business of a poet to overcome these difficulties, and if he do not overcome them both, he is plainly deficient in an accomplishment that others have attained. To those who find it impossible to pay due attention both to the sound and the sense, we would not only address the preceding exhortation of Cowper, but should have no scruple to exclaim, 'Give us a sentence of plain prose, full of spirit and meaning, rather than a poem of any kind that has nothing but its versification to recommend it.'

Though it be impossible, therefore, to read the productions of Cowper, without being delighted with his force, his brilliancy, and his variety; and although the enchantment of his moral enthusiasm frequently carries us insensibly through all the mazes of his digressions, it is equally true, that we can scarcely read a single page with attention, without being offended at some coarseness or lowness of expression. or disappointed by some 'most lame and impotent conclusion.' The dignity of his rhetorical periods is often violated by the intrusion of some vulgar and colloquial idiom, and the full and transparent stream of his diction is broken upon some obstreperous verse, or lost in the dull stagnation of a piece of absolute prose. The effect of his ridicule is sometimes impaired by the acrimony with which it is attended; and the exquisite beauty of his moral painting and religious views is injured in no small degree by the darkness of the shades which his enthusiasm and austerity have occasionally thrown upon the canvas. With all these defects, however, Cowper will probably very long retain his popularity with the readers of English poetry. The great variety and truth of his descriptions; the minute and correct painting of those home-scenes, and private feelings with which every one is internally familiar; the sterling weight and sense of most of his observations, and, above all, the great appearance of facility with which every thing is executed, and the happy use he has so often made of the most common and ordinary language; all concur to stamp upon his poems the character of original genius, and remind us of the merits that have secured immortality to Shakspeare.

After having said so much upon the original writings of Cowper, we cannot take our leave of him without adding a few words upon the merits of the translation with which we have found him engaged for so considerable a portion of his life. The views with which it was undertaken have already been very fully explained in the extracts we have given from his correspondence; and it is impossible to deny, that his chief object has been attain-

ed in a very considerable degree. That the translation is a great deal more close and literal, than any that had previously been attempted in English verse, probably will not be disputed by those who are the least disposed to admire it; that the style into which it is translated is a true English style, though not perhaps a very elegant or poetical one, may also be assumed; but we are not sure that a rigid and candid criticism will go farther in its commendation. The language is often very tame, and even vulgar; and there is by far too great a profusion of antiquated and colloquial forms of expression. In the dialogue part, the idiomatical and familiar turn of the language has often an animated and happy effect; but in orations of dignity, this dramatical licence is frequently abused, and the translation approaches to a parody. In the course of one page, we observe that Nestor undertakes 'to intreat Achilles to a calm.' Agamemnon calls him, 'this wrangler here.' And the godlike Achilles himself complains of being treated 'like a fellow of no worth.'

'Ye critics say,  
How poor to this was Homer's style!'

In translating a poetical writer, there are two kinds of fidelity to be aimed at. Fidelity to the *matter*, and fidelity to the *manner* of the original. The best translation would be that, certainly, that preserved both. But, as this is generally impracticable, some concessions must be made upon both sides, and the largest upon that which will be least regretted by the common readers of the translation. Now, though antiquarians and moral philosophers, may take great delight in contemplating the state of manners, opinions, and civilization, that prevailed in the age of Homer, and be offended, of course, at any disguise or modern embellishment that may be thrown over his representations, still, this will be but a secondary consideration with most readers of poetry; and if the smoothness of the verse, the perspicuity of the expression, or the vigour of the sentiment, must be sacrificed to the observance of this rigid fidelity, they will generally be of opinion, that it ought rather to have been sacrificed to them, and that the *poetical beauty* of the original was better worth preserving than the literal import of his expressions. The splendour and magnificence of the Homeric diction and versification is altogether as essential a part of his composition, as the sense and the meaning which they convey. His poetical reputation depends quite as much on the one as on the other; and a translator must give but a very imperfect and unfaithful copy of his original, if he leave out the half of those qualities in which the excellence of the original consisted. It is an indispensable part of his duty,

therefore, to imitate the harmony and elevation of his author's language, as well as to express his meaning ; and he is equally unjust and unfaithful to his original, in passing over the beauties of his diction, as in omitting or disguising his sentiments. In Cowper's elaborate version, there are certainly some striking and vigorous passages, and the closeness of the translation continually recalls the original to the memory of a classical reader ; but he will look in vain for the melodious and elevated language of Homer in the unpolished verses and colloquial phraseology of his translator.

ART. VI. *Lettres sur l'Angleterre.* Par. J. Fievée. 1802.

OF all the species of travels, that which has moral observation for its object is the most liable to error, and has the greatest difficulties to overcome, before it can arrive at excellence. Stones, and roots, and leaves, are subjects which may exercise the understanding without rousing the passions. A mineralogical traveller will hardly fall foul upon the granite and the felt spar of other countries than his own ; a botanist will not conceal its non-descripts ; and an agricultural tourist will faithfully detail the average crop per acre : but the traveller who observes on the manners, habits, and institutions of other countries, must have emancipated his mind from the extensive and powerful dominion of association, must have extinguished the agreeable and deceitful feelings of national vanity, and cultivated that patient humility which builds general inferences only upon the repetition of individual facts. Every thing he sees shocks some passion, or flatters it ; and he is perpetually seduced to distort facts, so as to render them agreeable to his system and his feelings. Books of travels are now published in such vast abundance, that it may not be useless, perhaps, to state a few of the reasons why their value so commonly happens to be in the inverse ratio of their number.

1st, Travels are bad, from a want of opportunity for observation in those who write them. If the sides of a building are to be measured, and the number of its windows to be counted, a very short space of time may suffice for these operations ; but to gain such a knowledge of their prevalent opinions and propensities, as will enable a stranger to comprehend (what is commonly called) the *genius* of people, requires a long residence among them, a familiar acquaintance with their language, and an easy circulation among their various societies. The society into which a transient stranger gains the most easy access in any country, is not often that which ought to stamp the national character ; and

no criterion can be more fallible, in a people so reserved and inaccessible as the British; who (even when they open their doors to letters of introduction) cannot for years overcome the awkward timidity of their nature. The same expressions are of so different a value in different countries, the same actions proceed from such different causes, and produce such different effects, that a judgment of foreign nations, founded on rapid observation, is almost certainly a mere tissue of ludicrous and disgraceful mistakes; and yet a residence of a month or two seems to entitle a traveller to present the world with a picture of manners in London, Paris, or Vienna, and even to dogmatize upon the political, religious, and legal institutions, as if it were one and the same thing to speak of *abstract* effects of such institutions, and of their effects combined with all the peculiar circumstances in which any nation may be placed.

*2dly*, An affectation of quickness in observation, an intuitive glance that requires only a *moment*, and a *part* to judge of a *perpetuity* and a *whole*. The late Mr Petion, who was sent over into this country to acquire a knowledge of our criminal law, is said to have declared himself thoroughly informed upon the subject, after remaining precisely *two and thirty minutes* in the Old Bailey.

*3dly*, The tendency to found observation on a system, rather than a system upon observation. The fact is, there are very few original eyes and ears. The great mass see and hear as they are directed by others, and bring back from a residence in foreign countries, nothing but the vague and customary notions concerning it, which are carried and brought back for half a century, without verification or change. The most ordinary shape in which this tendency to prejudice makes its appearance among travellers, is by a disposition to exalt, or, a still more absurd disposition, to depreciate their native country. They are incapable of considering a foreign people but under one single point of view—the relation in which they stand to their own; and the whole narrative is frequently nothing more than a mere triumph of national vanity, or the ostentation of superiority to so common a failing.

But we are wasting our time in giving a theory of the faults of travellers, when we have such ample means of exemplifying them all from the publication now before us, in which Mr Jacob Fiey  e, with the most surprising talents for doing wrong, has contrived to condense and agglomerate every species of absurdity that has hitherto been made known, and even to launch out occasionally into new regions of nonsense, with a boldness which entitles him to the merit of originality in folly, and discovery.

covery in impertinence. We consider Mr Fievée's book as extremely valuable in one point of view. It affords a sort of limit or mind-mark, beyond which we conceive it to be impossible in future that pertness and petulance should pass. It is well to be acquainted with the boundaries of our nature on both sides; and to Mr Fievée we are indebted for this valuable approach to *pessimism*. The height of knowledge no man has yet scanned; but we have now pretty well fathomed the gulph of ignorance.

We must, however, do justice to Mr Fievée when he deserves it. He evinces, in his preface, a lurking uneasiness at the apprehension of exciting war between the two countries, from the anger to which his letters will give birth in England. He pretends to deny that they will occasion a war; but it is very easy to see he is not convinced by his own arguments; and we confess ourselves extremely pleased by this amiable solicitude at the probable effusion of human blood. We hope Mr Fievée is deceived by his philanthropy, and that no such unhappy consequences will ensue, as he really believes, though he affects to deny them. We dare to say the dignity of this country will be satisfied, if the publication in question is disowned by the French government, or, at most, if the author is given up. At all events, we have no scruple to say, that to sacrifice 20,000 lives, and a hundred millions of money, to resent Mr Fievée's book, would be an unjustifiable waste of blood and treasure; and that to take him off privately by assassination, would be an undertaking hardly compatible with the dignity of a great empire.

To shew, however, the magnitude of the provocation, we shall specify a few of the charges which he makes against the English.—That they do not understand fire-works as well as the French; that they charge a shilling for admission to the exhibition; that they have the misfortune of being incommoded by a certain disgraceful privilege, called the liberty of the press; that the opera band plays out of tune; that the English are so fond of drinking, that they get drunk with a certain air called the gas of Paradise; that the privilege of electing members of Parliament is so burdensome, that cities sometimes petition to be exempted from it; that the great obstacle to a Parliamentary reform is the mob; that women sometimes have titles distinct from those of their husbands, although, in England, any body can sell his wife at market with a rope about her neck. To these complaints he adds—that the English are so far from enjoying that equality of which their partizans boast, that none but the servants of the nobility can carry canes behind a carriage; that the power

which

which the French Kings had of pardoning before trial, is much the same thing as the English mode of pardoning after trial ; that he should conceive it to be a good reason for rejecting any measure in France, that it was imitated from the English, who have no family affections, and who love money so much, that their first question, in an inquiry concerning the character of any man, is, as to his degree of fortune. Lastly, Mr Fievée alleges against the English, that they have great pleasure in contemplating the spectacle of men deprived of their reason. And indeed we must have the candour to allow, that the hospitality which Mr Fievée experienced seems to afford some pretext for this assertion.

One of the principal objects of Mr Fievée's book, is to combat the Anglomania, which has raged so long among his countrymen, and which prevailed at Paris to such an excess, that even Mr Neckar, a foreigner, (incredible as it may seem,) *after having been twice minister of France*, retained a considerable share of admiration for the English government. This is quite inexplicable. But this is nothing to the treason of the *Encyclopedists*, who, instead of attributing the merit of the experimental philosophy, and the reasoning by induction to a Frenchman, have shewn themselves so lost to all sense of the duty which they owed to their country, that they have attributed it to an Englishman\*, *of the name of Bacon*, and this for no better reason, than that he really was the author of it. The whole of this passage is written so entirely in the genius of Mr Fievée, and so completely exemplifies that very caricature species of Frenchmen from which our gross and popular notions of the whole people are taken, that we shall give the passage at full length, cautiously abstaining from the sin of translating it.

‘ Quand je reproche aux philosophes d'avoir vanté l'Angleterre, par haine pour les institutions qui soutenoient la France, je ne hasarde rien, et je fournirai une nouvelle preuve de cette assertion, en citant les encyclopédistes, chefs a voués de la philosophie moderne.

‘ Comment nous ont-ils présenté l'Encyclopédie ? Comme un monument immortel, comme le dépôt précieux de toutes les connoissances humaines. Sous quel patronage l'ont-ils élevé ce monument immortel ? Est-ce sous l'égide des écrivains dont la France s'honorait ? Non, ils ont choisi pour maître et pour idole, un Anglais, Bacon ; ils lui ont fait dire tout ce qu'ils ont voulu, parce que cet auteur, extraordinairement volumineux, n'étoit pas connu en France, et ne l'est guère en Angleterre que de quelques hommes studieux ; mais les philosophes sentoient que leur succès, pour intro-  
duire,

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\* ‘ Gaul was conquered by a person of the name of Julius Cæsar,’ is the first phrase in one of Mr Newberry's little books.



duire des nouveautés, tenoit à faire croire qu'elles n'étoient pas *neuves* pour les grands esprits ; et comme les grands esprits Français, trop connus, ne se prêtoient pas à un pareil dessein, les philosophes ont eu recours à l'Angleterre. Ainsi, un ouvrage fait en France, et offert à l'admiration de l'Europe comme l'ouvrage par excellence, fut mis par des Français sous la protection du génie Anglais. O honte ! Et les philosophes se sont dit patriotes, et la France, pour prix de sa dégradation, leur a élevé des statues ? Le siècle qui commence, plus juste, parce qu'il a le sentiment de la véritable grandeur, laissera ces statues et l'Encyclopédie s'ensévelir sous la même poussière.

When to this are added the commendations that have been bestowed on Newton, the magnitude and the originality of the discoveries which have been attributed to him, the admiration which the works of Locke have excited, and the homage that has been paid to Milton and Shakespeare, the treason which lurks at the bottom of it all will not escape the penetrating glance of Mr Fievée ; and he will discern that same cause, from which every good Frenchman knows the defeat of Aboukir and of the first of June to have proceeded—*the monster Pitt, and his English guineas.*

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ART. VII. *John Woodvil: a Tragedy.* By Charles Lamb. To which are added, Fragments of Burton, the Author of the Anatomy of Melancholy. Robinsons. London. 1802.

WE have often regretted, in perusing the dramatic compositions of the ancients, that we do not possess any of those earlier specimens of the art in its state of rudeness, from which the merit of succeeding dramatists might best be determined. It is always a consolation to badness, that there is something worse ; and the greater number of our tragic writers have therefore a just ground of complaint against the fraud of the stages of antiquity, which, by transmitting only their best productions, have deprived them of the power of looking back to pieces inferior to their own. We have dramas of Eschylus indeed ; but Eschylus, '*pallæ répertor honestæ,*' had already raised poor barefoot Tragedy on buskins, and given her a comfortable cloak to her back. Our loss would be irreparable, were it not for a fact, which, though very obvious, has been strangely overlooked,—*we have still among us men of the age of Thespis*, and indeed of every age, since men first ventured to compose. There is not a single century, to which we cannot find at present corresponding tastes and faculties of every kind ; and it is surely by *their own qualities* that men should be estimated and arranged, and not by the revolutions of planets, which are foreign bodies and have no more relation

to the earth which is animated, than to that which was burned or buried in the earliest priests of Bacchus.

In the drama, however, though we have had innumerable specimens of the *imperfect*, which in composition is by much the most common species of *past time*, we have long expected in vain a specimen so truly *perfect*, as to approach the purity of the great father of the stage; and we own that our disappointment has been greater at this failure of genius, as in that inferior division of the art which consists in recitation, we have often been gratified with a glimpse of the original *plaustrum*. At length, however, even in composition, a mighty veteran has been born. Older than Eschylus, and with all the spirit of originality, in an age of poets who have had before them the imitations of some thousand years, he comes forward, to establish his claim to the ancient *hircus*, and to satiate the most remote desires of the philosophic antiquary.

The tragedy of Mr Lamb may indeed be fairly considered as supplying the first of those lost links which connect the improvements of Eschylus with the commencement of the art. We shall not, however, insist that it be received with complete acquiescence, till we have given a short account of its fable, and afterwards compared it with those ideas of the *most* ancient drama, which may be inferred as best suited to the known manners of the time.

Sir Walter Woodvil, having been an active partizan of the Commonwealth, is obliged to fly, at the Restoration of Charles; and a price is set upon his head. He chooses, however, to remain in England, with his younger son Simon; and they spend their time chiefly in Sherwood Forest;

‘ Nigh which place, they have ta’en a house  
In the town of Nottingham, and pass for foreigners,  
Wearing the dress of Frenchmen.’

His elder son, the hero of the tragedy, who, with views of ambition, had attached himself to the Royal party, takes possession of his paternal estate, and abandons himself to every profligacy, with a crowd of riotous companions. In a fit of intoxication, he reveals to Lovel, one of his pretended friends, the place of his father’s concealment; and Lovel, with a *single* companion, hastens to the forest to seize Sir Walter; but, awed by the undaunted appearance of the father and the son, ‘*they both slink off*’; and Sir Walter, knowing by whom the information must have been given, dies of horror at John’s treachery. On learning all the consequences of the communication he had made, the wretched inebriate is seized at once with headach and remorse; and the drama concludes with a narrative of his mysterious feeling of the forgiveness

forgiveness of heaven, at an early hour, on Sunday morning, as he was kneeling in the church of St Mary Ottery, 'on a little hassock in the family-pew.' On rising, he had yearned to say his prayers in the church; and flying to it, 'found the door wide open, whether by negligence he knew not, or some peculiar grace to him vouchsafed, for all things felt like mystery.' The narrative is addressed to Margaret, an orphan ward of his father, who, early betrothed to John, and feeling herself slighted by him, had fled from the profligacy of his house to Sir Walter in the forest, on whose death she returned to comfort his repentant son. The artifice with which the poet prepares his audience for the narrative, must be admirably productive of theatrical effect. It introduces, what we believe is a novelty on the stage, a peal of church-bells giving their summons to morning-service.

' (*A noise of bells heard.*)

MARGARET.

' Hark the bells, John.

JOHN.

Those are the church bells of St Mary Ottery.

MARGARET.

I know it.

JOHN.

St Mary Ottery, my native village,

In the sweet shire of Devon.

Those are the bells.' p. 100.

The exactness of John's information is of peculiar use; as Margaret, having been sometime at Nottingham, may be supposed to have forgotten the name of the parish, and perhaps of the sweet shire itself; and the cautious and solemn iteration at the close, in an affair of so much moment, gives an emphasis to the whole, that is almost inimitable.

Of the *most* ancient drama, the plot would certainly have no regular union of events all gradually converging into one. It would be simple, in what may strictly be called fable, though apparently complicated, from the want of bearing of the few parts upon each other. Above all, it would be very turbulent, and would probably consist chiefly of the buffooneries of slaves, and the incoherent follies of intoxication. The first great actors are said to have been '*peruncti sæcibus ora*,' a visor admirably typical of a drunkard, and of peculiar beauty in the eyes of a '*spectator functusque sacris, et potus, et exlex.*' Accordingly, we find, in Mr. Lamb's tragedy, that half of the dialogue is spoken by servants and drunkards; nor is it wonderful, since, at the period of the action, as the hero of the piece expresses it,

' now

'now universal England getteth drunk.' On drunkenness, indeed, the whole is founded; for the only tragical incidents of the piece arise from a discovery made in the thoughtlessness of intoxication.

With the importance of gesture on the ancient stage we are well acquainted; and it is evident, that the author means a great part of his eloquence to be performed in that expressive way, as he has introduced a considerable portion of dialogue, which in mere language is almost insignificant. In the following passage, in which four servants are represented drinking, all the eloquence is in the cup, which has thus as fair a claim as any of those who hold it, to be considered as a person of the drama.

DANIEL.

'Here's to thee, brother artin. (*drinks.*)

MARTIN.

And to thee, Daniel. (*drinks.*)

FRANCIS

And to thee, Peter. (*drinks.*)

PETER.

Thank you, Francis. And here's to thee. (*drinks.*)

MARTIN.

I shall be fuddled anon' p. 45.

In the same scene, the characters become so very brief, that if due care be taken by the manager to give them grave faces, they might almost pass for ministers of state, in the disguise of serving men.

FRANCIS.

'Well, I have my suspicions.

PETER.

And so have I.

MARTIN.

And I can keep a secret.

FRANCIS.

(*to Peter*) Warwickshire you mean. (*aside.*)

PETER.

Perhaps not.

FRANCIS.

Nearer perhaps.

PETER.

I say nothing.' p. 11.

The ministerial silence of Lord Burleigh is *great*; but even silence itself is nothing to this. Three characters are afterwards introduced, that appear but once, and say only a few words: so that, as they must have been created for some great purpose, it is evident, that a vast deal has been left to the bodily eloquence of the actors.

'(*Enter,*

' (Enter, at another door, Three calling for Harry Freeman.)

Harry Freeman, Harry Freeman,  
He is not here. ' Let us go look for him.

Where is Freeman ?

Where is Harry ?

(Exeunt the Three, calling for Freeman.)' p. 33.

We may remark here, as tending to increase that confusion so happily expressive of drunkenness, the ingenuity of the artifice by which four speeches are given to three persons, without stating to whom the fourth shall belong.

If the plot and characters of ' John Woodvil' be not sufficient to establish its antiquity, its language will powerfully concur. The most ancient versification was probably very rude. That of Mr Lamb is at least of equal rudeness, and has sometimes even a greater resemblance to the varieties of ancient measure, than to the unvarying English heroic. The servants, to preserve that due respect which should always be paid to rank, speak in prose; but the gradation is not nicely observed, as Mr Sandford, the steward, talks as good blank verse as his master. He thus heroically rates his inferiors :

' Which of you, as I entered, spake of betraying ?

Was it you, or you ? or, thin-face, was it you ?' p. 14.

Margaret the ward, though a tender female, talks also in very becoming and resolute blank verse :

' I pray you spare me, Dr Sandford,

And once for all believe, nothing can shake my purpose.' p. 21.

Nor are the sentiments less characteristic of the age, than the versification. The figures are often very bold, and have all the careless indelicacy of ancient manners. In a soliloquy, John thus describes the variety of his passions :

' Ambition, pleasure, vanity, all by turns,

Shall lie in my bed, and keep me fresh and waking.' p. 26.

Even old Sir Walter gives the following advice to his son :

' You to the court where now your brother John

Commits a rape on fortune.' p. 47.

In p. 74, after the very courteous question, ' Or stay ; you keep no wench ?' the last word is beautifully varied in a climax of synonyms ; and, in p. 77, there is a protracted simile, for which our age is much too modern.

In the real language of feeling, there is not any which can offend the nicest antiquary. On the contrary, there is a very laudable want of it, in a situation in which there was great risk of error. We allude to the speech of Simon after the sudden death

death of his father, which is so striking an instance of danger shunned, that it is worthy of insertion :

‘ How is it with you, Sir Walter ? Look up, Sir ; the villains are gone. He hears me not ; and this deep disgrace of treachery in his son has touched him even to the death, O most distuned, and distempered world, where sons talk their aged fathers into their graves ! Garrulous and diseased world, and still empty, rotten and hollow *talking* world, where good men decay, states turn round in an endless mutability, and still for the worse, nothing is at a stay, nothing abides, but vanity chaotic vanity.—Brother adieu !

There lies the parent stock which gave us life,  
Which I will see consigned with tears to earth.

Leave thou the solemn funeral rites to me,  
Grief and a true remorse abide with thee.’ p. 83.

The prediction, that he is to weep at the funeral, has a pathos truly original, though certainly rather inconsistent with the unequal division which he afterwards makes, reserving only the funeral rites to himself, and consigning all the grief to his brother, to have and to hold for ever.

The passages which we have already quoted, are, we trust, sufficient to justify our opinion of the age of the present drama. We might have selected many other passages of equal antiquity. The whole is indeed almost uniformly venerable, and will be justly appreciated by all who are desirous of possessing a complete specimen of the drama in its state of pristine rudeness.

The tragedy is accompanied with two little pieces, a ‘ *ballad* from the German,’ which, though it have not made Schiller more pathetic, has certainly, in converting him to Methodism, made him much more pious ; and ‘ *Helen*,’ a song, in which, though we sometimes discerned the manner of that person of quality who assisted the Wits of Queen Anne’s reign, we thought, till we had read the appended fragments of Burton, that it was in every respect an original piece, and an original of more value, from the probable rarity of any future productions which might resemble it. It is addressed to a lady, whose love the author is supposed to have long sought in vain, and for whom, when at length compliant, he finds that his love has perished. But the most singular circumstance is, that with love surpassing that of Pygmalion, he still weeps to the picture of her whom he scorns, ‘ nor ever sleeps, complaining all night long to her.’ Such violence of distress must be merely the continuance of an old habit : and it is perhaps only physically, because her tenderness would interfere with this habit, that he no longer feels regard for the *living* Helen. The real reason of his coolness he leaves us to guess, by putting it in the form of a query.

' Can I, who loved my beloved  
But for the scorn was in her eye ;  
Can I be moved for my beloved,  
When she returns me sigh for sigh ?' p. 106.

We own, that we do not discover the reason of this impossibility. That any one should love scorn *merely as scorn*, is inconceivable ; and her sympathy is certainly no reason for the change, unless he prefer his own solitary grief to her for whom he grieves. If he had frankly owned, that she was now not so lovely as when younger, we should at least have understood his meaning ; but, in that case, he would not have been enamoured, till the very moment of her melting, as the deteriorations of age must have been gradual, and not dependent on a single smile. The two lines which close the poem,

' Helen grown old, no longer cold,  
Said, " You to all men I prefer." p. 107.

are most singularly placed. At the beginning they would have been very communicative ; but at the conclusion they tell us nothing ; since the fact, without the knowledge of which the preceding verses must have been unintelligible, was therefore graciously expressed before. Mr Lamb had perhaps heard, that poems of this kind should end with a point ; and wisely reflecting, that the beginning of any thing is as much a point as its end, was too good an economist of his time, to consume it in elaborating and polishing an useless conclusion.

The extracts from a common-place book of Burton, are recommended only by their quaintness and party-coloured learning. There is one sentence which Mr Lamb introduced perhaps as descriptive of his own compositions.

' The fruit, issue, children, of these my morning meditations, have been certain crude, impolite, incomposite, hirsute, (what shall I say ?) verses.' p. 125.

If this was really intended by him, we must add to the praise we have already given to him for poetic talent, our still higher commendation of the justness of his criticism : nor is it a matter of little moment to us, that we are thus able to commend with a safe conscience, when we remember, that Mr Lamb is that friend of Coleridge, whose verses he deems so worthy of all honour, as to fix his direct anathema on the presumptuous critics who shall venture to express their disapprobation : '*Quem si quis non amet, illustres Gratia et Veneres odere.*'\*

ART.

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\* Preface to the Poems of Coleridge, Lloyd, and Lamb, 2d edit.

ART. VIII. *A Method of Examining Refractive and Dispersive Powers by Prismatic Reflection.* By William Hyde Woollaston, M. D. F. R. S. From *Philosophical Transactions*. 1802.

**T**HIS is a very interesting and ingenious paper. The object is extremely important to the optician and astronomer ; and this invention is one of the many obligations under which the latter has been laid by the former.

The great reflection of light at the inner surface of a dense refracting medium, was applied by Sir Isaac Newton to the construction of telescopes, in his prismatic eye-glass ; and the same principle is here extended to the examination of the powers of any medium rarer than glass. The invention is extremely simple and elegant. The medium to be examined is placed under the side of a prism, and made to enter into contact with the glass. This is easily done, if the medium is a fluid ; if it is a solid, a fluid or cement must be interposed, of higher refractive power than the medium under examination. For the purpose of actual measurement, a rectangular prism is most convenient, and requires the simplest apparatus for the computation of the sines. Two or three rulers, with two sights, and a nonius, or, as our author rather affectingly calls it, a *vernier*, form the whole of this ingenious contrivance, so infinitely superior to any method in use. It is evident that the smallest quantity is sufficient ; consequently, substances of the most perfect opacity may be subjected to trial. Our author gives an amusing instance, in his examination of a substance brought from the North Pacific Ocean, and suspected to be bees-wax, although there are no bees in the country. This trial completed the proof ; for the refractive power was found to be precisely the same with that of bees-wax.

Another advantage of this method is its application to substances of variable density ; as, for instance, the crystalline lens. Our author found the variation of the power of an ox's crystalline to be from 1.447 to 1.380 ; that of water being 1.336. Upon this we have only to remark, that there may be some inaccuracy in the method of examining the power of solids, by interposing a fluid medium. Great errors may take place, if the sides containing this medium are not parallel. Now, it is perfectly well known, that we can never meet with two polished surfaces perfectly even. This is evident, from the adaptation of all prisms to exhibit the colours of thin plates by pressure, which could not happen unless their sides were ground to a sphere, or other curve of a large diameter. Besides, it really strikes us, that if a medium is interposed, different from that to be examined, the experiment will only, or chiefly, measure the refractive power of the medium interposed.



The author applies his method, with singular advantage, to examine the dispersive powers of bodies. The metals, he finds, greatly increase the dispersive powers of nitric and muriatic acids. Gold and platina are the most remarkable for this property ; zinc, the least remarkable. The same remark is made with respect to the earths. Jargon and magnesia have it in a degree equal to nitric acid. Siliceous earth, on the contrary, is inferior to water.

Our author concludes his observations on dispersion, by remarking, that there are, properly speaking, not seven primary colours, as some people have imagined, nor three, as others have supposed, but four, which, he says, he proved by examining, though a prism of pure flint glass, a very narrow beam of daylight received upon the eye. We have no hesitation in saying, that this is a most imperfect and erroneous experiment ; and that the weak light appears to be chosen, in preference to the sun's direct light, in a manner that must infallibly render the phenomenon indistinct, and the whole trial inconclusive.

Our author adds, in a note, by far the most important observation in his whole paper ; we will venture to say, in this whole volume of the Transactions. By a most simple contrivance, he has proved the existence of invisible rays beyond the violet in the upper part of the prismatic spectrum. This is discovered by the blackening of muriate of silver, exposed at that part. Several years ago, we ourselves had an opportunity of making a similar experiment upon the inferior end of the spectrum ; and we were led to conclude, from the invariable blackness of the muriate, exposed about a quarter of an inch below the red, that some strange dispersion of rays took place, though in so small a quantity as not to affect the senses. The experiments of Dr Herschell perhaps lead, strictly speaking, to no other inference ; but another experiment of Mr Woollaston's clearly proves, that the invisible rays have peculiar properties. By narrowing the pencil of light received on the prism, he made the discolouring rays fall almost entirely beyond the spectrum ; and he most justly infers, that the visible light has not this power, but owes its discolouring influence to the admixture of invisible light. We do not hesitate to pronounce this the most important discovery that has been made for many years in physical science ; and we earnestly recommend it to the author to prosecute a line of experiment which promises so rich a harvest of discovery.

ART. IX. *On the Oblique Reflection of Iceland Crystal.* By William Hyde Woollaston, M. D. F. R. S. From Phil. Trans. 1802.

WE were much disappointed to find, that so acute and ingenious an experimentalist had adopted the wild optical theory of vibrations. After stating it, however, chiefly from Huygens, and applying to explain the properties of the spar, he goes on to examine, by accurate experiments, whether the undulatory system agrees with the facts. The hypothesis is, that the different undulations of the elastic medium are spherical in almost all cases, but that, in the Iceland crystal, those undulations are spheroidal; and it must be acknowledged, the near coincidence of the experiments, which are extremely well contrived, and appear to be accurately conducted, give this theory a plausibility which it did not before possess. We would, however, remark, that the hypothesis of Aepinus himself, by far the most consistent, simple, and universally applicable, of any that has ever been proposed, is still only a gratuitous hypothesis; has acquired to its author only the praise of fanciful ingenuity; and has perhaps done more harm than good to the science of magnetism, by withdrawing the attention of philosophers from the patient and difficult, but profitable observation of nature, to the more easy, but empty amusement of indulging their fancy.

The hypothesis of Huygens is not, as Dr Woollaston seems to think, the same with that of Euler and other unphilosophical inquirers. It approaches more nearly to that of Newton, and assumes the existence of an elastic medium, acting upon, and influenced by the rays of light. These authors, misled by the nature of sound, do not admit the materiality of light, but assert that it is a vibration propagated through the medium. But, short as these remarks are, we are loath to waste any more time on such a feeble and ill-conducted defence of an untenable and useless hypothesis.

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ART. X. *An Analysis of a Mineral Substance from North America, containing a Metal hitherto unknown.* By Charles Hatchett, Esq., F. R. S.

THE rapid progress of chemistry within these few years past, and the accuracy and precision with which experimental researches are conducted, have greatly extended our knowledge of this interesting science. Exclusive of the discovery of Mr Hat-

chett, which is the subject of this paper, the existence of six new metals has been clearly ascertained since the year 1781.

In the summer of 1801, Hatchett found, in the British Museum, a heavy mineral substance, of a dark colour, which, from its resemblance to Siberian chromate of iron, on which he was then employed in making experiments, attracted his attention, and led him to institute a set of experiments, which terminated in the discovery of the new metal. The mineral, as appears from a reference made to Sir Hans Sloane's catalogue, was sent, along with other minerals, to that naturalist, from Massachusetts in North America. But it is to be regretted, that no mention is made of the particular spot where it was found. As an abridged view of Mr Hatchett's experiments, which is all that our limits permit us to attempt, can only be interesting to chemical readers, we shall content ourselves with giving a short account of the physical properties of the mineral, and the general result of the analysis.

The external colour of the mineral is dark brownish grey; the internal colour is the same, but inclining to iron grey. The longitudinal fracture is imperfectly lamellated; the cross fracture shows a fine grain. The lustre is vitreous, and slightly inclining, in some parts, to the metallic. It is moderately hard, and very brittle. The colour of the streak is dark chocolate brown. The particles are not attracted by the magnet. The specific gravity at the temperature of  $65^{\circ}$  is 5.918.

After digesting some part of one of the minerals reduced to a fine powder, in the sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acids, it was found that it could not readily be decomposed by their direct application. But the mode of analysis which Mr Hatchett afterwards adopted, (for the account of which we must refer our readers to the paper itself,) yielded from 200 grains of the pulverized one.

	Grains.
Oxide of iron - - - -	42
Unknown substance in the form of white precipitate - - - -	155
	<hr/>
	Grains 197

The precipitate which is pure white, and not extremely heavy, was subjected to a very elaborate series of experiments, the result of which led Mr Hatchett to conclude, that it is a metallic substance, different from any of the metals formerly known. It is an acidifiable metal. The oxide reddens litmus paper, expels carbonic acid, and forms combinations with the fixed alkalis. But the following characteristic properties show that it is different from any of the acidifiable metals which have lately been discovered.

1. It

1. It remains white, when digested with nitric acid. 2. It is soluble in the sulphuric and muriatic acids, and forms colourless solutions, from which it may be precipitated, in the state of a white flocculent oxide, by zinc, by the fixed alkalis, and by ammonia. Water also precipitates it from the sulphuric solution in the state of sulphate. 3. Prussiate of potash produces a copious and beautiful olive-green precipitate. 4. Tincture of galls forms orange or deep yellow precipitates. 5. Unlike the other metallic acids, it refuses to unite with ammonia. 6. When mixed and distilled with sulphur, it does not combine with it, so as to form a metallic sulphurate. 7. It does not tinge any of the fluxes, except phosphoric acid, with which, even in the humid way, it appears to have a very great affinity. 8. When combined with potash, and dissolved in water, it forms precipitates, upon being added to solutions of tungstate of potash, molybdate of potash, cobaltate of ammonia, and the alkaline solution of iron.

Mr Hatchett has often distinguished himself as an able and ingenious analyst; and although we have no reason to doubt the precision and accuracy of the present analysis, yet it would be more satisfactory were his experiments confirmed by a repetition of them by himself, or some other chemist. This remark is suggested to us by Mr Hatchett's own researches into the nature of a mineral substance from Sydney Cove in New South Wales, by which the existence of a new earth, which the same substance, from the analysis of the late Mr Wedgewood, was supposed to contain, was fully disproved. But this satisfaction is not to be expected till more specimens of the mineral have been discovered. The specimen from which the analysis was made being small, and the only one known, admits not of being farther broken down. To the new metal, Mr Hatchett has given the name of *Columbium*.

ART. XI. *Guineas an unnecessary and expensive Incumbrance on Commerce*; or, The Impolicy of repealing the Bank Restriction Bill, considered. London. Nicols. 1802. pp. 123.

**N**OTHING but the subject of this tract, and the attention which we are astonished to hear it has received from the public, could have induced us to trouble our readers with any account of it. We have seldom met with a more contemptible performance. Ignorant of the very language of political œconomy, and grossly mistaken in the first principles of the science, the author has the confidence to treat of the most difficult matters of finance, and to utter his crude, half-formed, and incoherent opinions, upon

questions likely to remain for ever the subject of dispute, with more certainty than Sir Isaac Newton has displayed in stating his most celebrated discoveries in physical science.

As we wish to be impartial, and are disposed to give commendation where it is due, we admit that the motto is well chosen.

*‘ Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri  
Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra ?’* . HOR. SAT.

With respect to the thing itself, we have to lament that our author should have so miserably mistaken his line of talent as to write at all, more especially upon such subjects as paper-credit. It is clear, from the whole of this long pamphlet, that he does not know what is meant by ‘*public credit*.’ All other writers use this word to denote the credit of the state: he applies it to all the operations of banking, negotiation of bills, making of promissory payments, striking contingent bargains about moveables, &c. At least such is one meaning, which he affixes to the phrase. But what is the sense of the words, in passages like the following ?

‘ It seems to have been received as a financial *maxim not to be disputed*, that the precious metals are the only true sign of prosperity, and the only legitimate medium through which public credit can be advantageously circulated.’ p. iv.

Who ever thought that public credit could be circulated by gold and silver ; Or, who ever talked of circulating public credit, or any sort of credit ? The gold and silver, or the obligation to pay those metals, or the obligation to pay any thing else, may be circulated. But did any one ever talk of circulating credit by means of coin ? What need of credit when payment is made ? Yet such is the doctrine which our author formally combats in the whole of his first chapter, and indeed through the whole of his work, as if it required a proof, that a guinea is not an obligation in favour of the holder. He should have extended the same to cattle, moveables, land, and all other intrinsically valuable articles.

Sometimes public credit and paper-credit are the same. Sometimes the latter is the criterion and support of the former. In the same sentence (p. 15. 16.), paper-credit is the visible sign of public credit, and identical with it. Our author adds, ‘ paper, and not metallic money, represents public credit.’ (ibid.)

Now, honesty and industry are the supports of public credit ; and now, all accommodation-bills are iniquitous, because they express a direct lie, the actual transference of value. Yet our wise author’s chief purpose is, to demonstate the expediency and justice of the statute 1797 for stopping the cash-payments, which converts every bank-note into a direct lie. And how industry can support credit, we cannot imagine ; for an idle man, who is honest

nest, will just receive as much credit as an industrious man, in proportion to his stock; nay, the bills and notes of an idle rich man will pass current, while a poor industrious, honest person is unable to find an indorsee for a five shilling bill. It is clear, that credit and national wealth are here perpetually confounded.

The next chapter contains a similarly unintelligible inquiry, whether specie be necessary for supporting credit? Our author settles it in the negative, with his usual happy tone of certainty. Does he mean to assert, that if all the bank-coffers are drained of gold, means taken to prevent a shilling from ever getting into them, and prohibitions past upon the discharging of a single obligation, the Bank Directors will still have the power of issuing promissory notes, that is, reams of promises to perform what they neither can nor will perform; and that all mankind will give value for such pieces of 'lying paper,' to use an idea of this author's? If the continuance of confidence were conceivable under such circumstances, that is to say, if the Bank possessed an unlimited power, not from Parliament, but from the nature of things, to issue as many notes as it pleased without incurring any obligation, and with no risk of depreciation, unless the directors and proprietors were an uncommonly disinterested sort of personages, they would be the sole proprietors of this island in half a year. On the other hand, no one ever thought of denying the possibility of rearing a vast fabric of credit, without having a single guinea in circulation. In fact, guineas are only one subject of credit, one commodity which may be transferred by promise, and borrowed upon obligation; and the credit is the confidence which gives rise to such transactions. After such a specimen of our author's political acquirements, our readers will not be surprised to learn, that he is constantly talking of cash as a measure of price, a representative of value, a standard of exchange, as if pots and pans (to use Dr Smith's illustration) might not just as well receive the same epithets.

One method of argument we hold to be nearly allied to imposture:—After enumerating all the unquestionable drawbacks of specie money, (and every former writer gives the enumeration much better), he concludes, that paper must be advantageous, because it saves those losses. In a separate chapter, he pompously enumerates the benefits of paper-currency, by taking the converse of his former statements; and concludes, *à fortiori*, in favour of this sort of medium; because it has not the inconvenience of metallic money. This is making the most of an argument, according to those rules of good faith and ingenuity, by which certain practical speculators make the most of their ten fingers. But our author can *bector* as well as *finesse*. At the end, after various hints, we are bombastically told, that all the outcry against paper-currency arose from the new philosophy. Our

poor author now loses all command of himself; every thing is atheism, blood, assassination, Jacobinism, French principles, in a word, reform. By a transition, happy for the extrication of one who has unwarily entangled himself in the subject of paper-credit, and not unnatural to a frantic person, he comes to the British constitution, on which he pronounces a laboured and ludicrous eulogium; because, in civil matters, all power is concentrated in the Monarch, who is indued by it with godlike attributes; because, in things ecclesiastical, the church dispenses all the superlative charities bestowed by the most high God (p. 103); and because, in things judicial, the Judges are rendered learned and incorruptible! Why? Because they are not allowed to make laws! (P. 104-5.)

Our author has a happy knack at calculation: He fixes the average amount of bills of exchange always in circulation at just 20,000,000, the number of clerks that every merchant saves by the institution of Banks at twenty for one, and the total savings of paper currency at  $\frac{1}{2}$ %. His notes are amusing: They generally contain some aliquot parts of the sentences of which it is intended that the text should be composed.

The style of this strange production is truly grotesque; want of grammar, Scotticisms, neologisms, metaphors, double superlatives, proverbs, scripture-quotations, personifications, mercantile vulgarisms, all dance through each page in the most grotesque and giddy array.

Now we hear of a capital of fifty-six millions being raised from the dead (p. 64.) Suddenly it is attacked with a consumption (p. 71.); but it retains the power of generation, (ibid.) Then we are amused with a grumbling confederacy, and a few 'doubtful neutrals.' An animated picture rapidly succeeds, of the mighty coalition foiled, universal invasion, rebellion bursting, a palladium in a state of mutiny, London blockaded by sea, sedition sowing on the shore, a barometer falling in a congregation of perils, credit imploring protection, and committing acts of bankruptcy from compulsion. Public credit is now introduced, complaining, in the bitterness of distress, with the good old patriarch, "All these things are against me, and they will bring me down with sorrow to the grave." But no, says our author; those things were tending to unchain paper-credit, from the more than leaden weight of gold (p. 72.) The poor damsel (Paper-credit) is saved by the Bank restriction-bill, and order restored to the universe. All this is literally presented to us in two pages. In the next our author, not recovered from his fit of inspiration, amuses us with the figure courteously called *hyperbole* by those who love a longer and a more learned word than our own language supplies for the occasion. He says, that the unhy-pothesized part of the income-tax was a fund of ways and means

means sufficient for borrowing a hundred millions of new debt ! The Latin in p. 102, is a proof that our author does not enjoy the benefit of an acquaintance with that language.

The only abuse of paper-credit, according to him, is speculation by accommodation-bills. This he seems to think one of the highest of human crimes ; and he extends his anathemas to such bills, provided the value transferred is in land or other immoveable property ! Query, What crime is a man guilty of, on these tight-drawn principles, who grants his bill for the price of a ship ?—The effects of paper-money, in encouraging forgery, he holds very light. ‘ That is the fault of the forgers,’ saith he, ‘ not of the lawgiver.’ There is much acuteness in the distinction ; but we submit it as a sort of insinuation, whether systems are not, *ceteris paribus*, to be condemned, which bring forward strong and obvious temptations to fraud, especially if the only reform that our cautious author will hear of, is a reform of character in the people. P. 102.

The bold style of declamation in which our author arraigns of Jacobinism every one who differs from him, makes us fear that even on the dry subject of paper-credit, we shall soon see Bowles’s, and Giffords, and Playfairs, thundering out their artillery of new light, overthrow of thrones, reform, French principles, &c. &c. ; and then, is the science of number and quantity itself safe ? To the present writer we have only to hint, that when he ascribes all the arguments used against paper-credit to Jacobin principles, he forgets the millions of assignats poured forth by those *dabblers* in the paper-system who lately ruled over the Parisian mobility, the paper currency of the American rebels, and the alarm against all such inventions which followed the speculations carried on under the reigns of Louis XIV. and George I. when Jacobin was as yet the appellation of a set of monks.

From the whole, our author draws conclusions partly self-evident, partly vague and unintelligible, partly nonsensical. He loudly demands that the tinsel of declamation shall be brought to the test of demonstration. We may accede to this, when we shall comprehend its meaning. He farther insists upon being allowed only to ‘ weigh unvarnished facts.’ We scarcely yet perceive his object ; but his final claim is modest and plain, ‘ Let the preponderating balance prevail.’ We believe it would be a new sight, to see the light scale preponderate. He adds a notice, that, in this publication, he has no interest to serve. We think this lucky, inasmuch as the performance would never be able to serve any interest ; and are inclined to believe, that whenever the author may have any interest to serve in addressing the public, he will find it necessary to act by *proxy*.

Hitherto, we have given our readers such specimens of our author’s opinions and asseptions, as carry their refutation or con-  
demnation.



demonstration along with them. We are now to observe the general drift and tenor of the book, since we hear this is supported by high authorities.

In one of the notes to this second chapter, we meet with a singular vindication of what most men have been accustomed to regard as a breach of trust—the interference of the managers with the specie and other valuables contained in the Deposit Bank of Amsterdam. That those valuables were entrusted to the custody of the directors and other functionaries of that celebrated body, under the express compact of a safe deposit, no one can entertain a doubt, who is in the least acquainted with the history of the institution. The premium paid was actually, as Dr Smith observes, a warehouse-rent; the recipices, or receipts, acknowledged the nature of the charge to be that of a simple deposit. No one ever had the slightest suspicion that his property was moved from the coffers of the Bank; and although Mr Smith seems to suspect that the money for which receipts had been long expired, and which would in all probability remain for ever undemanded, was not so sacredly treasured up; yet he adds, on the authority of Mr Hope, the Dutch merchant, that at Amsterdam no point of faith is better established than a belief in the existence of a guilder in the Bank chests, for every guilder circulated in the form of paper-money. ‘The city,’ says he, ‘is guarantee that it should be so. The Bank is under the direction of the four reigning burgomasters, who are changed every year. Each new set of burgomasters visits the treasure, compares it with the books, receives it upon oath, and delivers it over, with the same awful solemnity, to the set which succeeds; and in that sober and religious country, oaths are not yet disregarded.’—*Wealth of Nations, Book IV. chap. 3.* Now, we do not inquire, whether or not the inviolability of this deposit was necessary for the commercial prosperity of Holland; we do not argue that the original purpose of the institution could not have been obtained by other means, viz. the raising of a depreciated medium of exchange; we do not even contend, that the locking up of so enormous a treasure as the deposits, was consistent either with mercantile prudence, or with the public safety. It is enough for us that the bargain was made, and has been broken; that the deposit was sacred, ought to have been inviolable, and has been infringed; that the solemn oaths of endless successions of functionaries have been wilfully given; that perjury has as constantly followed; and that the plighted faith and honour of the Dutch republic has been squandered away. When late events brought about a disclosure of this scene of perfidy, which no views of expediency can justify, and which only the most short-sighted and temporary conceptions of policy can vindicate as expedient, is it not fair to conclude, that public credit must have received a shock all over Holland?—

land?—a shock, for its magnitude, worthy of being admitted to explain some of the effects so universally ascribed by our author to the machinations of Jacobinism? After the statements of Mr Hope, to which we have referred, we may be permitted to doubt whether the disclosure of the transaction dignified by our author with the appellation of wise policy, in whatever manner it might have been effected, would not have ruined the credit of the Dutch republic, although no French invasion had been combined with this shock. We must be allowed to denominate, by our author's favourite epithet of '*Jacobinical*,' the policy practised by Holland, of interfering with private property, in spite of the most solemn and holy sanctions of public and individual guarantee.

We have thought it necessary to take particular notice of this singular remark, because it is introduced as a parallel case; a vindication of the breach of contract which the restrictions have enabled the Bank of England to commit. We do not intend at all to discuss, on this occasion, that very intricate and difficult question connected with this subject; we are only arguing the matter upon one simple and limited ground—the nature of the contract or obligation which a promissory note implies. It would, however, be difficult, by any casuistry, to convince a person of plain common sense, that the measure which this author recommends, the perpetual establishment of the restriction, can be reconciled, either to the principles of honesty and good faith, or to the most sound and obvious views of expediency. 'The measure, (says he, p. iv.) was at first justified on the ground of necessity, and its term prolonged on that of temporary expedience; whereas, the following remarks, if just, prove the advantages of continuing it as a permanent measure of prudence and sound policy.' Accordingly, it is the avowed object of the whole publication to recommend the perpetual stoppage of specie-issues at the Bank; and we lament to hear, that the proposition of so strange an expedient should have been favourably received in certain high financial circles. We shall therefore take the liberty of subjoining a few remarks upon this new, and, we trust, fruitless attempt to injure the commercial resources of Great Britain, in order to favour a small class of persons engaged in one branch of the banking trade, and in order to give them the power of assisting the financial measures of the Government.

The grounds on which the advocates of the order of Council in 1797, and the subsequent statutes, have hitherto maintained their practical doctrines, have been the danger of the Bank losing all its specie in consequence of an unfavourable balance of trade—sudden and extensive alarm occasioned by great mercantile failures—dread of invasion, and, more generally, in consequence of the excess of the market over the mint-price of gold, which rendered it profitable to melt down guineas, and export the bullion.

lion. To these circumstances were added others, which, we confess, have never been to us very intelligible; such as the designs which the enemy was supposed to entertain against the credit of Great Britain\*.

Now, it is evident, that all these grounds can only be occupied by the advocates of a temporary restriction or suspension of Bank payments. In their very nature and essence, they are unfit for the support of any thing farther than a temporary measure. The circumstances enumerated are in themselves temporary causes of a rapid drain of specie; the existence of such causes can only justify a temporary scheme of prevention. Accordingly, Mr Thornton, and all the other friends of the measures which Government pursued, have been content with supporting the temporary necessity or expediency of those measures. They are abundantly satisfied with their success, if they can convince their readers that the circumstances of the country in 1797 justified the order of Council; that the continuation of those circumstances required a subsequent renewal of the suspension; and that the inconveniences or losses which may arise from the operation of those unprecedented measures, are palliated by the necessity of the case, or compensated by opposite advantages, arising from the circumstances of the times, or partially counteracted by various causes unobserved by the noisy declaimers who at first condemned the whole system of restriction.

The Bank is a great company, incorporated by an act of Government, and binding itself, like other trading copartnersies, by the authorised obligations which its officers incur on its account. The extent of those obligations, and the confidence of the public in so wealthy an association, have conspired to give this company a very great influence upon the motions of Government, and the commercial operations of the country. If the Bank is concerned in the prosperity of the community, the community is reciprocally interested in the existence of the Bank; and the Government is of course interested in the welfare of both. The credit of the Bank, that is, the confidence of the public in its fidelity and ability to discharge all its obligations, (which are indeed the same thing†), depend upon its will and power (which are the same thing) to fulfil such obligations as the creditors may from time to time wish to have fulfilled. As this number of obligations can never, in common probability, be equal to the sum of all that have been contracted, it is perfectly fair and prudent in the Bank to use the funds destined to supply the power of fulfil-  
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\* *Vide Parliamentary Debates.*

† We say, that in common cases the integrity and prosperity of the Bank must be synonymous terms, because an over issue of paper is unquestionably a breach of good faith in any company whose notes are in circulation; it is a species of fraudulent bankruptcy.

ling the remaining obligations, in a way profitable to itself and the community at large ; and if, on any emergency, the crisis of public affairs should render it dangerous to the company and to the country, that the obligations of the former to the latter should be fulfilled, it is evidently their mutual interest that those obligations should, for a season, be rendered ineffectual. If a merchant has become bound to pay a certain sum to his correspondent at a certain day, and if, on the day before, the debtor finds that he shall not have a sufficient quantity of money in his chest, and that his creditor must have the money, it is in vain that he complains of his creditor's rigour—he must either pay or break. If, on the other hand, the circumstances of the creditor render the payment disadvantageous to him at that particular day ; if, for example, his receipt of the money will sanction the extravagant demands of his needy personal friends, or force him to discharge debts of honour, or constrain him to fulfil conditional obligations, it will clearly be for the interest both of the debtor and the creditor, that the payment should be delayed, and the security or contract renewed. The parties in this case will meet, and immediately come to an understanding ; so would the country and the Bank, if the former were not an immense congregation of individuals, who cannot act together, and whose interests, or views of interest, are in certain cases far from uniform. But as many individuals will always persist in requiring the fulfilment of the obligations contrary to the general good, and as the minority, whose peculiar interests or fancies thus stand opposed to the common cause, are sufficiently numerous and important to ruin both the Bank and the country, it becomes necessary, that in this, as in all other cases, the part should yield to the whole ; and the only method of effecting so requisite an end, is the ordinary mode of sinking partial in general interests—the interference of the common Government. Thus, the Legislature, on behalf of the majority of the country, that is, on behalf of the country, is justified in absolving the Banking Company of England from fulfilling those obligations which a part of the country might otherwise require to be fulfilled in defiance of the general safety.

Such is the only manner in which we have ever been able to state the great question of the restriction to our minds, consistently with the plainest principles of justice and expediency. The whole arguments of those who have discussed this question have been directed to prove the case—to evince the incompatibility of the fulfilment of the obligations with the public safety—to shew by evidence that the circumstances of the times render a stoppage of Bank payments necessary, so long as those circumstances last. No one has ever yet denied, that a trading company, whether incorporated by charter, or by private agreement, is bound

bound in strict justice to fulfil its contracts. The utmost extent of the argument in favour of the late measures has been an attempt to demonstrate the dangers of allowing the fulfilment of those contracts in the case of the Bank—an endeavour to prove, that the mutual interest of the parties, the Bank and the country, required the suspension of the contract, so long as the crisis of public affairs should continue.

Now, we have no hesitation to admit the whole conclusions of all those who have adopted this opinion. We firmly believe, that an unprecedented concurrence of circumstances and events rendered the restriction, or modification of the original contract, essentially necessary to the interests, nay, to the safety of both the parties concerned. We are yet to learn, that a shadow of argument can be advanced, either in point of justice or expediency, to vindicate so monstrous an absurdity, as the proposition supported in the present publication—the propriety of rendering the breach of contract absolute and perpetual. No powers of argument can ever persuade us, that an extensive trading company, endowed by Government with the power of issuing promissory notes for a valuable consideration, and absolved from keeping the promises upon which the value was obtained, is any thing else than a monster in political creation. For a time, circumstances may prescribe to any great commercial body a regimen analogous to this, in the same manner that arsenic or foxglove may be administered to the animal system. But a man feeding upon arsenic, and drinking tincture of foxglove, would not present to our minds a more accurate idea of a monster in physiology, than a copartnery, allowed to benefit by contracts, from the fulfilment of which it is absolved, would do in policy.

We are told, that paper-credit is a much more advantageous method of assisting the operations of commerce, than the use of a metallic money. The former is unquestionably a cheaper medium of exchange than the latter; and the use of it, no doubt, enables a country to employ a considerable part of its capital in a profitable manner; whereas the use of that capital in the form of money is attended with loss. Of all this there can be very little doubt. If any method could be invented, of conferring upon paper the important qualities which render the precious metals subservient to the purposes of commerce, an inestimable benefit would be derived to the nation possessing so grand a secret; or if one of those qualities could be procured for paper, if the public could be induced to take it instead of money in all payments, nearly the same advantages would accrue to the national wealth. But unhappily, there is almost as much difficulty attendant upon the plans for endowing paper-money with this one property, as upon those which would give it all the useful attributes of gold. In one way only can it be supported as a perpetual medium of exchange.

change. The public consent must be procured to receive, for all the valuable commodities which form the subjects of commerce, the pieces of paper issued by a certain body of men, in whose wisdom and integrity entire confidence is to be reposed. Since no prospect, we fear, exists of ever seeing so desirable an event accomplished as the production of this confidence, we must be contented with an approximation; and the circumstances which have given rise to banking, furnish an approximation sufficiently near to satisfy any temperate lover of paper-credit. We know only one method of giving to paper the attributes of the precious metals in commercial operations; we can, indeed, conceive no other in the present state of mankind. It consists in the erection of certain companies, whose resources and probity are sufficient to gain the entire confidence of the community—whose contracts are held by themselves to be inviolable, and are therefore believed to be so by their countrymen, without trial. While those obligations continue to be fulfilled every time that a requisition is made by the creditors, the companies may safely count upon a great proportion of the creditors abstaining from making any requisitions. The sum of metallic money answering to the debts thus allowed to remain due, is displaced by the paper containing the constitution of those debts; and this seems to be the utmost extent of paper-credit that the wit of man can introduce into the affairs of trade. In peculiar emergencies, a neglect of those obligations may be permitted, on the part of the debtor, without any material cessation of confidence on the part of the creditor. We have already described the nature of those emergencies: and the circumstances which render the temporary defalcation justifiable in point of natural equity, render it also safe to public credit; that is to say, prevent it from destroying the confidence of the creditor. But this confidence is only maintained by the idea, that the emergency is to be temporary. It cannot possibly survive the belief, that upon a restoration of the former arrangements, the defalcation will immediately cease. It is a confidence which may be prolonged, but cannot possibly be perpetuated: an expectation which may continue after a temporary delay of fulfilment sufficiently accounted for, but cannot, in the nature of mens' minds, remain in existence, when the day of fulfilment is removed to an infinite distance.

In a word, the reason why, out of a hundred bank-notes, only ten are ever presented for payment, is, that the holders of the remaining ninety believe in the certainty of the ten being regularly and fully paid, and can thus circulate them among other persons equally convinced of the debtor's integrity and wealth (which are one and the same thing). If the ten holders begin to find difficulty in procuring payment, their number will immediately

immediately increase ; and if the still greater increase of this demand would be prejudicial to the majority of the hundred, and to the bulk of the community of which they form part, the Government is justified (as representing the majority) in suspending all the payments while the emergency lasts. The knowledge that this suspension is necessary, and the absolute certainty that it is temporary, prevents the majority of holders, and, in consequence, the whole holders of the notes, from distrusting their debtors. By law, the notes are rendered a full tender of payment in all bargains previously made. This the enactment can effect ; but other consequences follow which no statute could secure. By common consent, it is agreed to receive the same notes as a valuable commodity in all future bargains ; and the confidence in the debtor continues exactly as high as formerly, merely because the defalcation is known to be necessary and temporary.

Suppose that, in this state of things, a law is passed, rendering the restriction perpetual, or extending it far beyond the probable duration of the emergency which caused and justified it, can we for a moment suppose that confidence will now continue ? The law may force creditors to receive payments in this useless paper ; that is, may cheat all those who have previously entered into contracts for the time ; but no law can force men to enter into new bargains—no law can force them to give valuable commodities for a paper-money which it deprives of all value. The ninety holders of notes who do not present for payment, may now, with the ten who do present, ruin the whole as useless, if they have no debts to pay—no creditors with whom to share their loss, and no chance of obtaining justice from the Bank. But they will not surely give away more of their property for more of those notes ; and if the Bank is again forced to pay, they will be rendered wise by the attempt to cheat them, they will instantly demand payment.

Can the imagination of man, indeed, figure a case so full of irreconcilable contradictions, as that which the pamphlet before us presents to our view ? Confidence sought for in systematic breach of faith ; credit built upon necessary failure ; obligations to pay, issued by men incapacitated from paying ; promissory notes received at par, by those who are previously assured that the promise must necessarily be broken ! With all the contradictions and paradoxes of human nature before our eyes, and as little disposed as possible to extenuate or disbelieve them, we do not believe man to be quite so ridiculous a creature, as the projectors of this truly original scheme would require, for the reception of their unlimited paper-system. If paper-credit is necessary to a mercantile state, in a much greater extent than the simple arrangements of former times have of themselves attained by a natural and intelligible process,

we fear human commerce wants a wheel which the eternal nature of things has doomed it never to acquire. The materials of which this wheel is proposed to be constructed, are obviously of such a description, that their union would necessarily prevent it from lasting a single second. If the existence of the work were possible, when so constructed, would it not instantaneously derange the whole machine, and crumble the surrounding fabric into dust? or, if the possibility of reconciling all those contradictions be for a moment admitted, would not the operations of this new power concentrate in the additional wheel all the motions and force of the engine, to the infallible destruction of every other component part?

The supporters of this unprecedented system, more particularly the practical friends of the perpetual restriction, will most probably couch their proposal in the form of a new temporary measure. Accordingly, the author of this pamphlet, although at the outset he speaks plainly of a permanent restriction, (p. 5.), in several parts of his inferences, talks vaguely of a renewal of the former measure. The whole reasonings, however, if such they can be called, and all the general statements of those who favour the system of unlimited paper-credit, proceed not upon any appeal to present circumstances, but on speculative views of the advantages derived from paper-money. Indeed, although the measure should be proposed in the insidious form of a constant renewal of the previous arrangement, (as it most probably will be), such a plan only deserves the more serious reprobation. It may gull the public for a few repetitions; but the bubble must burst, as soon as men perceive that the necessity no longer exists, which rendered the measures of 1797 necessary and excusable. And let it be remembered, that all the fundamental objections urged against a restriction professedly perpetual, apply equally to the unnecessary prolongation of the former law, for however short a time.

In these observations, we have confined ourselves entirely to the most general and fundamental view of the question. We have stated, that the subject appeared to us entirely new; and the standard to which the arguments that it involves must be brought, is obviously different from the criterion by which we must judge of the reasonings in favour of a temporary restriction. It may be proper enough, in discussing this last measure, to argue that the circumstances of the times render it necessary. No circumstances can so far alter the nature of human intercourse, and the ideas of obligation, as to render necessary the perpetual breach of promise, and abuse of confidence, required by the system of the new projectors. It may be fair, in opposing the temporary restriction, to state the evils of Government ever interfering with



Bank-affairs; the dangers of so unnatural a connection, as that between the executive, or even the legislative branch of a regular constitution, and a large, but private trading association; the abuses to which such an intercourse may naturally lead, both on the part of the Government, and of the company. But, in exposing the absurdity of the perpetual restriction, or rather of the total abolition of cash-payments, such puny arguments would be superfluous and nugatory; the innovation is best resisted in that quarter which it first and most insufferably attacks. Nor can we be accused of placing the question upon ground of too metaphysical or abstract a nature, when it is considered, that the very form and outward shape, assumed by the instrument of the proposed circulation, necessarily reminds us of the contradiction inherent in its nature, and the gross absurdity, not to say palpable fraud, in which its origin is involved.

The remarks into which we have unwarily been led, by the importance, and we rejoice to say, by the entire novelty of the subject, apply rather to the general opinion and projects of those who support the doctrine of unlimited paper-circulation, than to the weak and vain attempts of this publication in recommendation for the scheme. We have already given a few specimens of the ignorance and stupidity which characterises the whole pamphlet. We shall now add a few more, sufficient, we conceive, to justify the contempt which it has excited in our minds, and the manner in which we have ventured to express this contempt. In the following passage our author explains the foundation of his general doctrines:

‘ Our own country, since the establishment of the Bank of England, with comparatively a small circulation of specie, and since the year 1797, with almost none at all, has increased in commerce, riches, and national credit, to the envy of all neighbouring nations \*.

‘ The more these momentous truths are considered, the more they confirm this *important fact*—that gold and silver coin do not establish or maintain public credit; but that it is best supported by a well regulated paper-currency, united with honesty and punctuality.’ P. 25.

In almost every page, indeed, we meet with the same phrases—honesty, punctuality, *bona fide*, regularity, &c. But in this work they are evidently unintelligible. For what does honesty, punctuality, &c. mean in the mouth of him who denies the expediency,

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\* ‘ In Scotland, paper-money has been almost the exclusive currency for the last fifty years, and the rental of that part of the kingdom has increased during that period tenfold; while its commercial riches have kept pace with the improvement of its soil.’

pediency, and recommends the prohibition of merchants performing obligations? Does not the person laugh at us, as well as cheat us, who talks of *bona fide* paper, when he would have the promise contained in it systematically broken? Should we not be inclined to fling such trash in his face, if he handed it to us at once as an equivalent for our property, and as a mark of his good faith? For the rest, we do not maintain—no one, for a long time past, has maintained, that ‘gold and silver coin alone establish public credit.’ But this we will venture to state, that public credit, or confidence, must necessarily depend upon the performance of the obligations by the party which claimed that credit or confidence; whether the obligation is to pay metallic money, or leather, or shells, or cattle; that so long as the notes, which are proposed to be made the circulating medium, consist of obligations to pay money, their reputation and circulation depends, first of all, upon the belief, that this obligation will be fulfilled at the option of the holder of the note; and that all credit and confidence must cease as soon as the refusal to pay money is the systematic line of conduct pursued by the issuer, although credit and confidence may be maintained, while the refusal forms only a transient and obviously necessary exception to his general behaviour.

In chapter third, we meet with the following very strange remark, which we notice, because it shews the singular effects produced upon weak and superficial minds, by a misapprehension of some of the most undoubted truths in the science of political economy:

‘Some may *wish* to believe the specie in circulation more than we can account for, and think a great stock a proof of prosperity; whereas it would rather be a proof of indigence. France has at present a great deal of specie, and no public credit.’ p. 54.

Now, if this proposition has any meaning, it is, that a nation is not the better for possessing much coined bullion—a gross misconception of the doctrines held by those who attack the mercantile system. For which of those political philosophers has said, that a great stock of coin, like a great stock of cattle, land, houses, or any other valuable commodity, is not a proof of national wealth? When Dr Smith, with an inimitable vein of pleasantry, ridicules the anxious care of the mercantile statesmen and speculators, to multiply the quantity of the precious metals, and contrasts this with an anxiety for multiplying the pots and pans of the state, (*Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. c. 1.)—he does not deny that a nation possessing a large stock of specie, or of pots and pans, would be wealthy and prosperous: he only contends, that every state will, if industrious, possess as much of the former as

its commerce, and as many of the latter as its cookery requires; and concludes, that the endeavour to amass an over-proportion of money, is as absurd as the project of encumbering our warehouses with a load of culinary utensils. If France possesses much specie, she must soon acquire public credit. It is a proof that her commercial dealings are extensive: It is the demand which these occasions for money that attracts and retains money in the country; and all beyond the sum required to supply this demand, must be immediately turned into active stock. Indeed, as a proof of consistency, and an answer to our author from his own words, we quote the following passage in the preceding chapter:

‘It is to be observed, that we are not speaking of the *commerce of bullion*, but *the putting it out of commerce* by coinage or hoarding. As commodities, as articles of commerce, the precious metals are highly valuable; it is the *prohibition* we deprecate.’ p. 32.

ART. XII. *Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Cotti, or Ancient Irish, compared with the Language of the Cuti, or Ancient Persians, with the Hindostanee, the Arabic, and Chaldean, Languages.* By Lieutenant-General Charles Vallancey, Author of the *Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland*. With a Preface, containing an Epitome of the Ancient History of Ireland, corroborated by late discoveries in the Puranas of the Brahmins, and by our learned countrymen in the East. And an account of the Ogham Tree-Alphabet of the Irish, lately found in an ancient Arabic MS. in Egypt. Dublin. Graisberry & Campbell. 4to.

THE ancient language of Ireland has long deserved the attention of the learned, both from the intimate connection which it holds with the history of the British Islands, and the neglected state in which it has hitherto been suffered to perish. Though now confined to the mountains of Scotland, and a few of the wildest Irish counties, it possesses many qualities which merit an accurate examination; it is entitled to a share of the labours of the philologist, on account of its antiquity; and particularly endeared to a patriotic Briton, as the primitive language of his country. More important reasons might have induced the antiquary to study it, and transmit it to posterity. A considerable number of ancient MSS., the work of the dark and middle ages, are written in Irish. The monks of that kingdom, without deserving the praise of being more enlightened than their brethren on the continent, had, however, the good fortune to escape, in some measure, the Saxon and Danish conquests, which extinguished learning in Britain. The historians and antiquaries,

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to whose care it fell to peruse the materials left by those unpolished writers, might have effected much for the elucidation of Celtic manners and history, had their judgment been proportionate to their resources, and their zeal for antiquity uncorrupted by prejudice. Such, however, has not been the fate of Celtic literature. The early Irish and Scotch historians have adopted the wildest fictions of the monks. They have embellished the dull reveries of the cloister, in which the pride of national ignorance had traced the origin of an obscure and unlettered people, up to Gomer, Japhet, the Pharoahs of Egypt, and the Phœnicians. Not contented with recording these fictions in the barren state in which they found them, they have embellished them with whatever knowledge the improvements of better ages could bestow. They have tortured their own peculiar dialect to make it appear like the Oriental languages; have broken their words into monosyllables; and perverted all their vowels and consonants, to establish a ridiculous affinity with Egypt and Assyria.

In the degenerate ages that succeeded the fall of ancient learning, it was a task worthy of the recluse clergy of Ireland, to compose Oghams, *Tree-Alphabets*, and fictitious genealogies. To form these, required only gross ignorance of history, a love of fable, and their professional acquaintance with the books of Moses. To attain the summit of all possible extravagance in history and philology, demanded powers and resources, however, of a much more extensive kind. It required the primeval wisdom of the Indian Puranas, the labours of Golius and Miniski, the holy vocabularies of the Zend and Pelhvi, the quintessence of English discovery in Eastern literature, and (what may seem of more importance to his printer and Oriental reader) a beautiful fount of Arabic types, with thirty years of veteran experience, to procure this enviable station for General Vallancey. He has passed that bourne in history and etymology, from which few travellers ever return.

To expose the continual error of his theory, will not cure his inveterate disease. It can only excite hopes of preventing infection, by shewing that he has reduced that kind of writing to absurdity; and raising a warning monument to all antiquaries and philologists that may succeed him.

In order to give our readers some idea of this singular publication, it may be proper to observe, that it consists of three parts, an Introduction, Preface, and Specimen of a Comparative Irish Dictionary. All these are of considerable length. The two first contain historical and etymological facts, mixed by way of illustration; and the last consists of 77 pages, wholly etymological. A few remarks on each of these divisions will

convey all the information that can be given of such a performance.

The Introduction begins with several extracts relative to *Ireland*, translated from the Puranas ! of the Indian Brahmins !!

General Vallancey, after having observed that the labours of Sir William Jones, Mr Burrow, Mr Wilford, Mr Hallis, and \* Mr Maurice, in Sanscrit literature, had eminently confirmed a prior hypothesis of his own on the ancient population of Ireland, proceeds to lay before his readers a number of extracts made by Mr Wilford from the Hindoo Puranas, and transmitted to him by Mr G. Ouseley. Sir William Jones had imagined, that vestiges of an ancient people might be traced in Iran or Persia, long before the date of the Assyrians. This conjecture of that modest and admirable writer, appeared so plausible to General Vallancey, that he considered it as an undoubted truth ; and actually proceeds, on the faith of that discovery, to date the formation of the great primitive empire from the alliance of the four kings mentioned in the 14th chap. of Genesis. He magnifies the four Bedouin Sheiks, whom Abraham defeated with his household-servants, into the founders of a mighty nation. This fanciful empire, according to the General, arose soon after the confusion of tongues. Before that unpleasant event, the three sons of Noah, with their offspring, lived in one region of the earth, spoke the same language, and underwent the same corruptions in religion. Before the dispersion, they had actually adopted the worship of the heavenly bodies, and the doctrine of good and evil genii presiding over the elements and human affairs. The General points out those opinions as peculiar to all heathen nations, of whatever origin ; and denies that they could have prevailed so universally, had they not been introduced before mankind were divided. On that unfortunate day which terminated the building of Babel, the primitive language, he assures us, was not so totally changed as to destroy its radical structure, and that it was only split into many dialects, one of which fell to the share of each of those colonies who peopled Egypt, Phœnicia, China, India, and Iran or Persia. The Fir Bolg, or Bologues, a fierce and warlike race of Japhetians, who first settled in Iran or Indo-Sythia, at the mouth of the river Indus, took an alarm soon afterwards, and emigrated southwards. To the west of them, on the Persian Gulph, were the Dedanites ; and, on the opposite shore were the Omanites, These tribes united ; and hence the whole body was called Fir Bolg, Fir D'Oman, and Tuath Dadan, as may be seen in Irish histories composed before the

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\* Mr Maurice understands none of the Oriental languages.

the Christian æra. From Iran, these emigrants, who, by the by, were nearly allied to the Hindoos, moved southward into Egypt, under their leader Nial, settled at Pihahiroth, and navigated the fleets of Pharoah. They offered their services to the Israelites in transporting them over the Red Sea, which were refused; only the General observes, that a detachment of them lived, on this very account, in great harmony with the Jews at Bethsan in Palestine. Irish translators have, however, committed a deplorable error in this affair. Instead of translating the sentence, *Nial sachuta uiginge Pharoah*, Nial sailed the fleets of Pharoah; they have rendered it, Nial married Scota the daughter of Pharoah; a miserable falsehood, as appears from the consequences.

The Fir Bolg, Aire Cuti, Gæel, Palli, or Feine, (for all these names are accurate), left Egypt, and sailing from Tyre in Phœnicia, where they left a colony, peopled Malta, Sicily, and Spain. From Gades the boldest and most adventurous steered their course to Ireland, under the name of Milesians. They brought into that island their native language, Oriental manners, letters, and religion, with their skill in manufacturing fine linen of Egypt, which art remains there till this day!

Such are the wretched absurdities which General Vallancey mingles with scraps of misapplied Sanscrit mythology in his Introduction. He details them in greater order in his Preface, which he calls a summary of the ancient history of Ireland; and on them erects the whole fabric of his etymology.

That our readers may appreciate, at their leisure, the value of that information relative to Ireland which the General has lately procured from India, we shall insert here part of the extracts from the Puranas, as given in the introduction. They are said to have been made by Mr Wilford.

‘ The British Isles are called in the Hindoo sacred books, *Tricatichel*, or the mountain with three peaks. For the Pauranies consider all islands as so many mountains, the lower parts of which are covered by the sea.

‘ These three peaks are *Suvarna-cuta*, or *Suvarna-fringa*; *Raja-cuta*, and *Aya-cuta*, called also *Lochacuta*.

‘ They are also called *Dwipa's*, a word signifying a country between two waters (*do ab* in Persian); and then we say *Suvarna-dwip*, *Rajata-dwip*, &c.

‘ *Rajata-dwip* is more commonly called *Sueta-dwip*, or the White Island; an appellation as well known among the learned in the East, as it is in the West. *Suvarna-dwip*, signifies the Golden Island; the word *Suvarna* signifies also, beautiful, excellent; and, in this sense, *Suvarna-dwip*, or *Suvarna cuta*, is perfectly synonymous with *Su-cuta* or *Scuta*.

' *Suvarna* or *Swarna*, being an adjective noun, cannot be used alone, unless in derivative form, as *Suvarneya* or *Swarneya*; and such is, in my humble opinion, the origin of the appellation of *Juvernias* and *Ivernias*. *Swcuteya*, or *S'cuteya*, the regular derivative forms, are not used; but it seems they were once in the West—hence the appellation of *Scotia*; but, in this sense, it can have no affinity whatever with *Scythia*.

' From the earliest periods, *Suvarneya* was considered as the place of abode of the *Pitris* (literally, Fathers, or Manes). There were two places where the *Pitris* might be seen and consulted, according to the *Puranas*.

' The first was on the summit of the highest mountain in the island, (probably *Croagh Patrick*). The second is positively declared to be a narrow cave in a small island in a lake, the waters of which were bitter. There was the entrance of the *Dirgha*, or long passage, into the infernal regions. This *Dirgha* passage is often mentioned in the *Puranas*.

' These two places are called *Pitri-sthan*, or the place of the *Pitris*. *Puricia* is a derivative form seldom used in the *Puranas*, but always in conversation, and in the spoken dialects; for every Hindoo knows *Pitrichasthan*, though ignorant of its situation.

' Now the words *Patricia* and *Patricius*, *Patric*, &c. are not only similar in sound, but have also the same etymological origin. Hence it has been supposed, that the Apostle of Ireland was the contriver of this mode of evocation of the Manes or ancestors. Here I must observe, that the Hindoos acknowledge only a sort of temporary hell or purgatory.

' The legends relating to this place are very numerous and ridiculous.

' We are informed in the *Puranas*, that the *Pitris* were at last obliged to leave their favourite abode in the *Suvarneya*: but we are not told the reason of it. I suspect, however, it was on account of the invasion of the *Palli*, or shepherds: for previous to their arrival, the whole island was considered as SACRED GROUND, and no mortal ever presumed to enter it, without being previously qualified for his admission.

' The *Pitris* fled with their leader to the *Dwipas*, or peninsula of *Aya*, or *Ayea*\*, where they are supposed to remain unmolested to this day; but this place they were also forced to abandon; for we find St Brandon looking for them in a remote island in the Western Ocean.

' Though the *Pitris* were forced to abandon *Suvarna dwip*, yet the *Maha-dewar*, or gateway at the entrance of the *Dirgha*, still remains as it was; and every Hindoo supposes he is to go through it after his death.

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\* Probably Ireland's Aye, or Ireland's Eye, a small island, or rather peninsula at low-water, near Howth, is here meant.

'The gardens of the *Hesperides* are described in the *Puranas*, where long and fulsome stories are to be found relating to them; and they are positively declared to be in *Suvarna-dwip*.

'*Chandra-dwip* is generally used to signify the sacred isles in the West; however, it belongs properly to *Sueta dwip*, or the White Island.

'I am told, adds Mr Wilford, some Hindoos have attempted to visit the *sacred islands* in the West; an account of which, from the *Puranas*, will (if the public approve this Essay) be the subject of a future work. A *Yogi*, now living, is said to have advanced, with his train of pilgrims, as far as *Moscow*; but, though he was not ill used by the Russians, they flocked in such crowds to see him, that he was often obliged to interrupt his devotions, in order to satisfy their curiosity; he therefore chose to return.' Introduction, p. 2, 3.

On this airy fable it may be proper to remark, that it is rather a commentary by Mr Wilford on some detached traditions in the Indian books, than a faithful translation of any particular passage. Mr Wilford boldly sets out with the supposition, that *Tricatachel* is the British Islands; and adds, that they are called *dwipas*, from the Persian word *do-ab*. Now, was the use of the Persian language so ancient in India, as to give an appellation to an object, which neither the modern Hindoos or Persians had any access to know? Is not the whole extract an evident imposition by some of the pundits on Mr Wilford, or even by himself, *animi gratia*, on the General, through the medium of their common friends? Were the ancient Brahmins so minutely acquainted with Irish topography, as to know *Croagh-Patrick*, and the *Cave of Purgatory* in the county of *Donegal*? Is it not an illusion of Mr Wilford, to suppose that the island of the *Hesperides*, or paradise of all the ancient nations, is *Ireland*? Those who have examined the history of *Plato's Atlantis*, *Homer's Cimeria*, the Celtic *Ifrionn*, and the Gothic *Asgard*, are best fitted to state the difficulty of ascertaining their respective place in the maps of *Ptolemy* or *D'Anville*. It is well known, that the Hindoos and Egyptians had no method of exploring the islands in question at the period assigned by the General to the *Iranian emigration*. What knowledge of Britain they might have attained during the prosperity of the *Phœnicians* is uncertain; but, after weighing all probable circumstances, it may be fairly questioned if the existence of Britain and *New Holland* were not in all ages equally a blank in the Sanscrit books.

After these remarks, it is unnecessary to add the General's etymological observations on the Sanscrit words of the extract. According to him, *Suvarna-dwip* is the *golden* island; in Irish, *saibhirna-dubh*; *saibhir*, (*saivir*,) rich, from *saib*, gold; Hebrew, *zahab*.



zahab. Sovurna is also the Irish suvarna, beautiful; and so, mhurna is, most beautiful. He describes, at full length, the Indo-Scythian monuments of Ireland; the bitter waters of Lough Dearg: the temple of Vishnu at Killshandra: the palli, or shepherd kings of Ireland; the Iranian empire; and the language of the Cuti, or Irish, which, he says, is at this day pure Chaldean. The last part of the Introduction is dedicated to a favourite subject in the works of etymologists; to the description of an Indian monument found in a little island on the coast of Sligo, which the General affirms to be a temple of Priapus, and exactly similar to one in the island of Elephanta, called by the Gentoos Mahoody. Our readers must know, that the worship of this deity is of the utmost antiquity in Ireland. The General presents us with an engraving of the two temples. The Irish one is merely a long stone, set at right angles on a broad one, and surrounded with a little wall. We suspect that it is the innocent amusement of some peasant, or superstitious monk, perhaps of an idle shepherd's boy, who little knew the great idolatry into which he was falling, nor the gross mystery of the profane edifice which his hands had reared.

In another plate is delineated what the General calls the Irish Ogham, or Tree-Alphabet, lately discovered in an Arabic MS. in Egypt.

Those who are acquainted with the silly attachment which the Arabs have to talismanic or magic characters and alphabets, will smile at the manner in which General Vallancey has become the dupe of his antiquarian prejudices. A remarkable, but unconnected similarity in the ignorant trifling of the middle ages, has greatly misled his understanding. The Irish monks of these times (the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries) wasted much of their consecrated oil in devising secret modes of writing, some of which consisted in throwing all the vowels out of the alphabet, and substituting in their places one or more consonants. Of the three Oghams given by the General in his Grammar, two are of that kind in which a couple of consonants are put for the vowel *a*, another couple for *e*, and so on through the whole list. The oldest of the Oghams, which the General affirms to be that of the Pagan Irish, primitive Iranians, Aire-Cuti, and Japhetians, is nothing but a precious relic of the old Irish monks, in which crosses, variously modified, are put for the letters of the alphabet. It is still more wonderful to hear the General gravely asserting, (Irish Grammar, p. 8.) that the Uraiceacht na neigeas, or *Primer of the Bards*, from which he extracted it, was written some years before our vulgar æra. This is the celebrated alphabet which so much resembles that found in Egypt. The reader may peruse both

both in the engraving, and laugh or pity as inclination leads him.

The Irish names of these primitive letters are as ridiculous as their figures and boasted antiquity. The letters of the Bobeloth, or the Phœnician alphabet, are called after scripture places and heroes, who could not be known to its Japhetan composers (Irish Grammar, p. 9.) soon after the confusion of tongues. For instance, L, H, D, Q, M, R, A, O, E, J, received out of the Vulgate, not the Hebrew Bible, the corrupted names of Lot, Urias, David, Caleb, Moria, Ruben, Achab, Ossee, and Joaichim. Five of the diphthongs were more fortunate. They obtained from fancy the sonorous titles of Eutrosius, Oirdionors, Uimealcus, Jodonius, and Aofriam, or Ephraim; no doubt men of great prowess and abilities in their day, though now, except Ephraim alone, totally forgotten.

The Bethluisnon alphabet, taken by O'Flaherty from the book of *Lacan*, gives the name of some particular tree to each letter; though the General has found it convenient to join these ancient names to the *Bobeloth* characters, for the purposes of theory.

We are, moreover, indebted to the clerich, in vulgar Latin, clerici, and, in English, clergy, for all the Milesian heroes, Spanish Phœnicians, Cuthites, and Indo-Scythians, who ever entered Ireland, or found a place in the book of Ballymote.

The second division of the General's work is called the Preface. It contains, at full length, the absurd history of which we have already given an abridgement. The following extract concerning Ossian must doubtless please our Celtic readers, as it is founded on good authorities, is very plausible in itself, and firmly believed by the General. We give the Persic words in English characters, as found in the General's orthography.

'The *Ixed*, Genius or Demon, of the Zend, is the *Sid* of the Chaldees, and the *Sidh* or good genius of the Irish; the *Sidh-bhróg*, or domestic Sidh, is supposed yet to attend certain families, and the *bann-sidh* (bann-shee) genius or angel of separation, that is, of death, is believed to haunt certain families, and to give notice of the death of a distant relation. *Taibhsidh*, is the attendant or following genius, from *taba*, following. In the Zend, we find *Oshen*, the Oisín or Oishín of Ireland, of whom the Parsi know as little as Macpherson did of Ossian. In the Zend we find the *Gah-Oshen* (in Irish, *gui Oishin*) prayer to Oshen—he is thus esteemed a good genius. When Le Brun was with the Guebres, or Parsi, the Priests told him, that when Adam was thirty-one years old, he begat *Oushin*, and that he was father of a numerous family, who was succeeded by *Jem-sid*, their first king, who lived 700 years: (Le Brun, V. ii. p. 389.). Dr Hyde translates a passage from Sheristan, setting forth, that in the time of

*Oshan*

*Oshan* appeared the evil genius *Petyrah*. These names being familiar with the Irish, the Christian missionaries in this island formed the poem of *Ossian* and *Patrick*, reversing the good for the evil genius, and the evil for the good; although the graver historians allow, that *Ossian* lived many centuries before *Patrick*. If *Ossian* had not been esteemed the good genius, the first Christian bishops would hardly have taken his name; in *Colgan* we find no less than six. Whoever will read the life of *St Patrick*, and the history of him in the ancient MS., will be convinced of the truth of this assertion—first, he declares that he came from *Nembthlur*, i. e. the distant paradise, (*neem tur*); but the pagan priests declared he was *Taile gheim* (*tali jin*), an evil dæmon; *Telchides*, mali dæmones (*Suidas*); and that he was *Succat*, the wicked, (*Shuky*)—then he is said to have vomited out fire, like a dæmon, before the Pagan king *Milcho*.<sup>1</sup> Preface, p. xxxix.

‘This is the Persian story of *Zerdurst* appearing in fire to his disciples: all the genii are said to be composed of fire. There was an altar dedicated to *Oishin*, on the top of a mountain in the barony of *Inish Owen*, as there were to all other genii and deities in pagan Ireland; as, to *Cailee*, *Diarmut*, &c. &c.; that to *Oishin* is marked in an ancient map of that country, engraved at the cost of the Earl of *Donegall*, there named *Alt Oisin* (now *Sliabh Sneacht*)—it is a valuable map, having the head of the Earl in one corner, engraved by *Hoßbein*; it was in my possession, and I made a copy of it.’ Preface, p. xl.

Our limits will not permit us to give the General’s account from the *Din Seanacas Eirinn*, a very ancient MS., of those Irish deities and subdeities, who, like *Visbnu*, prosecuted their sublunary amours in that country. But we must not omit, that the Arabic name of *Ossian* is *Asin*, or *Osin*, radical or illustrious of descent.

Having completely proved, by these and similar arguments, the great and useful principle of the cognate origin of the Egyptians, Hindoos, Persians, Phenicians, Chinese, and Irish, the General concludes his long preface with comparative tables of the *Zend*, the *Pelhvi*, *Coptic*, *Hindostanee*, *Arabic*, and *Hebrew*, separately arranged with the *Celtic*. Among all these he finds nothing but continual resemblance, and astonishing proofs of mutual affinity. The most remote analogy furnishes him with conclusions of perfect certainty, which seem to arise in his mind, without care or hesitation. The following precious little anecdote may serve to convey an idea of the facility with which the General imbibes historical and philological truth.

‘Mr *Lebedoff*, a Russian, who lived twelve years in *Bengal*, and is master of the *Bengalese* language, was walking one day, very lately, in *Oxford-street*, and overheard two Irish milk-women conversing in their native language—he was able to understand every thing they said, from its resemblance to the *Bengalese*. (*S. W. O.*)’ Pref. p. xxix.

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We suspect that this anecdote bears for its authority the initials of the respectable name of Sir William Ouseley!!

We sensibly feel our own inability to discover, whether the Sanscrit and Irish be cognate dialects or not. Few natives of Scotland are such proficient in a language of which there are no printed books, grammars, or dictionaries. It is not, however, difficult to judge, from the specimens given in these tables, that their boasted resemblance is purely imaginary. As to the other Oriental languages, which the General has pressed into his service, we can perceive their coincidence, and state their distinguishing qualities with greater certainty, from our own knowledge. To what extent his comparative etymologies may appear conclusive to a Celtic scholar, especially to one that is ignorant of Coptic, we will not even conjecture; but we have no hesitation to affirm, that the language of the Pharaohs resembles the Irish neither in words, structure, nor grammar. Two or three vocables in Egyptian, or in any language under heaven, may accidentally coincide in sound and sense with as many Irish. It is all that any rational philologist can show; and none will consider it worthy of attention. The Zend or Persic retains some affinity to the Teutonic dialects; the reason of which can be explained without any violation of truth or probability. Through the Danish, that similarity may have entered the Irish; as *Nial* or *Nigel* certainly arrived in Ireland by the route of Scandinavia. The Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, Chaldee, Syriac, and Phœnician, have the same resemblance to the Irish, as the Coptic; that is—none whatsoever. It will surprise those who are little acquainted with the General's philological studies, to see him mistaking the corrupted Maltese Arabic for the Phœnician. In this, however, he was misled by his guides and instructors, many of whom have at times been seduced to trifle with the weakness of his judgment.

The Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, Chaldee, Syriac, and Phœnician, are indeed dialects of the same original language; and it may not be improper to mention the *criteria* by which we support our assertion. These dialects have the major of their words nearly the same both in sense and sound. Their verbs are formed of a similar number of letters: their moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, are formed in the same manner, and by the same letters or particles. All the six dialects agree in the declension of their nouns, and in the genius of their construction. The nations which spoke them were contiguous, similar in customs and manners; and their written history records the fact of their common original.

These are the *criteria* by which we maintain, that the affinities of all the tribes of mankind may be discovered with tolerable accuracy. If India can produce a dialect which coincides as fully  
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with the Irish, as the Hebrew with the Arabic, or the English with the Scotch, we shall readily finish all disputes : we shall forget the immense distance between Palibothra and Ireland's Eye, the imperfection of Hindoo shipping, the uncertainty of tradition, and hail the ancient union of India and Hibernia, her Brahminical paradise, and Elysian island in the West. Though Irish nabobs may possibly still exist, who have retired, at the eve of life, from the banks of the Ganges to those of the Shannon, we cannot admit that the practice is of any antiquity. We assert, that their first emigration was from Ireland to India, where, instead of understanding Persic and Bengalee, in consequence of their Irish, some of them have undergone the usual toil in acquiring these two languages, and most of them have never acquired them at all. Our readers may compare that fact with the anecdote of M. Lebedoff, which the General firmly believes, though his informer did not.

These remarks will abridge our labour on the last and most important division of the General's book—the *Prospectus of a Comparative Irish Dictionary*. He proposes, in this work, to illustrate the Irish words by cognate examples drawn from all the languages above mentioned. On this plan, and the basis on which it depends, we have nothing more to say. The *Prospectus* consists of 77 pages, and may contain about 400 words, each of which are derived from, or compared with vocables gathered from the Oriental languages. We have examined them all; and are ready to pledge ourselves to any of our readers, whose learning and judgment are sufficient to examine the facts, that there is not a true etymology in the whole number. Few philological theories are totally destitute of truth and information. In abundance of error there are commonly two or three particles of useful science. This is the only publication in which there is none. It is unique in its kind, and perhaps the first of the sort that has yet passed through the hands of a Reviewer. We sincerely believe with the General, that the disastrous event at Babel did not all the mischief which erring philologists have supposed. The first inspection of his *Prospectus* fully convinced us, that the *total confusion* of languages was reserved for a later, brighter, and more glorious period. Let one unselected example speak for the rest.

‘Ormuzd or armuzd, as it is written, *i. e.* God, the *Tchetri* of the Zend, and the *Seathar* of the Irish, is certainly composed of *arum* or *arm*, and *ixed*, *i. e.* the first or original Good Genius, in Irish *Arm sidh*, or *Arm uasd*,<sup>6</sup> (see *Us*.), whence *ixed* in modern Persian signifies God, and so did *Arm* in Irish. The pater-noster of the first Christian missionaries began thus, *Ar n'Arm ata ar neamh*. Our origin (first principle, radix) who art in paradise. (See my *Irish Grammar*, 2d edit.) At present it runs thus, *Ar n'Athair ata ar neamh*, our father who art  
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in heaven ; *athair* and *arm*, are words of the same meaning, as explained by Archbishop Cormac, who lived in the tenth century, *athair*, *ater*, *atri*, origo, primitus dicebatur, quasi *pater*, i. e. *athar*. In Arabic the words are also synonymous, *arm*, *arum*, stirps, origo ; *atr*, radix, stirps, and the Chaldee *aram* and *atar*, the same, and *petar*, primitus ; whence the Greek and Latin *Pater*, and English *Father*. Ormuzd, or the good principle, was named *dei* by the Persians, in Irish *Dia* and *Da*, and *Dagh-dae*, or the good Deity *Dia*, *Dei*, *De*, *Dae*, good ; he was also named *De-thobha*, or the good good, or the good *De*, which Shaw translates *Jehovah* ; but it is from the Chaldee *tab*, *taba*, Heb. *tob*. Ar. *tiub*, *taeb*, *toobè*, good, bonus ; metaph. *elegans*, *præstans*, *hilaris*, *jucundus*, *lætus*, item substantivè *bonum*, *bonitas*, *beneficium*, and the Persian *Dei*, the deity, the divinity, the good principle Ormuzd, in opposition to *Aherman*, the principle of evil, in Irish *a-harmuin*, cursed, unblest ; and hence *Dia*, God ; whence the Latin *Deus*. In like manner, we find the Deity expressed in Irish MSS. by *Barr* and *Barrcean*, i. e. good—the chief of goodness or beneficence, agreeing with the Arabic *Berr*, *Barr*, good, beneficent, just, equitable, true—pious towards God and parents, piety, &c. &c. We also find *Keima*, *Rama*, one of the good genii, signifying compassion ; *Rami*, name of an Ized or good genius, (De Sacy) ; Ar. *rehim*, compassion, mercy ; whence *rahman*, God, (the merciful.)' Pref. p. xxxvii.

While we offer on the General's publication these strictures, which every one is requested to examine severely, by a perusal of the book itself, we cannot refrain from deploring the miserable state of Celtic literature. Ireland possessed many MSS. of old laws, poems, romances, chronicles, &c. which were not composed by Pagans, though at a time when Britain was comparatively illiterate. The Christian clergy of the dark ages preserved or invented many of those improbable fables, which, during more than thirty years, General Vallancey and his fellow antiquaries have published for truth. The stories of Oiesan, Fin, and his heroes, may be better learned from Irish MSS. of the 12th, than from ignorant Highland traditions of the 9th century. Such a height of discredit have these traditions now attained, that since the publications of Macpherson, no candid inquirer dare trust in them, even when they are supported by the most respectable authority. Irish or Highland MSS. older than the beginning of the 18th century, must alone determine the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian. Such extracts of these MSS. as are useful for any literary purpose, ought to be published by the joint labours of the *Irish and Highland literati*. The time is for ever fled, when a Highlander might forge what he pleased, and tell the world that it was a translation. Why does no sober antiquary compile a dictionary of the Irish from authentic MSS. and printed books, without one particle of etymology. The various senses of the voca-  
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bles should be taken from existing writings, and the vernacular dialects of Ireland and Scotland. The orthography should be adjusted from MSS. or correct philological analogy, not from any theoretical derivations, with which even the quotations of some Celtic philologists have been corrupted. Instead of this scientific labour, the Caledonian and Hibernian antiquaries waste long lives, and respectable learning, in establishing fictions which a child would ridicule, and in torturing the pliable orthography of a barbarous dialect, to give it a fanciful resemblance to Sanscrit or Phœnician. Smith's Gaelic Antiquaries, the writings of the two Macphersons, and all the works of General Vallancey, are thus either a chaos of etymology, or a heap of false history and fanciful hypotheses. One solitary Gaelic publication, the Grammar by Mr Stewart of Moulin, deserves to be exempted from this charge. The author has obtained the praise of General Vallancey, because he understands Hebrew: we, on the other hand, should have been more disposed to bestow upon him our own praise, had he understood no Hebrew at all, or rather made no use of it in that publication. Though we pretend to more knowledge of the Oriental languages than of Irish, we know enough of the latter to assert, that there is not a Hebrew or an Arabic type necessary in printing the Dictionary which is to transmit it to posterity.

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ART. XIV. *An Essay on Abstinence from Animal Food, as a Moral Duty.* By Joseph Ritson. 8vo. London, Phillips. 1802. pp. 236.

IN the toilsome and unvaried round of ephemeral productions which we are constantly obliged to run, in order to discover what works are worthy of a place in our catalogue, it does not frequently happen that we experience so great a variety of feelings from the cursory perusal of the common tracts which load the press, as we have been subjected to by the author of the essay now before us. Disgust, pity, contempt, laughter, detestation, have been alternately excited by the perusal of this most extraordinary performance. As the author of it has formerly distinguished himself by his industry in the useful and often interesting path of the antiquary, and as the subject of these pages is extremely curious, in a merely speculative point of view, we think proper to treat our readers with a glimpse of the present publication, and to relieve ourselves, by sharing with them the various emotions which it has raised in our minds.

The object of this treatise is to prove the iniquity of using animal food. The expediency of a vegetable diet, as conducive

to health of mind and body, is only touched upon in a few pages, apparently introduced as an episode to the work itself, which has for its subject, properly speaking, only the criminality, the moral turpitude, of feeding upon flesh. Had the author treated his subject in a pleasing and consistent manner—had he comprehended in his plan the various singular inquiries to which the general enunciation of the title evidently leads, we should with pleasure have followed him into a very curious and interesting field of discussion, a field in which the greatest talents of antiquity were once exerted to enlighten and improve mankind, although the more important topics of modern science have for some ages buried all such inquiries in the libraries of the classical scholar. But the very narrow view which he takes of this great question, confines our speculations to an uninteresting branch of the subject. The point at issue is, Whether the ties of moral duty enjoin a strict abstinence from animal food; and whether the use of animal food does not lead to still more flagrant crimes?

The author, in his first chapter, appears to follow the example of some ancient writers, and, for the sake of *generalization*, to begin with a dissertation wholly devoid of any particular connexion with the subject of the work. The title of the chapter is, '*Of Man.*' If this dissertation has any object, it is to retail all the whimsies of Lord Monboddo, and his small circle of adherents, in mean and vulgar language. The conclusions tacked to the end of this rhapsody, we cannot say deduced from it, are, that man is of the same species with the lower animals; that almost all living creatures subsist by devouring each other; that man, who boasts of his preeminence, is a prey to millions of beasts, while he only makes use of a few. Then, as if this were not sufficiently disgusting, we are desired to believe, that there is 'neither intention nor benevolence in nature;' and that if the present order of things is to continue, it were better such 'diabolical monsters,' as all animals now are, should cease to exist. P. 39. & 40.

As the first chapter concludes with a positive denial, that justice, mercy, and benevolence, are natural, and an open avowal of contempt for the order of nature, we are not a little surprised to find that the first argument against the use of animal food, is drawn from an attempt to prove that it is 'not natural to man.' This is the *title*, and we find (for it does not necessarily follow) that this is also the *subject* of the second chapter.

The author next proceeds to show that animal food is not necessary for the purpose of strength or corpulency. And the three following chapters, occupying above seventy pages, are employed in arguing that cruelty and ferocity, the use of human sacri-



fices, and the devouring of human flesh, are the natural consequences of eating animal food! After the specimen which we have given of the excess and the incongruity of this author's opinions, we believe our readers will readily excuse us for dropping our analysis, and proceeding to offer a very few general remarks upon the literary and moral turpitude which marks almost every page of the nauseous and contemptible thing that we are at present forced to keep before us.

Were we inclined to undertake the discussion which forms the subject of this author's book, we should only have to consider abstinence from animal food in its relation to duty. The question of expediency is altogether foreign to his views. Now, admitting all his impious sarcasms and paradoxes upon the order of nature, it seems very manifest that no better defence of animal food, as a matter of moral consideration, can possibly be offered, than this one simple proposition—the use of it is prescribed by necessity—is a part of that order of nature which such persons, as this writer may scoff at, but must obey. The wasting of animal life is not a matter of choice. Every drop of water that quenches our thirst, or laves our bodies, contains innumerable insects, who are sacrificed to our necessities or comforts; each simple that forms a part of the most humane and scrupulous Pythagorean or Brahmin's vegetable fare, conveys to inevitable destruction, thousands of the most beautiful and harmless of created beings. The ground on which we press to succour a wounded animal, or to adore the God of tender mercy, is by those actions necessarily turned into a scene of torture and carnage. From the first to the last gasp of our lives, we never inhale the air of heaven, without butchering myriads of sentient and innocent creatures.

Placed as we are, then, by our destiny, in a situation that renders murder the action which, of all others, we most constantly perform, can we deem it unnatural or criminal, if, in order to pursue the gratification of our instinctive appetites, we swell, by an imperceptible voluntary addition, the catalogue of necessary enormities? Can we upbraid ourselves for supporting our lives by the death of a few animals, many of whom are themselves carnivorous, when the infant who has lived for a single day, has killed an infinitely greater number of harmless beings, than the longest life would suffice to murder by design? Or, if we sacrifice either our lives or our comforts, by scrupulously denying ourselves the use of animals, can we derive much consolation from considering, that, we spare a few scores of beings, when we involuntarily, but knowingly, are every moment massacring more than the longest lifetime would suffice to enumerate?

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But the inconsistency necessary to the tenets supported by the work now before us, is rendered still more apparent by the voluntary conduct of those who are frantic enough to adopt such doctrines. These men, with all their detestation of cruelty towards animals, are in practice lamentably incongruous and motley. They are not content with that measure of iniquity and inhumanity which they cannot avoid; they wilfully increase the catalogue of their tormentings and massacres.

The author of this performance tells us, that for above thirty years,

—‘ he has ever since, to the revisal of this sheet, firmly adhere’d to a milk and vegetable diet, having, at least, never taste’d, during the whole course of those thirty years, a morsel of flesh, fish, or fowl, or any thing, to his knowledge, prepar’d in or with those substance’s, or any extract thereof, unless on one occasion, when tempted by wet, cold, and hunger, in the south of Scotland, he venture’d to eat a few potatos, dress’d under the roast: nothing, less repugnant to his feelings, being to be had; or except by ignorance or imposition; unless, it may be, in eating eggs, which, however, deprives no animal of life, though it may prevent some from coming into the world to be murder’d and devour’d by others.’ P. 201-202.

And again, (p. 196.), he says,

‘ The compileër of the present book, like Pythagoras and John Williamson \*, abstains from animal food.’

But how lamentably inconsistent is this very passage with itself! Is not the consumption of milk the starving of calves? and is not the devouring of eggs, the causing of acute misery to a tender mother, and the procuring of abortions? Besides, admitting all these acts to be consistent with justice and humanity, how wretchedly short does such conduct fall of that purity which is easily attainable, and which is plainly prescribed by the same principles or feelings! We are charitable enough to suspect that this author’s obedience to the common instinct of cleanliness, leads him occasionally to attempt the expulsion of those intruders which frequently invade the neglected regions of the human body. What a world of animal life and happiness must he not destroy by every such endeavour, however feelingly it may be performed, and with however little success it may be attended! Or, if he carries his theory so far as to foster and cherish all the inhabitants of his surface, does he never cover his

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\* This personage is thus named in the text: ‘ John Williamson, *alias* Pythagoras, *alias* Bramin, *alias* Hole-John,’ &c.—*Ibid.*

animated system with the spoils of the innocent sheep? Are his lucubrations themselves, his diatribes against the murder of animals, free from similar charges? The liquid in which they flow derives its properties from the destruction of a harmless insect, the quiet inhabitant of the spreading oak; the tube which performs the operation, is torn bleeding from the plumes of that bird which saved the capitol of Rome; the oil which is wasted to illuminate the midnight process, is a damning proof of the long-protracted torments and inhuman butchery of the great Leviathan, the lord of the deep.

How pitiful, then, is this author's attempt to carry his principles into practice, by abstaining from certain kinds of food eaten by the rest of mankind; while, in a thousand ways, he voluntarily destroys the life and comfort of various animals, prevents still more from ever seeing the light, and actually causes the destruction or torture of many which the ox-fed rustic never molests! His whole life, as an author, is at variance with those principles which torment and starve his life as a man. His harangues against destroying animal life, are ushered into the world on the spoils of the slain; and the taking up of his pen to deprecate the violation of life, is a signal for the fate of thousands. Would it be more ridiculous in a righteous confectioner to preach up the abolition of the slave trade, by uttering invectives against the use of sugar in tea, and practise his doctrines by conscientiously poisoning himself with sour punch, while he dealt out to the world every other species of saccharine preparation?

But the great end of nature, we are told, is the multiplication of animal existence. The inanimate vegetables are given to man for his support; and he is acting contrary to the destination of Providence, when he violates the life of animated beings. It is true, that one great purpose of nature, if indeed our faculties can scan those plans, appears to be the multiplication of animal life: but it is equally obvious to our faculties, that another purpose is as generally displayed on this globe, the destruction of animal life. The utmost that we can pretend to affirm is, the probable subserviency of the one to the other of these ends, equally constant and universal. Beyond this, it is not even given to our narrow minds to conjecture.

How narrow and partial, indeed, are all such systems as the Pythagorean and Brahminical, not to mention the system of the present publication, which possesses neither the elegant symmetry, nor the philosophical consistency, nor the interesting superstition, that adorned and dignified the systems of Samos and Indostan! While the gross ox, and the stupid tortoise, may sluggishly rejoice at those whims to which they owe their safety, how many myriads

riads of the gayest beings that animate the regions of the air, and the fairest forms that sparkle in the sun-beam, are sacrificed to spare the torpid existence of a few shapeless lumps of scarcely vivified clay ! If the gratitude of such brutes can delight our self-denying sages, let the cries of the innocent and frolic beings that inhabit the green leaf, or sport upon the pellucid fountain, awaken their remorse ; beings who must wish that the harmless and gentle nature of the tyger were breathed into the ferocious and insatiable lamb, and the bloody, murderous, carnivorous *ritson*, a newly discovered animal of anomalous order, of which as yet only one solitary specimen has presented itself to the attention of naturalists.

It would, indeed, be an irksome and unprofitable task to follow more minutely the reasonings, if such they can be called, which this work contains ; to prove, for instance, in opposition to the doctrine of the third chapter, that animal food, whether it may be necessary for promoting corpulency and strength or not, is, in some countries where Providence has scattered men, necessary for the support of life, and the only sustenance provided by the climate and soil. We shall merely observe, that the chapters which deduce cruelty, the practice of human sacrifices, and the eating of human flesh, from the use of animal food, are, beyond any of the rest, pregnant with disgusting and tiresome folly. It would be throwing away words to argue, that the sacrifice of men to appease the wrath of imaginary gods, arises from principles and fancies utterly unconnected with the diet and regimen of the savages who are cursed with so barbarous and gloomy a system of religious worship ; or to prove that the nations of Europe are as civilized and humane as the Hindoos, (who, by the way, admit human sacrifices into almost every branch of their religion) ; or to contend, that those who inhabit the country of roast beef are as little in danger of seeing the limbs of their friends exposed to sale in their markets, as we are in this quarter of the island, where the horse and his rider amicably mess together upon vegetable fare out of the same trough.

For our parts, we freely acknowledge, that all those topics of dissuasion have but little effects on our obdurate and carnivorous souls. We have little fear of diminishing that gentleness and placidity of temper which belongs to our vocation ; or of being moved to appease the goddess of criticism with the body of a scribbler ; still less of turning our teeth and nails from the pages to the carcasses of authors ; although we should now and then indulge in that species of nutriment, for which, as a rarity, we must own a predilection not unnatural in Scottish reviewers ; and for which we feel all the members of our system, except our purse, admirably well adapted by nature.

In the ninth chapter the author commemorates the worthies of his Elysium, those wise and virtuous persons who have subsisted entirely on vegetables.

*‘Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta!’*

The figures, most prominent in this group, are the author himself and his bookseller, between whom, by the way, no small degree of affection seems to subsist. For in another part of the work, an advertisement of a book, published by this tradesman, is carefully and minutely introduced. p. 25, 26.

We only stop here, to give a new specimen of that perverse and systematic inconsistency, which seems to form an integral part of this author's whole feelings and principles. One of the characters, chiefly extolled for his humanity and universal benevolence, in abstaining from all injury to the lower animals, is a Mr Oswald, who learnt his virtues in Asia. On no account would this excellent person pass through a butcher market:—so abhorrent to his gentle mind was the sight of blood. Accordingly, in pursuance of his kindly system, he went to Paris in the heat of the Revolution, and was noted for being one of the most outrageous members of the Jacobin Club. Retaining his unparalleled humanity of disposition, and abhorrence at the sight of animal blood, this abstinent sage was the first who proposed to the Convention the introduction of the pike, both for the use of the army and the mob. ‘Fortune smiled upon him; he acquired wealth, by teaching people of both sexes the use of this instrument;’ and at last fell, with both his sons, (whom he had early taught to abstain from a cruel regimen), fighting against the Royalists in La Vandee. Such is the person to whom the author of this performance, with an incongruity altogether unexampled, assigns a splendid niche in his temple of humanity! A maniac, who sought the massacres of Paris, and was zealous to avoid even the sight of blood: a wretch who would not kill a tiger, but died unsated in his thirst for human blood!

*Italiam! Italiam!*—The concluding chapter contains a full exhibition of the ideas which the author entertains upon the subject of humanity. ‘*Eater of beef and mutton*,’ is here used as synonymous with cannibal. The objects held up to our admiration, are such men as the silly and dirty hermit of Assué, who called ‘hares, lambs, swallows, and grasshoppers, by the endearing appellations of brothers and sisters;’ and ‘would not suffer lice or worms to be killed, inasmuch as the Psalmist had said, “I am a worm.”’ Frequent arguments and anecdotes are, indeed, brought forward, in the course of this chapter, in favour of vermin; particularly the louse, which seems to be a special favourite of the author; and

and the slow destruction of which, he tells us (p. 231.) is as much a murder, as the destruction of a man. The eulogium of the murderer Oswald has already been quoted, in describing the consistency of the author's tenets. But the presumption and impiety which pervades these pages, is still more odious than their inconsistency. Will it be credited, that the creature who is afraid of hurting a louse or a flea, and speaks with tenderness of the most noxious of living things, talks of Omnipotence in a blasphemous strain of contempt? Hear how this puny worm raises its cry, to arraign the order of nature, and scoff at the Omniscience, which, for wise purposes, though quite unknown to us, suffers it to crawl upon the earth.

In p. 99, is a quotation from the guardian, suggesting that the cries of animals may perhaps be given them by Providence, to avert the cruelty of men. On this we meet with the following remark :

' It may be so ; but it is evident, that Providence has not in this instance had all the success she intended. She would have acted more wisely, when she was about it, to have infus'd a little humanity into the mind of her favourite.' See also p. 37, 198, &c.

After this, it will perhaps rather be a relief to our readers to be told of nothing worse than treason. In p. 89, the author, with unparalleled effrontery, bestows upon a Sovereign, the excellent qualities of whose heart have never yet been disputed, the odious appellation, which is peculiar to the meanest and most detestable office in the community—that of the last executor of the law.

Before taking leave of this nauseous performance, a few words remain to be added upon the *style* in which so many absurdities are delivered. We do not mean to go farther than the external qualities—the matchless ludicrousness of the orthography and typography. The following words may convey a notion of the strange garb in which this book appears : *Writeërs* (writers) ; *wel* (well) ; *kil* (kill) ; *only* (only) ; *probabley* (probably) ; *perhap* (perhaps) ; *bodys* (bodies). But it is not only to the structure and spelling of words, that this poor innovator extends his love of change. By a stange species of egotism, the first personal pronoun is always printed i. When two s's occur, they are not printed as usual ss, but sf ; and a double f is uniformly printed separately ff. In these, as in the more substantial part of his eccentricity, the creature is haunted by the same perpetual inconsistency. For why does he not carry his reforms to other parts of language and typography, which are not more trifling or indifferent, and which depend equally on custom or convention? Why, for instance, does he not spell *cock*, *coc* or *kok*? Why do we

we meet with such words, as *dead, believe, beings, &c.*? Why is each sentence begun with a large letter, as well as each name of a man and place? Why is the junction of s and f permitted with all other letters, and not when doubled? Why is the apostrophe inserted in some participles, as *ascribe'd, taste'd*, and not in others, as *communicat'ed*; and never, where alone it is necessary, to distinguish the genitive case? Our readers will perceive how exactly this inconsistency and folly, in the external appearance, is parallel to that which distinguishes the substance of the work. Neither species of perversity, we believe, can be paralleled in any other quarter. We now most joyfully leave the '*Essay on abstinence from animal food*' to that oblivion which awaits it; and from which its singularities, how gross and wicked soever, are of too dull a cast to save it.

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ART. XIV. *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*. By Robert Percival, Esq., of his Majesty's Nineteenth Regiment of Foot. London; C. & R. Baldwin.

IT is now little more than half a century since the English first began to establish themselves in any force upon the peninsula of India; and we at present possess, in that country, a more extensive territory, and a more numerous population, than any European power can boast of at home. In no instance has the genius of the English, and their courage, shone forth more conspicuously than in their contest with the French for the empire of India. The numbers on both sides were always inconsiderable; but the two nations were fairly matched against each other, in the cabinet and the field; the struggle was long and obstinate; and, at the conclusion, the French remained masters of a dismantled town, and the English of the grandest and most extensive colony that the world has ever seen. To attribute this success to the superior genius of Clive, is not to diminish the reputation it confers on his country, which reputation must of course be elevated by the number of great men to which it gives birth. But the French were by no means deficient in casualties of genius at that period, unless Bussy is to be considered as a man of a common stature of mind, or Dupleix to be classed with the vulgar herd of politicians. Neither was Clive (though he clearly stands forward as the most prominent figure in the group) without the aid of some military men of very considerable talents. Clive extended our Indian empire; but General Lawrence preserved it to be extended; and the former caught, perhaps, from the latter, that military spirit by which he

he soon became a greater soldier than him, without whom he never would have been a soldier at all.

Gratifying as these reflections upon our prowess in India are to national pride, they bring with them the painful reflection, that so considerable a portion of our strength and wealth is vested upon such precarious foundations, and at such an immense distance from the parent country. The glittering fragments of the Portuguese empire, scattered up and down the East, should teach us the instability of such dominion. We are (it is true) better capable of preserving what we have obtained, than any other nation which has ever colonized in Southern Asia: but the object of ambition is so tempting, and the perils to which it is exposed so numerous, that no calculating mind can found any durable conclusions upon this branch of our commerce, and this source of our strength.

In the acquisition of Ceylon, we have obtained the greatest of all our wants—a good harbour. For it is a very singular fact, that, in the whole peninsula of India, Bombay is alone capable of affording a safe retreat to ships during the period of the monsoons.

The geographical figure of our possessions in Ceylon is whimsical enough: we possess the whole of the sea coast, and enclose in a periphery the unfortunate King of Candia, whose rugged and mountainous dominions may be compared to a coarse mass of iron, set in a circle of silver. The Popilian ring, in which this votary of Buddha has been so long held by the Portuguese and Dutch, has infused the most vigilant jealousy into the government, and rendered it as difficult to enter the kingdom of Candia, as if it were Paradise or China; and yet, once there, always there; for the difficulty of departing is just as great as the difficulty of arriving; and his Candian Excellency, who has used every device in his power to keep them out, is seized with such an affection for those who baffle his defensive artifices, that he can on no account suffer them to depart. He has been known to detain a string of four or five Dutch embassies, till various members of the legation died of old age at his court, while they were expecting an answer to their questions, and a return to their presents.\* And his Majesty once exasperated a little French ambassador to such a degree, by the various pretences under which he kept him at his court, that this lively member of the Corps Diplomatique, one day, in a furious passion, attacked six or seven of his Majesty's largest elephants sword in hand, and would, in all probability, have reduced them to mince-meat, if the poor beasts had not been saved from the unequal combat.

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\* Knox's Ceylon.



The best and most ample account of Ceylon is contained in the narrative of Robert Knox, who, in the middle of the 17th century, was taken prisoner there (while refitting his ship) at the age of nineteen, and remained nineteen years on the island, in slavery to the King of Candia. During this period, he learnt the language, and acquired a thorough knowledge of the people. The account he has given of them is extremely entertaining, and written in a very simple and unaffected style; so much so, indeed, that he presents his reader with a very grave account of the noise the devil makes in the woods of Candia, and of the frequent opportunities he has had of hearing him.

Mr Percival does not pretend to deal with the devil; but appears to have used the fair and natural resources of observation and good sense, to put together an interesting description of Ceylon. There is nothing in the book very animated, or very profound, but it is without pretensions; and if it does not excite attention by any unusual powers of description, it never disgusts by credulity, wearies by prolixity, or offends by affectation. It is such an account as a plain military man of diligence and common sense might be expected to compose; and narratives like these we must not despise. To military men we have been, and must be indebted for our first acquaintance with the interior of many countries. Conquest has explored more than ever curiosity has done: and the path for science has been commonly opened by the sword.

We shall proceed to give a very summary abstract of the principal contents of Mr Percival's book.

The immense accessions of territory which the English have acquired in the East Indies since the American War, rendered it absolutely necessary, that some efforts should be made to obtain possession of a station where ships might remain in safety during the violent storms incidental to that climate. As the whole of that large tract which we possess along the Coromandel coast, presents nothing but open roads, all vessels are obliged, on the approach of the monsoons, to stand out in the open seas; and there are many parts of the coast that can be approached only during a few months of the year. As the harbour of Trincomalee, which is equally secure at all seasons, afforded the means of obviating these disadvantages, it is evident, that, on the first rupture with the Dutch, our countrymen would attempt to gain possession of it. A body of troops was, in consequence, detached in the year 1795, for the conquest of Ceylon, which (in consequence of the indiscipline which political dissension had introduced among the Dutch troops) was effected almost without opposition.

Ceylon is now inhabited by the English ; the remains of the Dutch, and Portuguese, the Cinglese or natives, subject to the dominion of the Europeans ; the Candians subject to the king of their own name ; and the Vaddahs, or wild men, subject to no power. A Ceylonese Dutchman is a coarse, grotesque species of animal, whose native apathy and phlegm is animated only by the insolence of a colonial tyrant : His principal amusement appears to consist in smoking ; but his pipe, according to Mr Percival's account, is so seldom out of his mouth, that his smoking appears to be almost as much a necessary function of animal life, as his breathing. His day is eked out with gin, ceremonious visits, and prodigious quantities of gross food dripping with oil and butter ; his mind, just able to reach from one meal to another, is incapable of farther exertion ; and, after the panting and deglutition, of a long protracted dinner, reposes on the sweet expectation that, in a few hours, the carnivorous toil will be renewed. He lives only to digest, and, while the organs of gluttony perform their office, he has not a wish beyond ; and is the happy man which Horace describes—

——— *in seipso totus, teres, atque rotundus.*

The descendants of the Portuguese differ materially from the Moors, Malabars, and other Mahometans. Their great object is, to show the world they are Europeans and Christians. Unfortunately, their ideas of Christianity are so imperfect, that the only mode they can hit upon of displaying their faith, is by wearing hats and breeches, and, by these habiliments, they consider themselves as showing a proper degree of contempt, on various parts of the body, towards Mahomet and Buddha. They are lazy, treacherous, effeminate, and passionate to excess ; and are, in fact, a locomotive and animated farrago of the bad qualities of all tongues, people, and nations on the face of the earth.

The Malays, whom we forgot before to enumerate, form a very considerable portion of the inhabitants of Ceylon. Their original empire lies in the peninsula of Malacca, from whence they have extended themselves over Java, Sumatra, the Moluccas, and a vast number of other islands in the peninsula of India. It has been many years customary for the Dutch to bring them to Ceylon, for the purpose of carrying on various branches of trade and manufacture, and in order also to employ them as soldiers and servants. The Malays are the most vindictive and ferocious of living beings. They set little or no value on their own existence, in the prosecution of their odious passions ; and having thus broken the great tie which renders man a being capable of being governed, and fit for society, they are a constant source of terror to all those who have any kind of connexion or relation with them. A Malay

lay servant, from the apprehension excited by his vindictive disposition, often becomes the master of his master. It is as dangerous to dismiss him as to punish him ; and the rightful despot, in order to avoid assassination, is almost compelled to exchange characters with his slave. It is singular, however, that the Malay, incapable of submission on any other occasion, and ever ready to avenge insult with death, submits to the severest military discipline with the utmost resignation and meekness. The truth is, obedience to his officers forms part of his religious creed ; and the same man who would repay the most insignificant insult with death, will submit to be lacerated at the halbert with the patience of a martyr. This is truly a tremendous people ! When assassins and bloodhounds will fall into rank and file, and the most furious savages submit (with no diminution of their ferocity) to the science and discipline of war, they only want a Malay Bonaparte to lead them to the conquest of the world. Our curiosity has always been very highly excited by the accounts of this singular people ; and we cannot help thinking, that, one day or another, when they are more full of opium than usual, they *will run a muck* from Cape Comorin to the Caspian.

Mr Percival does not consider the Ceylonese as descended from the continentals of the peninsula, but rather from the inhabitants of the Maldivé islands, whom they very much resemble in complexion, features, language, and manners.

‘ The Ceylonese (says Mr Percival) are courteous and polite in their demeanour, even to a degree far exceeding their civilization. In several qualities, they are greatly superior to all other Indians who have fallen within the sphere of my observation. I have already exempted them from the censure of stealing and lying, which seem to be almost inherent in the nature of an Indian. They are mild, and by no means captious or passionate in their intercourse with each other ; though, when once their anger is roused, it is proportionably furious and lasting. Their hatred is indeed mortal, and they will frequently destroy themselves to obtain the destruction of the detested object. One instance will serve to show the extent to which this passion is carried. If a Ceylonese cannot obtain money due to him by another, he goes to his debtor, and threatens to kill himself, if he is not instantly paid. This threat, which is sometimes put in execution, reduces the debtor, if it be in his power, to immediate compliance with the demand ; as, by their law, if any man causes the loss of another man's life, his own is the forfeit. “ An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,” is a proverbial expression continually in their mouths. This is, on other occasions, a very common mode of revenge among them ; and a Ceylonese has often been known to contrive to kill himself in the company of his enemy, that the latter might suffer for it.

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' This dreadful spirit of revenge, so inconsistent with the usually mild and humane sentiments of the Ceylonese, and much more congenial to the bloody temper of a Malay, still continues to be fostered by the sacred customs of the Candians. Among the Cinglese, however, it has been greatly mitigated by their intercourse with Europeans. The desperate mode of obtaining revenge which I have just described, has been given up, from having been disappointed of its object ; as, in all those parts under our dominion, the European modes of investigating and punishing crimes are enforced. A case of this nature occurred at Caltura in 1799. A Cinglese peasant happening to have a suit or controversy with another, watched an opportunity of going to bathe in company with him, and drowned himself, with the view of having his adversary put to death. The latter was upon this taken up, and sent to Columbo to take his trial for making away with the deceased, upon the principle of having been the last seen in his company. There was, however, nothing more than presumptive proof against the culprit, and he was of course acquitted. This decision, however, did not by any means tally with the sentiments of the Cinglese, who are as much inclined to continue their ancient barbarous practice as their brethren the Candians, although they are deprived of the power.' p. 70—72.

The warlike habits of the Candians make them look with contempt on the Cinglese, who are almost entirely unacquainted with the management of arms. They have the habit and character of mountaineers—warlike, hardy, enterprising, and obstinate. They have, at various times, proved themselves very formidable enemies to the Dutch ; and in that kind of desultory warfare, which is the only one their rugged country will admit of, have cut off large parties of the troops of both these nations. The King of Candia, as we have before mentioned, possesses only the middle of the island, which nature, and his Candian Majesty, have rendered as inaccessible as possible. It is traversable only by narrow wood-paths, known to nobody but the natives, strictly watched in peace and war, and where the best troops in the world might be shot in any quantities, by the Candian marksmen, without the smallest possibility of resisting their enemies ; because there would not be the smallest possibility of finding them. The King of Candia is of course despotic ; and the history of his life and reign presents the same monotonous ostentation, and baby-like caprice, which characterises oriental governments. In public audiences he appears like a great fool, squatting on his hams ; far surpassing gingerbread in splendour ; and, after asking some such idiotical question, as whether Europe is in Asia or Africa, retires with a flourish of trumpets very much out of tune. For his private amusement, he rides on the nose of an elephant, plays with his jewels, sprinkles his courtiers with rose-water,

water, and feeds his gold and silver fish. If his tea is not sweet enough, he impales his footman; and smites off the heads of half a dozen of his noblemen, if he has a pain in his own.

—ὅσπερ γὰρ (says Aristotle) τελειοὺν βελτιστον των ζωνων ανθρωπος εστι, καὶ χαρισθαι νομου, καὶ δικης χαριστον παντων. Polit.

The only exportable articles of any importance, which Ceylon produces, are pearls, cinnamon, and elephants. Mr Percival has presented us with an extremely interesting account of the pearl fishery, held in Condatchy Bite, near the island of Manaar, in the straights which separate Ceylon from the mainland.

‘ There is, perhaps, no spectacle which the island of Ceylon affords more striking to an European, than the bay of Condatchy, during the season of the pearl fishery. This desert and barren spot is at that time converted into a scene, which exceeds, in novelty and variety, almost any thing I ever witnessed. Several thousands of people of different colours, countries, casts, and occupations, continually passing and re-passing in a busy crowd; the vast numbers of small tents and huts erected on the shore, with the bazar or market-place before each; the multitude of boats returning in the afternoon from the pearl banks, some of them laden with riches; the anxious expecting countenances of the boat-owners, while the boats are approaching the shore, and the eagerness and avidity with which they run to them when arrived, in hopes of a rich cargo; the vast numbers of jewellers, brokers, merchants, of all colours and all descriptions, both natives and foreigners, who are occupied in some way or other with the pearls, some separating and assorting them, others weighing and ascertaining their number and value, while others are hawking them about, or drilling and boring them for future use: all these circumstances tend to impress the mind with the value and importance of that object, which can of itself create this scene.

‘ The bay of Condatchy is the most central rendezvous for the boats employed in the fishery. The banks, where it is carried on, extend several miles along the coast from Manaar southward off Aripipo, Condatchy, and Pomparipo. The principal bank is opposite to Condatchy, and lies out at sea about twenty miles. The first step, previous to the commencement of the fishery, is to have the different oyster banks surveyed, the state of the oysters ascertained, and a report made on the subject to government. If it has been found that the quantity is sufficient, and that they are arrived at a proper degree of maturity, the particular banks to be fished that year are put up for sale to the highest bidder, and are usually purchased by a black merchant. This, however, is not always the course pursued: Government sometimes judges it more advantageous to fish the banks on its own account, and to dispose of the pearls afterwards to the merchants. When this plan is adopted, boats are hired for the season on account of Government, from different quarters: the price varies considerably, according to circumstances; but is usually from  
five

five to eight hundred pagados for each boat. There are, however, no stated prices, and the best bargain possible is made for each boat separately. The Dutch generally followed this last system; the banks were fished on Government account, and the pearls disposed of in different parts of India, or sent to Europe. When this plan was pursued, the Governor and Council of Ceylon claimed a certain percentage on the value of the pearls; or, if the fishing of the banks was disposed of by public sale, they bargained for a stipulated sum to themselves, over and above what was paid on account of Government. The pretence on which they founded their claims for this perquisite, was their trouble in surveying and valuing the banks.' p. 59—61.

The banks are divided into six or seven portions, in order to give the oysters time to grow, which are supposed to attain their maturity in about 7 years. The period allowed to the merchant to complete his fishery is about six weeks, during which period all the boats go out and return together, and are subjected to very rigorous laws. The dexterity of the divers is very striking; they are as adroit in the use of their feet as their hands; and can pick up the smallest object under water with their toes. Their descent is aided by a great stone, which they slip from their feet when they arrive at the bottom, where they can remain about two minutes. There are instances, however, of divers, who have so much of the aquatic in their nature, as to remain under water for five or six minutes. Their great enemy is the ground-shark; for the rule of, eat, and be eaten, which Dr Darwin called the great law of nature, obtains in as much force fathoms deep beneath the waves, as above them: This animal is as fond of the legs of Hindoos, as Hindoos are of the pearls of oysters; and as one appetite appears to him much more natural, and less capricious than the other, he never fails to indulge it. Where fortune has so much to do with peril and profit, of course there is no deficiency of conjurers, who, by divers enigmatical grimaces, endeavour to *ostracise* this submarine invader. If they are successful, they are well paid in pearls; and when a shark indulges himself with the leg of a Hindoo, there is a witch who lives at Colang, on the Malabar coast, who always bears the blame.

A common mode of theft practised by the common people engaged in the pearl fishery, is by swallowing the pearls. Whenever any one is suspected of having swallowed these precious pills of Cleopatra, the police apothecaries are instantly sent for; a *brisk* cathartic is immediately dispatched after the truant pearl, with the strictest orders to apprehend it, in whatever corner of the *viscera* it may be found lurking. Oyster lotteries are carried on here to a great extent. They consist in purchasing a quantity of the oysters unopened, and running the chance of either finding or not finding

finding pearls in them. The European gentlemen and officers who attend the pearl fishery through duty or curiosity, are particularly fond of these lotteries, and frequently make purchases of this sort. The whole of this account is very well written, and has afforded us a great degree of amusement. By what curious links, and fantastical relations, are mankind connected together ! At the distance of half the globe, a Hindoo gains his support by groping at the bottom of the sea, for the morbid concretion of a shell-fish, to decorate the throat of a London alderman's wife. It is said that the great Linnæus had discovered the secret of infecting oysters with this perligenous disease : What is become of the secret we do not know, as the only interest we take in oysters, is of a much more vulgar, though perhaps a more humane nature.

The principal woods of cinnamon lie in the neighbourhood of Columbo. They reach to within half a mile of the fort, and fill the whole surrounding prospect. The grand garden near the town is so extensive, as to occupy a tract of country from ten to fifteen miles in length.

‘ Nature has here concentrated both the beauty and the riches of the island. Nothing can be more delightful to the eye, than the prospect which stretches around Columbo. The low cinnamon trees which cover the plain, allow the view to reach the groves of evergreens, interspersed with tall clumps, and bounded every where with extensive ranges of cocoa nut and other large trees. The whole is diversified with small lakes and green marshes, skirted all round with rice and pasture fields. In one part, the intertwining cinnamon trees appear completely to clothe the face of the plain ; in another, the openings made by the intersecting footpaths just serve to show that the thick underwood has been penetrated. One large road, which goes out at the west gate of the fort, and returns by the gate on the south, makes a winding circuit of seven miles among the woods. It is here that the officers and gentlemen belonging to the garrison of Columbo take their morning ride, and enjoy one of the finest scenes in nature.’ p. 336, 337.

As this spice constitutes the wealth of Ceylon, great pains are taken to ascertain its qualities, and propagate its choicest kinds. The prime sort is obtained from the *Laurus Cinnamonum*. The leaf resembles the laurel in shape, but is not of so deep a green. When chewed, it has the smell and taste of cloves. There are several different species of cinnamon tree on the island ; but four sorts only are cultivated and barked. The picture which we have just quoted from Mr Percival of a morning ride in a cinnamon wood is so enchanting, that we are extremely sorry the addition of aromatic odours cannot with veracity be made to it. The cinnamon has unfortunately no smell at all, but to the nostrils

nostrils of the poet. Mr Percival gives us a very interesting account of the process of making up cinnamon for the market, in which we are sorry our limits will not permit us to follow him. The different qualities of the cinnamon bundles can only be estimated by the taste; an office which devolves upon the medical men of the settlement, who are employed for *several days together in chewing cinnamon*; the acrid juice of which excoriates the mouth, and puts them to the most dreadful tortures.

The island of Ceylon is completely divided into two parts by a very high range of mountains, on the two sides of which the climate and the seasons are entirely different. These mountains also terminate completely the effect of the monsoons, which set in periodically from opposite sides of them. On the west side, the rains prevail in the months of May, June, and July; the season when they are felt on the Malabar coast. This monsoon is usually extremely violent during its continuance. The northern parts of the island are very little affected. In the months of October and November, when the opposite monsoon sets in on the Coromandel coast, the north of the island is attacked; and scarcely any impression reaches the southern parts. The heat during the day is nearly the same throughout the year: the rainy season renders the nights much cooler. The climate, upon the whole, is much more temperate than on the continent of India. The temperate and healthy climate of Ceylon, is, however, confined to the sea-coast. In the interior of the country, the obstructions which the thick woods oppose to the free circulation of air, render the heat almost insupportable, and generate a low and malignant fever, known to Europeans by the name of the Jungle fever. The chief harbours of Ceylon are Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and, at certain seasons of the year, Columbo. The former of these, from its nature and situation, is that which stamps Ceylon one of our most valuable acquisitions in the East Indies. As soon as the monsoons commence, every vessel caught by them in any other part of the Bay of Bengal is obliged to put to sea immediately, in order to avoid destruction. At these seasons, Trincomalee alone, of all the parts on this side of the peninsula, is capable of affording to vessels a safe retreat; which a vessel from Madras may reach in two days. These circumstances render the value of Trincomalee much greater than that of the whole island; the revenue of which will certainly be hardly sufficient to defray the expence of the establishments kept up there. The agriculture of Ceylon is in fact in such an imperfect state, and the natives have so little availed themselves of its natural fertility, that great part of the provisions necessary for its support are imported from Bengal.



Ceylon produces the elephant, the buffalo, tyger, elk, wild-hog, rabbit, hare, flying-fox, and musk-rat. Many articles are rendered entirely useless by the smell of musk, which this latter animal communicates in merely running over them. Mr Percival asserts, (and the fact has been confirmed to us by the most respectable authority,) that if it even pass over a bottle of wine, however well corked and sealed up, the wine becomes so strongly tainted with musk, that it cannot be used; and a whole cask may be rendered useless in the same manner. Among the great variety of birds, we were struck with Mr Percival's account of the honey bird, into whose body the soul of a common informer appears to have migrated. It makes a loud and shrill noise, to attract the notice of any body whom it may perceive; and thus inducing him to follow the course it points out, leads him to the tree where the bees have concealed their treasure; after the apiary has been robbed, this feathered scoundrel gleans his reward from the hive. The list of Ceylonese snakes is hideous; and we become reconciled to the crude and cloudy land in which we live, from reflecting, that the indiscriminate activity of the sun generates what is loathsome, as well as what is lovely; that the asp reposes under the rose; and the scorpion crawls under the fragrant flower, and the luscious fruit.

The usual stories are repeated here, of the immense size and voracious appetite, of a certain species of serpent. The best history of this kind we ever remember to have read, was of a serpent killed near one of our settlements in the East Indies; in whose body they found the chaplain of the garrison, all in black, the Rev. Mr —, (somebody or other, whose name we have forgotten,) and who, after having been missing for above a week, was discovered in this very inconvenient situation. The dominions of the King of Candia are partly defended by leeches, which abound in the woods, and from which our soldiers suffered in the most dreadful manner. The Ceylonese, in compensation for their animated plagues, are endowed with two vegetable blessings, the cocoa-nut tree and the talipot tree. The latter affords a prodigious leaf, impenetrable to sun or rain, and large enough to shelter ten men. It is a natural umbrella, and is of as eminent service in that country as a great-coat tree would be in this. A leaf of the talipot tree is a tent to the soldier, a parasol to the traveller, and a book to the scholar\*. The cocoa tree affords bread, milk, oil, wine, spirits, vinegar, yeast, sugar, cloth, paper, huts, and ships.

We could with great pleasure proceed to give a farther abstract of this very agreeable and interesting publication, which we very strongly

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\* All books are written upon it in Ceylon.

strongly recommend to the public. It is written with great modesty, entirely without pretensions, and abounds with curious and important information. Mr Percival will accept our best thanks for the amusement he has afforded us. When we can praise with such justice, we are always happy to do it ; and regret that the rigid and independent honesty which we have made the very basis of our literary undertaking, should so frequently compel us to speak of the authors who come before us, in a style so different from that in which we have vindicated the merits of Mr Percival.

ART. XV. *Lettre de Charles Villers à Georges Cuvier, de l'Institut National de France, &c.* A Letter from Charles Villers to Georges Cuvier, Member of the National Institute of France, on a New Theory of the Brain, as the immediate Organ of the Intellectual and Moral Faculties ; by Dr Gall of Vienna. Metz. 1802.

OF Dr Gall, and his skulls, who has not heard ? Of his system, we till now have known little more, than that it terrified the stout hearts of an Emperor and Council, whom many years of unsuccessful war had not been able to dismay. An edict was accordingly issued, to avert the peril of prelections so dangerous ; and, perhaps, that the contagion might be less rapidly and less extensively spread, Dr Gall was permitted to make converts only of foreigners. To all this care, we make no doubt, the Emperor was led, by a holy regard for the virtues and piety of his subjects, when alive, and perhaps by some love of supererogation, for their souls, even after they had ceased to be his subjects. But why his regard took such violent alarm, we own, we do not see ; since, if the tendency of the theory to Materialism be all which was dreaded, it seems to have no more tendency to it, than any other theory of the brain, which has been taught for ages, without the least fear of the penalties of royal edicts. There are two opinions only, which can, in this respect, be contrasted ; that, which asserts perception to take place, by the intervention of a material organ ; and that, which asserts it to take place immediately, by the energies of the mind itself, or, at least, without the intervention of any material organ. Undoubtedly the latter opinion has less tendency to produce materialism ; because it denies the existence of matter at all ; but it is a sceptical spiritualism, which, in that Catholic church, of which the Emperor and his Council are such strenuous defenders of the faith, would certainly be classed, for reprobation, among the multitude of false doctrines, heresies, and

schisms. As we cannot have recourse, therefore, to this pure immaterialism, there remains the dangerous, but sole alternative, which asserts the necessity of a material organ; and, if this alternative be adopted, any modification of it, which does not exclude mind as the ultimate percipient, must have an equal tendency to materialism. The *whole brain* may be one undivided organ, or *a part* of the brain may be the organ, or *different parts* may be organs of *different functions*. In all these cases, the materialism, or immaterialism, is the same; because, alike in all, some affection of the *material* part is an indispensable prerequisite to the *mental* affection. His Imperial Majesty has had of late too many good opportunities of knowing, that a man cannot continue to march, and load; and fire, when he has left his head behind him; and the redoubtable lecturer of Vienna has said little more. The immaterialist believes, that it is the soul which *sees*, and the soul which *bears*, as much as that it is the soul which *judges*, and the soul which *imagines*; and, since he does not condemn, as impious, the allotment of different organs of sight and hearing, what greater heresy is there, in the allotment of different parts of the sensorium, as the organs of judgment and imagination? If, indeed, any one should say, that the affections of these parts are themselves judgment and imagination, he would be a materialist: but he would be as much a materialist, if he should say, that the affections of the organs of sight and hearing are themselves the ideas of colour and sound. To have been consistent, in its providence, or its persecution, the same edict, which shut up the mouth and the lecture-room of Dr Gall, should have prohibited all medicine, and made the reading of poetry a deadly sin. What intoxication is there, in the praises of wine, and what poison, in the whole doctrine of narcotics! It may be wrong, to allow a daring demonstrator of processes and sinuosities, to assert that the mind remembers, imagines, and judges, only by the intervention of certain parts of the brain; but it is a piece of forbearance, at least as dangerous, to allow a single cellar to be open, in the taverns of Vienna, or memory, imagination, and judgment, to be all set to sleep, by a few grains of a very common and simple drug.

We are too sincere believers in the truth of immaterialism, to be easily alarmed by the speculations of any theorist; and, therefore, considering Dr Gall as more strictly under the cognizance of a court like our own, than of that of any civil magistrate, we are pleased at the opportunity, which this pamphlet gives us, of considering the merits or demerits of his doctrine. As yet, we believe, no detailed account of his supposed discoveries

veries has been published by himself; though, as far back as the year 1798, in the *Deutsche Merkur* of Wieland, he announced his intention of publishing a large work on the subject. The account at present before us, is only a very slight sketch by a metaphysical artist, of whose labours we have before had an opportunity of making honourable mention in our review of his Exposition of the Transcendental Philosophy, and whose admiration of the authors of the *right bank* is by no means diminished. M. Villers may, indeed, be fairly considered as the scientific ferryman of the Rhine, which before was almost a Lethe to the sages of Germany. Whether he may not sometimes carry over the ghosts of the dead, or, at least, the sickly bodies of the dying, may perhaps be reasonably doubted. But certainly Dr Gall, in spite of the thunders of the court of Vienna, is not quite dead; or, though not a Hercules or a Theseus, his ghost is a ghost of vigour.

The letter, which is written to Cuvier from Germany, contains several pieces of information, not connected with its chief subject. There is particularly an account of wonderful success in the medical application of Galvanism, of the full truth of which we greatly doubt. An apothecary, of the name of Sprenger, in the little town of Iiver, is said, by the application of it, to have given hearing, and in consequence speech, to eleven persons who had been dumb from infancy. The letter is on the whole written in a very lively and pleasant manner, and is not the less amusing, from the occasional recurrence of a few transcendental flights. Thus we are carefully reminded of the merits of Kant, in his endeavour to cure us of our obstinate belief, (*opiniâtreté*,) that there exists either *matter*, or *mind*, or *both*, by the pains which he has taken to annihilate all corporeal and incorporeal substances, as real existences, p. 17. and, a page or two before, we are amused with one of those fanciful but false conceits, with which we were occasionally treated, in the View of the Critical Philosophy:

‘The nervous system of man, that physical instrument of his moral life, is like the connected branches of a tree, of which the trunk is the medulla oblongata and spinal marrow, and the brain the earth in which its roots arise—an earth which is rich with the quintessence of life, and which, dense as it appears, seems to be nothing more than a concentrated ether. Unlike terrestrial vegetations, this precious tree of moral life has its roots towards heaven, and draws its nourishment from on high, thus constantly recalling to man, by its singular opposition to the general laws of growth, that his destination is more elevated than that of other beings.’ P. 15.

Instead of supporting this noble truth of religion, the image, if it could with justice be adduced to prove any thing, might rather be alleged in support of the opposite doctrine, in a manner peculiarly degrading to man. The terrestrial vegetations all rise upward, as if aspiring to a higher fate; while the precious tree of moral life sends its branches downward to the earth, as if conscious that there it is to rest for ever. It is fortunate for us, whatever it may be for a rhetorician, that the immortality of the soul is something more than a metaphor.

M. Villers had no opportunity of attending the lectures of Dr Gall; but he has in his possession a skull, prepared and numbered under the inspection of the theorist himself, and he received the substance of the lectures from a friend, who had the best means of obtaining it correctly. It is not, as professing to adopt and defend the system of Gall, that he has been led to give this view of it. He wishes to be considered, simply as an historian, and delivers, as an ingenious conjecture, what appears to him to be ingenious at least, though it may be nothing more.

The brain, according to Gall, is alike the immediate seat of all the powers of life, whether strictly vital, moral, or intellectual; and, each power having its seat in a peculiar portion of the brain, the degree of general power, in each individual, is in exact proportion to the quantity of the whole brain; and the degree of each power is in exact proportion to the quantity of that particular part of the brain, in which the function is exercised. The brain, being complete, before the ossification of the cranium, must give it a peculiarity of figure, according to the largeness or smallness of its own parts; and therefore, if the position of the seat of each faculty were known, the depressions, or prominences, of the skull might be taken, as indicative of the degree, in which the different powers were possessed by the owner of the skull. To discover the exact topography of the faculties, the only mode is to collect the skulls of those who have been conspicuous for any particular quality, and determine the parts of the skull, which have been rendered prominent by the expansions of brain on which the bone was spread. This, Dr Gall, to the great terror of every one in Vienna who believed himself eminent, and consequently to the terror of a very large part of the population, has contrived in a great measure to effectuate, and, not content with human subjects, he has called in the aid of comparative anatomy, in the skulls of different animals. By these means he has been enabled to draw a map of the powers and affections of the mind; and, for the credit of his skill, or his confidence, or both, we must do

do him the justice to say, that it is a map, as fully laid down, and with as little *terra incognita* in it, as any map of the world, which, after all the tedious and dangerous expeditions of our travellers and navigators, Major Rennel himself could venture to submit to our view.

That the general strength of the vital, moral, and intellectual powers, is great, in each individual, in proportion to the quantity of the encephalon, is an assertion, to which the experience of every one must have furnished him with a reply. We confess, though at the risk of having the periphery of our heads diminished, in the imagination of our readers, that our experience is completely against the assertion. We have known a large cranium, with very great dulness of the intellectual, and moral, and even the vital powers; and in the skulls of many of our friends, we have known all these powers condensed in a small compass, like that *concentrated ether*, of which M. Villers speaks.

To the introduction of comparative anatomy, with any weight of evidence, in a question of this kind, we strongly object. If any fact be certain, of the nervous system, it is, that the different parts of the encephalon and its great appendage are, in the different classes of animals, of very different degrees of importance to the exercise of the powers of life. When, after the amputation of that part, in which, according to Dr Gall, the whole powers of life are included, birds can still perform many of the most important motions, and insects continue to live and procreate, and the cold-blooded animals seem for a while to exercise almost every faculty which they before were known to possess, we cannot allow, in circumstances so different, any great degree of force to observations which proceed on the faith of complete similarity.

The arguments, adduced in support of the separate localities of thought, are not very convincing. The sense of *relief*, from a change of subject, after long study, is urged as a proof, that the part employed is different. But does not this argument almost beg the question? at least, does it not make too great use of the sense of muscular fatigue, which can be applied, only by a very loose analogy, to the brain? It is evident, that the brain, if it have any laws similar to those of muscular motion, has a much greater number peculiar to itself: and by what observation has it been shown, that the peculiar affection of the brain, which we call only by analogy, *the sense of fatigue*, may not wholly give place to a *different* series of affections of *the same part*? Even if the question were to be decided by analogies, those which justify this opinion, are  
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more numerous, and are certainly more close, than those which are taken from the contractions of the voluntary muscles; since they are drawn from parts, more immediately contiguous with the brain. The *same* eye, which has been *fatigued* with gazing on one species of light, finds relief from a mere change of colour: and throughout the system, when one stimulus, from too frequent repetition, has ceased to produce effect, an effect is produced by a *new* stimulus, even of less absolute power; though we cannot suppose, that the former parts are still unaffected, and that each stimulus has its peculiar seat of action. We may remark also, that the relief takes place, only in a certain degree, and is not enough to justify the supposed analogy: for, if one faculty be greatly fatigued, all the other faculties are reduced to a state nearly similar. Yet we know, that one arm may be bent, in one continued attitude, till it be almost palsied with fatigue, when the other extremities are still in all their vigour, or at least have their vigour but slightly impaired.

The second argument adduced, is the *partial* loss of power, from external injuries of the brain, and from madness, and other diseases. The fact is certainly one of the most curious, in the whole physiology of mind. But unfortunately for Dr Gall, it is found more frequently in the *same* faculty, than in *different* faculties; and the health and disease are consequently, according to him, in the same part. Such are the cases of persons, who have lost the memory of one language, and retained the memory of another. Of this partial forgetfulness there are many varieties, in kind, and in degree. One interesting case is related by M. Villers, from his own knowledge. It is that of a young lady, of very good understanding, at Frankfort, who, after much opposition from her relations, had at last obtained their consent to her marriage with a person whom she passionately loved. After recovering from a long illness, which succeeded her first delivery, she completely lost the memory of all the time that had elapsed since her marriage, though remembering every other period, with as much accuracy as before. From the sight of her child, presented to her as her own, she turned with amazement and horror; and though she now, on the faith of the assurance of all her friends, consents to consider herself, as a wife and a mother, she 'still looks upon her husband, and her child, without being able to conceive, by what magic she has acquired the one, and given birth to the other.' Unless, therefore, Dr Gall call in the aid of the infinite divisibility of matter, and allot a different seat to each idea, such cases, it is evident, are more in opposition to his system, than

in its favour ; since they show, that what is confessedly the same part may have lost its power, in one respect, yet retain it completely, in every other.

A third argument is drawn from the various degrees, in which the different faculties are possessed by the same person, in perfect health. But, unless the question be assumed, we do not see how this is more in proof of one opinion, than of its opposite. A mathematician, for instance, may have no poetic taste. The perception of the relations of mathematical ideas forms one series of affections, the perception of the beauties of poetry includes another series ; and the two series are different, whether they be affections of the same organ, or of different organs : nor is there more reason, *a priori*, in the one case, than in the other, that because one series exists, the other should exist also. We know, that in parts, which are confessedly the same, and, originally, even capable alike of either series, as in the muscular motions necessary in two mechanical arts, there may be produced the utmost facility of one series, while in the other there is all the awkward slowness of the most unexercised organs.

Dr Gall considers somnambulism also, as a proof of his doctrine. But, though the phenomena of somnambulism, and of sleep in general, be certainly very different, in their first appearance, from those of the waking frame, we believe the apparent difference to be wholly reducible to one law, which affects, with various degrees of interruption, the immediate connexion of the body and the mind. The reciprocal immobility is probably the consequence of some change in the nervous system, which has not yet been remarked, and which is perhaps too minute to be remarked, in a system, of the ultimate affections of which, in our waking, as much as in our sleeping hours, we as yet know nothing. Some change undoubtedly takes place in sleep, and the change we have supposed is adequate to the explanation of all the phenomena : for there are none, which shew a difference in the state of the faculties of the mind itself. We remember, we imagine, as when awake ; and we reason, *from our present ideas*, with the same accuracy. But the present ideas are different ; because we are not recalled, as when awake, by the stronger ideas of perception, from the ideas of association, that would hurry us away. The apparent changes of the intellectual powers in sleep, and in somnambulism, which is only a less extensive sleep, appear to us, therefore, to be in reality changes of the organ of sense and of voluntary motion ; and we do not think, they can, with justice be adduced to shew, that any faculties of the mind are active, while the others are



at rest. But even though this were shewn, it surely is not, in any degree, less probable, that the unknown cause of sleep should so affect *one* organ, as to prevent it from being capable of certain series of affections, than that it should completely suspend the action of one part of the brain, and leave unimpaired the action of a part, in immediate contact with it, and, to all appearance, in every respect similar.

The arguments, thus urged in support of the system, are therefore, at best, but of feeble strength. If, however, there had been no opportunities of observing the morbid appearances of the brain, we might have supposed an enthusiastic speculator on a very interesting subject, to have been easily misled, even by such arguments, into all the confidence of a theory. But, we own, we are astonished, that, in the present circumstances of medical science, the theory should have proceeded from a physician. The morbid cases on record are sufficient to shew, that there is not a single part of the encephalon, which has not been impaired or destroyed, without any apparent change of the intellectual and moral faculties. To detail the varieties of these cases, with a general induction, would occupy too large a portion of our review. We must content ourselves, therefore, with referring to the great work of Haller, who has made a very full collection of cases of this kind, *Elem. Phys.* t. iv. p. 338—357; and to the fourth volume of the Manchester Transactions, in which Dr Ferriar has selected many of Haller's cases, with considerable additions from other authors. Against Dr Gall, however, in particular, it may be of consequence to state, that, among the cases to which we refer, are some, in which the whole *cortical part* was wasted, or corrupted, while the senses remained entire. Nothing can be more evident, than that, if many organs be scattered over the surface of the brain, the entire and *exclusive* loss of *one* faculty should be, in so many cases of local injury, not a rare, but a common occurrence; and that, with the loss of the whole cineritious part of the brain, the whole of those powers, which have their seat in that part, must necessarily perish.

To the complete demonstration, which the records of morbid cases afford, it is perhaps absurd to add any other argument; as every other argument must be necessarily weaker. To us, however, the circumstances, in which the faculties are exercised, seem to shew sufficiently, that they are not the energies of different parts. Thus, if perception and memory result from affections of certain organs, and imagination from the affections of another organ, the affections of this part, which are separate, may be conceived by us to exist, without the affections of the others.

others. But we cannot conceive the imagination to act, without including in itself those ideas which are said to be states of unconnected parts. As little, in the exercise of the judging faculty, can we suppose a comparison without ideas compared, though the ideas and the comparison itself be states of different organs, which, though they *may* be simultaneous, can have no other than a casual connexion.

If the organs of many of the faculties be, as Dr Gall affirms, double, since a disease of one side of the head, does not necessarily imply a disease of the other side, each organ, even in health, must have its separate affections, which may correspond, but which may also be dissimilar; and the two may thus be exercised, at the same moment, on different subjects, or from the same subject give opposite results. The mind should thus be capable of completely believing, and, at the same moment, completely disbelieving the same proposition. One of the organs of imagination, in a virtuous patriot, may thus be mourning over the probable ruin of his country, while the other is feeding on the profits of an offered place: and perhaps, in this way, are to be explained many of the cases of timid irresolution in ministers of state; since the system of Dr Gall fairly gives them the double head of Janus, and allows one organ to be eager for war, while the other is equally eager for the continuance of peace.

Nor is it merely to similar organs, that this remark is applicable. The faculties, having all organs which are completely distinct, cannot interrupt each other, but may all be exercised at the same moment; and sermons, and systems, and puns, and poetry, be thus one general and simultaneous product. It is certain, at least, that all the *organic affections* may co-exist; and if it be thought that the *mental affection* must notwithstanding be single, because the mind is not capable of influencing, or being influenced by, more than one organ at a time, we must attend to the analogies of the organs of sense, and of muscular motion, which, unless we beg the question as to the separate intellectual organs, are the only analogies afforded us. In these, however, we find a multitude, if not of simultaneous, at least of rapidly succeeding affections of different parts, very unlike the unity of thought. We can walk, and listen to a conversation, and remark the objects around us, without being conscious of an interruption of the exercise of the different organs employed. But there is no one, who, without being sensible of a very difficult transition, can write stanzas to the eye-brows of his mistress, while he is solving a question of geometry or metaphysics.

Even though we were to concede to Dr Gall the truth of his general and more important doctrine of the localities of thought and

and passion, we should certainly be little inclined to ascribe, with him, the difference of power, merely to the *quantity* of the parts of the brain, and should therefore have little trust, in the appearance of the cranium, as indicative of character; nor, indeed, though it were certain that the difference of each power arose from its difference of quantity, would our reliance be much increased. Dr Gall himself is said to protest strongly against the attempt which has been made, to reduce his science to a species of physiognomy; yet, unless he himself consider the physiognomical application of it as allowable, we do not see how he is justified in drawing any inference from the inspection of a skull; and, if he do consider it in that light, he is not justified by the principles of his own theory: for, as the faculties are not all to be found in different points of one circumference, but lie under each other, in what may be considered as concentric circles of the encephalon, the elevation, or depression, of the skull, may be produced by the uncommon largeness or smallness, of a deeper seated organ, the superficial one remaining the same; or the superficial one may be greatly increased, or diminished, and the increase or diminution be compensated by the opposite state of some deeper organ. The appearance of the skull, therefore, even where we have an opportunity of examining the inner plate, is not indicative of the nature of any one power, and can be depended on, only as marking the superficial shape of the brain and its meninges.

For what reason, except for the sake of this cranioscopical physiognomy, Dr Gall has chosen to ascribe the difference of power to a difference of *quantity* alone, it is not easy to discover. It is at least equally probable, that the peculiar affections of the brain depend, in a great measure, on the minute differences of composition and texture; since, in this way only, unless we admit an original difference in the mind itself, which Dr Gall never takes into account, can we explain the *possibility* of great powers in a small cranium. What is that sense of fatigue, on which he has himself laid so much stress? The *organ* of the faculty employed is assuredly not diminished, or, at least, is not diminished in any measurable degree: yet its power is now completely different. This state of the brain is a certain state of it; and we can conceive a brain, of dimensions exactly similar, to be naturally in this state of dulness, as much as in any other state, in the same manner as we can conceive a portion of the brain to exist in one degree of quantity, as much as in another. The *quantity* is therefore not the measure of the *power*; since confessedly, the quantity may be the same, and the power be different. The great changes produced in the liveliness or lethargy  
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of the faculties, by wine or opium, and, in general, by every stimulant or sedative, are reducible only to that law of the sensorium, by which the power is as the state of the part, in *quality* not in *quantity*. If Dr Gall's theory were just, all moral education would be useless; for he has not attempted to convince us, by any observation or experiment, that we have it in our power to reduce, or amplify, the organs of the affections. As, where there has been no external or internal injury, the organ of sight must always afford its peculiar sensations, when colours are presented to it, the organ of the inclination to theft must always be affected, in its peculiar manner, on the sight of an agreeable object. It is vain for us to present motives of bodily fear, or of infamy; for these act only on the organ of courage, or of pride, or of judgment, which may be of greater or less size, but do not, by any of their affections, diminish the size of the organ of theft; and hence, if with the organ of this inclination the organ of voluntary motion be in good understanding, an incessant series of thefts must ensue. In like manner, if there be any young man, of dispositions as yet uncorrupted, in whose fate we take an interest, our anxiety for the preservation of his virtue is superfluous. Let all his companions be profane, and selfish, and dissolute: what have we to dread! They cannot diminish the size of his organs of benevolence, and temperance, and religion; and, till that diminution be possible, there is no influence in reason, or in ridicule, and no contagion in example.

Our readers are, we trust, already sufficiently convinced, that the principles, on which Dr Gall has founded his theory, are erroneous. It may, perhaps, however, afford them some amusement to know how far he has explored the territory of mind.

The organs of the vital powers are the deepest seated, that they may best be sheltered from injury. Around these, as it were in successive circles, are the organs of sense, of the passions and affections, and of the intellectual powers; the last of which, being least essential to animal life, are left to share all the perils of the general bony covering, in the cortical cineritious part immediately under the meninges.

The following list comprehends all those organs which are mentioned by M. Villers:—The organ of vital power,—of the power of generation,—of external sense,—of irritability,—of envy,—of jealousy,—of ungovernable desire,—of imperiousness,—of the love of life,—of friendship, fidelity, and pure and disinterested love,—of courage,—of cunning,—of the inclination to theft,—of circumspection,—of the memory of things,—of the memory of places,—of the memory of nomenclature,—of the memory of languages,—of the memory of numbers,—of music,  
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of the arts of design,—of the mechanical arts,—of metaphysics,—of mildness,—of wit,—of observation,—of generosity,—of penetration,—of imagination,—of the religious affections,—of pride, ambition, and vain-glory,—of firmness, and perseverance.

We regret, that, without the assistance of plates, it is impossible for us to convey an idea of the exact position of the different faculties, since there are seldom any well marked anatomical points with which they correspond; and, unless the position be *exactly* stated, the utmost confusion must arise, as many faculties are crowded together in a very small compass. In these, the anterior part of the cerebrum is uncommonly rich; so that the chief powers of character may be collected almost from the single frontal bone. On remembering, therefore, the proverbial symbol of the greatest misery of wedlock, we looked to Dr Gall's tables to find the symbol justified, expecting to discover the organ of avarice, or peevishness, or jealousy, or some other quality equally abhorred of wives, which, by its extraordinary growth, might be supposed to cause at once the crime and the protuberance. But the local qualities seemed all too harmless to be connected, in any degree, with so dreadful an infliction of conjugal resentment.

As many of the most important qualities are situated in the straight line, which passes from the nose to the top of the head, it may be interesting, and perhaps be possible, without a plate, to follow its course. At the top of the head, where the sagittal suture terminates in the coronal, is the organ of religion, probably because that part is nearest to heaven. Immediately at the root of the nose, is the organ of the memory of things; and a very little way above it, between the eye-brows, is the organ of metaphysics. M. Villers remarks, that at this part, in the forehead of Kant, there is a very striking convexity; and, that, in general, this convexity is less striking in the Parisian head, than in the heads of the English, Germans, and Swiss. Above this organ, at about a third of the distance, between the root of the nose and the usual beginning of the hair, is the organ of observation, which in children is always particularly convex, and which remains so in those who are professionally obliged to the exercise of this faculty. M. Villers remarks, that, long before he had heard of Dr Gall's system, he had been struck with this peculiarity in the foreheads of several naturalists and physicians. About midway between the two points before taken, is the organ of mildness. It is said to be convex in all persons of a gentle disposition; and to be strikingly so in pigeons, and in sheep. In the viper, vulture, fox, and tyger, there is  
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here a very sensible flatness or concavity. 'The head of the Jacobin,' continues M. Villers, 'is perhaps still more flat. It is the mark of reprobation, which was imprest on the forehead of the fratricide Cain.' At the part from which the hair usually takes its rise, is the organ of imagination; and between its seat and that of the religious affection, no organ has yet been discovered. On each side of the organ of mildness, if the line be prolonged horizontally, is the organ of wit, which, of course, if the middle organ be wanting, is wit inclined to satire; as remarkably characterized in the countenance of Voltaire.

To give some idea of the manner in which the whole is written, we subjoin the account of the organ of cunning; and of the inclination to theft.

'About the middle of the squamous suture, directly above the meatus auditorius externus, is the organ of cunning. There is here a very considerable prominence in the head of the cat, and of the fox. It is remarkable, too, in knaves of every kind, and in all who are very expert in discovering their own interest. Those good souls that suffer themselves to be easily led, in short all such, as in this lower world of ours belong to the honourable company of the dupes, have, in this part of the skull, a very sensible hollow. Such heads in a revolution are not worth a single farthing; and on that account they are cut off by hundreds.

'Gall thinks, that when this projection stretches forward, so as to come more closely on the front part of the head, it becomes the organ of the inclination to theft. He has remarked it in many practical robbers, and in several persons, who felt a secret inclination to steal, without being in want of any thing, and without any evil intention to the individual. In ravens and magpies it is strongly prominent; and he has remarked it in some dogs, that refused constantly any food which was offered to them, and lived only on what they found means to steal. Very useful information this, for all cautious masters of a family, in the choice of their domestics, and for M. de Barbe-Marbois, when he has next to appoint a clerk of the treasury.' P. 55.

The position of many of the qualities described, gives M. Villers an opportunity, which he is not slow to take, of a little courtly adulation. In the most *pure* and *transcendental* of his views, he does not lose sight of the Thuilleries; but, whether he detail to us the philosophy of Kant or of Gall, has a wonderful readiness of memory, which reminds him of the First Consul for the time being. The organ of courage is situated near the ear; and he wishes, as decisive of the system, that Cuvier could obtain permission from the conqueror of Italy, *de le palper derrière l'oreille*. It is the very office for which M. Villers himself seems admirably fitted.

It is unfortunate for Dr Gall's theory, that he has entered into the detail of it with such minute exactness, as it enables every one too easily to compare its predictions with the skulls of those around him. But the minuteness is still more unfortunate for its popularity in another way. If he had merely laid down the general doctrine, that the different faculties and affections reside in different parts of the brain, that they are great in proportion to the quantity of the part, and that the quantity of the part must modify the covering of skull, which, being later information, adapts itself to the shape of the part on which it is spread, he would probably have had disciples in a large number of his readers; because every reader might then have fixed, in his own external prominences, the seat of the qualities on which he set most value; and for every bad one might have found some hollow, in which it might conveniently lie hid. He might even have proceeded, like Dr Gall himself, to confirm his theory by observation. For dogs, and sheep, and pigeons, he could never be at a loss; and, even of human subjects, in so great an abundance of churchyards, he might find enough whose *points of merit* correspond with his own. In this manner every one might have contrived to feel his own skull with pride and pleasure. But how can Dr Gall expect his disciples to be numerous, when they cannot put their hand to their head, without being upbraided, at every unlucky depression, for the want of some taste, or power, or virtue, of the existence of which they had before as little doubted, as of the existence of their skull itself!

If our organs of courage were not uncommonly large, we certainly should tremble for our heads, as much as any of the great men of Vienna; since, after our unfavourable opinion of his system, Dr Gall would no doubt be very happy to procure them, that he might demonstrate them to his class, as admirable specimens of the want of all critical talent.

ART. XVI. *Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale, ou la Manie.* Par. Ph. Pinel, Professeur de l'École de Médecine de Paris. 8vo. Paris. 1802.

THE want of an accurate history of the several kinds of insanity, has often been felt and acknowledged. Few subjects are so interesting and important; and there are still fewer in which so many prejudices are to be removed, and so many erroneous opinions are to be corrected. Every attempt, therefore, to investigate the diseases of the mind, in order to explain their causes, or regulate their complicated movements, has particular claims

to our attention ; and Dr Pinel, from the character which he has acquired by his former publications, as well as from the honourable department which he fills in the medical establishment at Paris, is justly entitled to be heard on this very difficult subject. In the second year of the republic, he was appointed physician to the Bicêtre, the hospital for the reception of lunatics ; and his attention to the causes and treatment of insanity, seem equal to the opportunities that he has had for prosecuting his inquiries. A great multitude of such objects are at all times to be met with in the hospitals of populous cities ; and the number, as well as the variety of these, must of course have been greatly increased by the events of the Revolution.

The chief merit of the present work appears to consist in the collection of many curious facts, and some judicious remarks with respect to the moral treatment of insane patients. Attention to this latter circumstance has given a decided superiority to the practice towards maniacs in Great Britain ; and Dr Pinel has the merit of being the first author on the Continent, who seems fully sensible of its advantages, and anxious for its general adoption. To medical readers in this country, many of our author's remarks will appear neither new nor profound, and to none will his work appear complete. It is a general view of madness, under all its deplorable forms, not a minute and philosophical investigation of any particular species. It may be considered as a sketch of what has already been done, with some notices of what the author intends to do ; though he seems frequently to wonder, with a smile of self-approbation, at what he thinks his own discoveries.

This treatise is divided into six sections. The subject of the First section is, *Periodical or intermittent insanity*. Before entering upon the discussion of this division of his subject, Dr Pinel makes some general remarks on the errors and absurdities of former writers : he condemns their narrow and confined arrangement ; and urges the necessity of a more scientific classification, by which the moral treatment of maniacs in an hospital may be regulated, and by which we may be directed in the exhibition of particular remedies, or in the employment of a particular regimen.

Insanity, says Dr Pinel, in general, is considered as originating from some organic affection of the brain, and consequently incurable ; which in numerous instances is contrary to observation and experience. Asylums and public hospitals appropriated to lunatics, have been looked upon as places of confinement for dangerous patients, that ought to be kept apart from society : hence the keepers have often been ignorant and cruel, and have



been allowed to perform arbitrary acts of severity and violence, whilst experience has invariably shown the happy effects of conciliating manners, and of a gentle yet resolute firmness. Periodical insanity is the most common form of the disease; and the extravagances by which the paroxysms are characterized, resemble permanent madness. They are also of a determinate duration: hence it is easy to observe the first symptoms, the progress, the acmé, and the termination of any attack.

In the first part of this section, Dr Pinel takes notice of the influence of the weather upon the accession and progress of the greater number of maniacal paroxysms. Maniacs of every description are observed to be considerably disturbed at the approach of a storm, and during very hot weather. This influence is frequent and considerable, but by no means general. Some fits of insanity return at regular, and others at irregular intervals. The former are determined by the seasons of the year; the latter by a variety of accidental causes, or in consequence of some internal change, known only by its effects. This species is much less easily cured: it is also more common. There is no necessary connexion between the peculiar type or specific character of madness, and the nature of the object which gave rise to it. The violence of the paroxysm, also, is independent of the nature of those causes, and appears to depend upon the constitution of the individual, or rather upon the different degrees of his moral and physical sensibility. Strong and robust men, with black hair, in the vigour of life, and who are liable to violent passions, seem to retain their character in their maniacal fits, and become extremely furious and outrageous. These extremes are less observable in persons with light brown hair, and of a mild and gentle disposition: their excesses are committed with a certain degree of moderation and reserve. Nothing is more common than to see such persons fall into a harmless reverie, rather than into furious bursts of passion; and their derangement often ends in incurable fatuity.

Among the symptoms which precede mania, may be enumerated, oppression in the region of the stomach, a want of appetite and dislike to food, excessive thirst, &c. The patient is also very restless, is disturbed by vain fears, and groundless apprehensions, or betrays some marks of singularity in his appearance and in his conduct. Ecstatic visions during the night often form a prelude to the fits of maniacal devotion. It is also sometimes by enchanting dreams, and a pretended apparition of the beloved object, that madness from love breaks out into fury, after longer or shorter intervals of reason and tranquillity. A remarkable change takes place in the moral feelings. The patient expresses an excessive

cessive aversion for particular persons, and very frequently those whom he before esteemed and loved most.

Dr Pinel farther remarks, that the different faculties of the mind are variously affected during a paroxysm of madness. Sometimes they are violently excited, sometimes they are weakened, and sunk altogether: sometimes this alteration or morbid affection only falls upon one or more of the intellectual powers, whilst the others acquire such an increase of energy and activity, as would seem to exclude any idea of derangement. The judgment is sometimes entirely obliterated, and the maniac pronounces only words, without any order or connexion, which show that his ideas are very incoherent. At other times, the judgment is in all its vigour and force. The maniac appears perfectly composed, makes the best and most correct answers to the questions put to him; but, if set at liberty, immediately becomes furious. This kind of derangement is very common: eight cases of it were in the hospital at one time: it is what is vulgarly called *folie raisonnée*. It is unnecessary to mention the ramblings of the *imagination*, the fantastic visions and ideal transformations into monarchs, generals, and saints; or those illusions which form the character of hypochondriacal and melancholic affections, so frequently described, under all their various forms. The powers of reasoning and reflection are evidently affected, sometimes destroyed, in paroxysms of madness; but, in some instances, they exist in their full force, or are readily reestablished, when any objects can arrest their attention amidst their chimerical wanderings. It may be proper to give two examples.

‘One day,’ (says Dr Pinel), ‘I engaged a man of very cultivated talents to write me a letter: at this time he was absorbed in the most absurd conversation: the letter, however, which I still preserve, is full of good sense and reflection.

‘A watchmaker, who was so extravagant as to believe that his own head had been cut off by the guillotine, and exchanged for another, was at the same time infatuated with the chimera of perpetual motion. His tools were brought to him, and he set to work with the greatest perseverance. It was reasonable to suppose that the discovery would not be made. But the most ingenious machines were produced, which must have been owing to the most accurate and profound combinations.’ P. 25.

It has long been known, that maniacs are able to bear with impunity the extremes of hunger and of cold; but these facts, according to our author, have been too generally applied. The unmelancholy experience of the effects of the late scarcity at the

Bicêtre has shown, that want of food only tends to exasperate and prolong the disease, when it does not speedily render it fatal. The number of deaths has been considerably diminished in this hospital since the allowance of food has been increased. Some maniacs seem to delight in excessive cold; whilst others again are very much alive to its impressions: and every year it happens, when the winter is very severe, that accidents occur from the frost seizing the feet and hands. Patients often die from cold, when affected with the languor and debility which follows violent and long continued paroxysms.

Dr Pinel animadverts upon the indolence and timidity of repeating the vulgar notion, that insanity can never be cured, because it is always certain of returning. He attests, from his own experience, that of twenty-five persons cured, only two relapsed; one from ennui and disappointment; the other, after continuing well five years, relapsed, from deep melancholy, the original cause of his complaint. Persons between the age of eighteen and twenty-five, have often been brought to the hospital, with the total loss of all their faculties, and have gradually recovered by some spontaneous change taking place. He concludes this Section with some remarks on the emancipation of medicine in France, and on the necessary qualifications of a physician who undertakes the treatment of insane patients.

Such are the principal contents of the first part of this Essay; which we have endeavoured to separate from the irrelevant matter, and concisely to lay before our readers. We shall now offer a very few remarks, as they occurred during this analytical examination. In the first place, Dr Pinel appears to display very little sagacity and precision, in saying that, in some cases, the brain is not affected; for we shall adduce his own testimony, as well as that of many other respectable authorities (in another part of this article), to contradict this assertion. He informs us, that he has studied, with considerable attention, the writings of Locke, Harris, Condillac, Smith, and Stewart: but the quotation of great names is not always the surest proof of an accurate acquaintance with their works; and we are inclined to think, that there is some ground for doubt in the present instance. Some diversity of opinion has existed, from the want of discrimination, respecting the influence of heat and cold upon the alienation of mind; but the facts stated by Dr Pinel, and those observed in long sea voyages, unquestionably prove that these physical causes have, in some instances, very remarkable effects. The observations on the complexion and constitution of some maniacs are of considerable importance. They are confirmed by Mr Haslam of Bethlem Hospital, who has given some excellent practical

practical remarks on insanity, in which he mentions, that of two hundred and sixty-five patients, only sixty had a fair skin, with light brown, or red hair. Mr Haslam also corroborates our author's assertion, that maniacs do not enjoy any general privilege of insensibility to cold. It is obvious that this fact admits of a very useful practical application. The detail of the symptoms which precede an attack of madness, seems to merit particular attention. In order to succeed in our practice or prevention, it is necessary to be strictly upon the watch to discover the secret wiles, or open attacks, of this formidable enemy, whom it is so much more easy to repel, than to dislodge after a successful attack.

Section Second is employed in the detail of those circumstances which ought to vary the moral treatment. Many examples are adduced to show, that this is one of the most important, and neglected branches of medical practice; and Dr Pinel is desirous that France should have some claim to a judicious treatment of the diseases of the mind, the honour of which has hitherto been exclusively confined to England. *Rousseau*, in a fit of ill-humour, invoked the aid of *Medicine*, and desired her to come without a physician. Perhaps he would have done better to have reversed his prayer for his own case; and he certainly would have done more service to mankind, by employing his eloquence against presumptuous ignorance, and in soliciting talents and genius to the pursuit of a science, which must be deeply studied, to be well understood.

The chief art of managing maniacal patients consists, according to Dr Pinel, in administering consolation. It is proper to speak to them with kindness, sometimes to give evasive answers, in order to avoid enraging them by a refusal; to impress them with a necessary degree of awe; and to get the better of their obstinacy by stratagem, rather than by any act of violence. The following history affords a good illustration of the effect of stratagem.

‘One of the most eminent watchmakers in Paris became deranged, from prosecuting the idea of perpetual motion. His derangement was characterized by this singularity: he believed that he had been guillotined, that his head had been mixed with those of some other victims, and that the judges, repenting of their cruel verdict, had ordered the heads to be replaced on their respective bodies. By some mistake, he conceived that the head of one of his unfortunate companions had been placed upon his shoulders; and this idea haunted him night and day. A convalescent, of a lively and jocular turn, was engaged to play the following trick upon the artist. Their conversation was directed to the celebrated miracle of St Denis, who carried his head under his arm, and kissed it as he went along. The watchmaker vehemently maintained the possibility of the fact,

and endeavoured to confirm it by an appeal to his own case. His companion burst out into a loud laugh, and said to him, in a tone of mockery " *Why, you fool, how could St Dennis contrive to kiss his own head? was it with his heel?*" This unexpected repartee struck the lunatic forcibly: he retired quite confused, amidst the laughter that it produced; and he never after spoke of the misplacement of his head.' p. 70.

Insanity from excess of devotion, and from fanaticism, has been found extremely difficult to cure in France, as well as in this country. Dr Pinel suggests a plan, which seems to deserve attention, where the situation will admit of it; to separate the fanatics from the rest of the patients, and place them in a spot where they can be employed in agriculture; to excite them to work by some prospect of reward; to remove every object of religious worship from their sight; to engage them in philosophical pursuits; and to contrast the characters of the ancient philosophers, or compare acts of humanity and patriotism with the ineffective piety and fanciful dreams of saints and hermits: in short, to suggest those things calculated to excite the imagination in a contrary direction to their chimerical notions.

In the Third Section, Dr Pinel treats of the morbid appearances of the skull in maniacs, and notices the age and habits most liable to insanity. He conceives, that the result of the examination of the periods of life most subject to insanity, is alone sufficient to show, how seldom it is owing to any organic affection of the brain or the cranium. But, in this opinion, there is some inconsistency, for he soon after states, that, in thirty-six dissections, he found nothing more remarkable than in the brain of apoplectic and epileptic patients, or of persons who died from fever or convulsions. Now, this is a confession, that some deviations from the natural and healthy appearances were observed; and this is all that is contended for, and all that the present limited state of our knowledge authorises us to affirm. The extensive labours of *Morgagni*, *Meckel*, *Greding*, and the more recent inquiries of *Haslum* in our own country, and *Olivaruzzi* in Italy, all tend to establish this conclusion. It has been the prevailing opinion, that the mind can be morbidly affected, independent of any corresponding affection of the brain; but this seems contradicted by all accurate anatomical observation, which compels us to yield to fact, when we resist speculation. The more recent discoveries in physiology show, that the phenomena of mind (whatever may be their precise nature, or in whatever way they are produced) are influenced, not merely by a peculiar conformation of the brain, but by its chemical composition: and this is affected, directly by the blood, and indirectly by air, exercise, and food. If no organic affections

tions are said to have been discovered, in some few instances, we should not reason negatively from such dissections, perhaps cursorily and ignorantly made, and with instruments ill adapted to detect minute, and apparently trivial deviations from the natural structure.

Dr Pinel has remarked, that some singular conformations of the skull were connected with a state of futility and idiotism from birth. The size of the skull was found to be less, and its height inferior to that of other maniacs : but what is very remarkable in idiots, is, the vast disproportion between the size of the face and the head, the former being so much larger than the latter. Of this, two representations are given in a plate. In one idiot, an uncommon thickness of the bones of the head was observed, by which the capacity of the cranium was considerably diminished. This circumstance is observed also in the Cretins of Switzerland.

The period of life most subject to the attacks of insanity, appears, from a table constructed by Dr Pinel, to be from the age of twenty to forty. Not one case occurred before the age of puberty. This predisposition to madness in the vigour of life, may in some measure be owing to the mind being more exposed, during that period, to the action of those moral causes which excite the complaint. This is illustrated by the facts observed in the Bicêtre. Those circumstances which powerfully affected the passions and the mind, were found to be the most frequent causes of madness. Of 113 maniacs, concerning whom satisfactory information could be obtained, 34 were reduced to that state by domestic misfortunes, 24 by disappointed love, 30 by the events of the revolution, and 25 by fanaticism, or the terrors of futurity\*.

Certain professions and employments also predispose to insanity more than others, and especially those in which the imagination is kept constantly in action, and is not counterbalanced by the cultivation of other faculties of the mind, or by abstruse and dry studies. Dr Pinel, on examining the registers of the Bicêtre, says,

‘ That he found the number of monks and priests was very great : also a great many country people, who had been terrified out of their senses by horrid pictures of futurity ; many artists, as painters, sculptors, and musicians ; some versifiers, in ecstasies with their own productions ; a pretty considerable number of advocates and attorneys : but there did not appear one of those persons accustomed to the equal and habitual exercise of their intellectual faculties ; not one natural-

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\* It would be more scientific to consider France as a vast Bicêtre during that period. We are somewhat surprised, in this catalogue *raisonnée* or rather *de raisonnée*, to find none driven mad by theories ; not a single Huttonian nor Wernerian.

ist, or natural philosopher of ability ; not one chemist, and, for stronger reasons, not one geometrician.' p. 111.

This account is very curious, and tends to show the effects produced upon the understanding by different studies and active pursuits. A more extensive examination of the registers of lunatic hospitals, where the previous history of the patients was recorded, would tend much to illustrate this interesting point, and might suggest some important rules for regulating the various mental powers, and might assist in explaining those peculiarities which distinguish the different classes of men from each other. The tendency to madness, occasioned by a perversion of theological studies, has been observed in every country, and in every age. *Dionysius Halicarnassus* informs us, that the old Romans, for the sake of preventing theological enthusiasm, made it a law, that no one should be received into the sacerdotal office till he was past fifty years of age.

The exclusive privilege possessed by mathematicians and natural philosophers, as mentioned by our author, may perhaps be accounted for, by the tendency which such pursuits have, to increase the powers of attention. The distinction between versifiers and poets seems very just. Many of the former have all the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration ; whilst great poets may be supposed to have a command over their imagination, and to be able, for the most part, to regulate and direct its movements.

The Fourth section contains our author's division and arrangement of insanity. He makes five different species, which he characterises by the following titles. 1. Melancholia, or delirium, exclusively confined to one object : 2. Mania without delirium : 3. Mania with delirium : 4. Amentia (*démence*) or abolition of judgment : 5. Idiotism. Under each of these heads, the specific definition of each kind of insanity is given, and illustrated by examples. We must confess, that we do not perceive the manifold advantages, either in practice, or in forming a prognosis, which the author thinks may be derived from this arrangement. It may be entitled to the praise of ingenuity, but we doubt whether it is remarkable for its clearness and accuracy. Many of the distinctions seem absurd, and others not well-founded. The several kinds of insanity are not distinct ; they are only varieties of the same affection. All the symptoms mentioned under these five heads, occur in the same patient. At different times, he passes through all the gradations, from furious phrensy to complete fatuity. The fourth species, (*démence, ou abolition de la pensée*), as it is defined by our author, is so very general, that it would include

clude a great part of the authors quoted in our Review ; every transitory excess of passion, and every eccentricity or peculiarity of conduct in society. It would comprehend, under the title of insanity, those singularities of manner in some individuals, which have attracted the wit of Erasmus, and the satire of Boileau. All the objections that may be started against the definition of any subject, apply particularly to all the attempts to establish an essential character, or to give an accurate definition of madness. It appears to be too early at present, to form a systematic arrangement : the subject has not been sufficiently investigated and explained. The divisions hitherto made by medical writers, have been either too limited or too general. Dr Pinel seems to have erred in this latter extreme. His five species may be conveniently reduced to three ; for the only valid distinctions which can be made, appear to be between melancholia, mania, and idiotism. Perhaps, the true relation between the two general forms of insanity, may be stated to consist in *abstraction*, and in *vivid imagination*. The one will comprehend that state, where the mind separates the combinations which are presented to it, and fixes its attention exclusively upon one single object. The other combines the different objects and various sensations, creates new ones, and mistakes conceptions, the recollection of past perceptions for real existences. Did our limits permit, this view of insanity might be farther illustrated, by comparing it with the several states of reverie, somnambulism, and dreaming. In treating of Idiotism, Dr Pinel has introduced an account of the moral and physical peculiarities of the *Cretins* in Switzerland. As this subject is extremely curious and interesting, and as the only particular account of it in our own language, is in the form of an original essay,\* though only made up of some imperfect statements from *De Paw*, in his *Recherches sur les Américains*, we shall translate this passage at some length ; premising, however, that this account is taken from the very excellent work of Fodéré † to which Dr Pinel very properly refers.

‘ Children who are to become Cretins, are generally born with a small *goitre* or swelling of the throat ; about the size of a nut. Those who have not this peculiarity, are nevertheless marked by some other characteristics, which foretel their degradation and fatuity. They have an inflated tunfid appearance, especially about the head and hands. They are less sensible than other infants to the impressions of the atmosphere. They suck with difficulty, sleep a great deal, and have always

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\* Manchester Memoirs, vol. 3.

† *Traité du Goitre et du Cretinisme*, par F. E. Fodéré. Paris An. 8.



a dull sleepy look. When children of the same age begin to pronounce words, they can only articulate the vowels, and they make no farther progress in speech during the rest of their lives. When other children begin to use their hands in feeding themselves, the young cretins are incapable of it; and it is often necessary, after they are ten or twelve years of age, to feed them with a spoon like infants. They are equally slow in learning to walk: never cheerful: always cross and sullen: nothing but maternal tenderness could tolerate them. The head of a cretin does not grow in proportion to the rest of his body; it is commonly small, and flat on the top; the temples are flattened also, with the tuberosity of the occiput projecting in a slight degree. The eyes are small, and sunk in the head, though sometimes on the contrary very protuberant. The look of a cretin is dull and stupid; the chest broad and flat; the fingers long and slender, with the articulations ill marked; the sole of the foot broad, and sometimes bent, and the feet are generally turned either outwards or inwards. The age of puberty is later among the cretins; but the organs of generation are large, and they are much disposed to sensual indulgences. It is not till this period that the cretin begins to walk, and still his locomotion is very limited, only excited by the desire of food, or to bask by the fire-side, or in the rays of the sun. His small sorry bed is another termination of his difficult journeys, his step is unsteady, his body jolts on his legs, and his arms are pendulous by his side. In walking he goes straight forward, without avoiding any obstacles or dangers; and he always takes the route that he has once gone. When he has attained his greatest height of stature, which is from four to five feet, his skin becomes brown, his sensibility continues to be obtuse; he regards neither cold, nor heat, nor vermin, nor blows. He is commonly deaf and dumb, and is scarcely affected by the most pungent odours. The taste of cretins is also very imperfect; and their organs of vision and of touch are probably impaired. Their moral faculties appear almost obliterated. They are hardly affectionate to their parents and friends, and betray neither pleasure nor pain at all the necessary wants of life. Such (says Fodéré) is the physical and moral state of the cretins during a long course of years; for reduced thus to a sort of vegetation and automatic existence, they live to a great old age.' p. 174.

In the Fifth section, the internal police and government of lunatic hospitals is detailed. The rules here delivered are in general such as unprejudiced reason readily submits to, as nature dictates, and experience confirms. Dr Pinel lays particular stress upon the great advantages to be derived from employment; and he adduces two examples in confirmation of his opinion—one in Holland, and the other in Spain, where there are institutions in which the patients are employed in different occupations, and especially in rural labours: and constant and uniform experience has shown the wisdom and propriety of such regulations. Indeed, the

the effect of permanent and active employment in preventing, as well as in curing hypochondriasis, has long been known, though too little practised. *Burton* concludes his long book upon Melancholy with this important precept: 'Be not solitary, be not idle.'

The Last section is occupied with what the author entitles, the *principles of the medical treatment of maniacs*. In these, there appears very little precision or novelty of remark. Several remarks are adduced to show the influence of sudden terror in changing a disposition to suicide, and the following among the rest:

'A man of letters, accustomed to free living, and who had lately been cured of an intermittent fever, was seized in the autumn with all the horrors of propensity to suicide, and he often estimated the different ways of destroying himself. A journey which he took to London seemed to increase his melancholy, and his determination to shorten his life. He fixed upon a late hour of one night, and went upon one of the bridges, in order to throw himself into the Thames: but at the moment he got there he was attacked by some pickpockets. He became very angry, and made violent efforts to escape, which he effected, after being considerably agitated and greatly alarmed. His melancholy immediately was changed; he forgot the object of his walk; and though he was reduced to as great distress as before, he never afterwards felt any emotions of suicide.' p. 242.

In the conclusion of this section, we find some observations upon one of the most difficult and delicate points on which medical men are sometimes called to decide, viz. whether madness in certain cases, can be cured? Instead of any new light being thrown upon this important question, or any new rules of conduct pointed out, our author gives a minute detail of two cases, where any ancient female of ordinary capacity could have decided as well as himself; and relates with laboured minuteness the contrary opinions of some eminent physicians on a late memorable occasion in this country. The object of this digression does not appear very evident, except it be to show, that in consultations upon very intricate cases, where insanity is to be considered, medicine is still *ars conjecturalis*; and that, among a great number of physicians, as among a great number of persons giving their opinions on any other subject of difficulty, some will be right, and some wrong.

From the abstract which we have given, this treatise will appear to deserve the attention and commendation of our readers. Some profitable instruction may be collected from it for the treatment of lunatics; and it may furnish some approximation to a method of prosecuting inquiries, so as to arrive at more accurate knowledge of the nature of madness: at least it may direct the public

public attention to the injudicious and too common mode of treatment, which can only pass uncensured, when it escapes observation. On a subject so extensive and difficult, a complete work cannot be expected from the unassisted efforts of any new inquirer: We are therefore inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the imperfect execution of many parts of Dr Pinel's Essay, and to entertain hopes of farther information from his diligence and discernment.

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ART. XVII. *Delphine*. By Madame de Stael Holstein. London. Mawman. 6 vol. 12mo.

**T**HIS dismal trash, which has nearly dislocated the jaws of every critic among us with gaping, has so alarmed Bonaparte, that he has seized the whole impression, sent Madame de Stael out of Paris, and, for aught we know, sleeps in a nightcap of steel, and dagger proof blankets. To us it appears rather an attack against the Ten Commandments, than the government of Bonaparte, and calculated not so much to enforce the rights of the Bourbons, as the benefits of adultery, murder, and a great number of other vices, which have been somehow or other strangely neglected in this country, and too much so (according to the apparent opinion of Madame de Stael) even in France.

It happens, however, fortunately enough, that her book is as dull as it could have been if her intentions had been good; for wit, dexterity, and the pleasant energies of the mind, seldom rank themselves on the side of virtue and social order; while vice is spiritual, eloquent and alert, ever choice in expression, happy in allusion, and judicious in arrangement.

The story is simply this.—*Delphine*, a rich young widow, presents her cousin Matilda de Vernon with a considerable estate, in order to enable her to marry Leonce Mondeville. To this action she is excited by the arts and the intrigues of Madame de Vernon, an hackneyed Parisian lady, who hopes, by this marriage, to be able to discharge her numerous and pressing debts. Leonce, who, like all other heroes of novels, has fine limbs, and fine qualities, comes to Paris—dislikes Matilda—falls in love with *Delphine*, *Delphine* with him; and they are upon the eve of jilting poor Matilda, when, from some false reports spread abroad respecting the character of *Delphine* (which are aggravated by her own imprudences, and by the artifices of Madame Vernon), Leonce, not in a fit of honesty, but of revenge, marries the lady whom he came to marry. Soon after, Madame de Vernon dies—discovers the artifices by which she had prevented the union of Leonce and *Delphine*—and then, after this catastrophe, which ought to have terminated the novel, come two long volumes of complaint

complaint and despair. Delphine becomes a nun—runs away from the nunnery with Leonce, who is taken by some French soldiers, upon the supposition that he has been serving in the French emigrant army against his country—is shot, and upon his dead body falls Delphine as dead as he.

Making every allowance for reading this book in a translation, and in a very bad translation, we cannot but deem it a heavy performance. The incidents are vulgar; the characters vulgar too, except those of Delphine and Madame de Vernon. Madame de Stael has not the artifice to hide what is coming: In travelling through a flat country, or a flat book, we see our road before us for half the distance we are going. There are no agreeable sinuosities, and no speculations whether we are to ascend next, or descend; what new sight we are to enjoy, or to which side we are to bend. Leonce is robbed and half murdered; the apothecary of the place is certain he will not live; we were absolutely certain that he would live, and could predict to an hour the time of his recovery. In the same manner we could have prophesied every event of the book a whole volume before its occurrence.

This novel is a perfect *Alexandrian*. The two last volumes are redundant, and drag their wounded length: It should certainly have terminated where the interest ceases, at the death of Madame de Vernon; but, instead of this, the scene-shifters come and pick up the dead bodies, wash the stage, sweep it, and do every thing which the timely fall of the curtain should have excluded from the sight, and left to the imagination of the audience. We humbly apprehend, that young gentlemen do not in general make their tutors the confidants of their passion; at least we can find no rule of that kind laid down either by Miss Hamilton or Miss Edgeworth, in their treatises on education. The tutor of Leonce is Mr Barton, a grave old gentleman, in a peruke and snuff-coloured clothes. Instead of writing to this solemn personage about second causes, the ten categories, and the eternal fitness of things, the young lover raves to him, for whole pages, about the white neck and auburn hair of his Delphine; and, shame to tell! the liquorish old pedagogue seems to think these amorous ebullitions the pleasantest sort of writing *in usum Delphini* that he has yet met with.

By altering one word, and making *only* one false quantity\*, we shall change the rule of Horace to

Nec *febris* intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit.——

Delphine

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\* Perhaps a fault, of all others, which the English are least disposed to pardon. A young man who, on a public occasion, makes a false quantity at the outset of life, can seldom or never get over it.

Delphine and Leonce have eight very bad *typhus* fevers between them, besides *hæmoptoe*, *hemorrhage*, *deliquium animi*, *singultus*, *bysteria*, and *faminei ululatus*, or screams innumerable. Now, that there should be a reasonable allowance of sickness in every novel, we are willing to admit, and will cheerfully permit the heroine to be once given over, and at the point of death; but we cannot consent, that the interest which ought to be excited by the feelings of the mind should be transferred to the sufferings of the body, and a crisis of perspiration be subjected for a crisis of passion. Let us see difficulties overcome, if our approbation is required;—we cannot grant it to such cheap and sterile artifices as these.

The characters in this novel are all said to be drawn from real life; and the persons for whom they are intended are loudly whispered at Paris. Most of them we have forgotten; but Delphine is said to be intended for the authoress, and *Madame de Vernon* (by a slight sexual metamorphosis) for Talleyrand, minister of the French republic for foreign affairs. As this lady (once the friend of the authoress) may probably exercise a considerable influence over the destinies of this country, we shall endeavour to make our readers a little better acquainted with her; but we must first remind them, that she was once a bishop, a higher dignity in the church than was ever attained by any of her sex since the days of Pope Joan; and that though she swindles Delphine out of her estate with a considerable degree of address, her dexterity sometimes fails her, as in the memorable instance of the American commissioners. Madame de Stael gives the following description of this pastoral metropolitan female:

‘ Though she is at least forty, she still appears charming even among the young and beautiful of her own sex. The paleness of her complexion, the slight relaxation of her features, indicate the languour of indisposition, and not the decay of years; the easy negligence of her dress accords with this impression. Every one concludes, that when her health is recovered, and she dresses with more care, she must be completely beautiful: this change, however, never happens, but it is always expected; and that is sufficient to make the imagination still add something more to the natural effect of her charms.’ Vol. I. p. 21.

Nothing can be more execrable than the manner in which this book is translated. The bookseller has employed one of our countrymen for that purpose, who appears to have been very *lately caught*. The contrast between the passionate exclamations of Madame de Stael, and the barbarous vulgarities of poor Sawney, produces a mighty ludicrous effect. One of the heroes, a man of

of high fastidious temper, exclaims in a letter to Delphine, 'I cannot endure this Paris, I have met *with ever so many people* whom my soul abhors.' And the accomplished and enraptured Leonce terminates one of his letters thus: '*Adieu! adieu! my dearest Delphine. I will give you a call to-morrow.*' We doubt if Grub-Street ever imported from Caledonia a more abominable translator.

We admit the character of Madame de Vernon to be drawn with considerable skill. There are occasional traits of eloquence and pathos in this novel, and very many of those observations upon manners and character, which are totally out of the reach of all who have not lived long in the world, and observed it well.

The immorality of any book (in our estimation) is to be determined by the general impressions it leaves on those minds, whose principles, not yet *ossified*, are capable of affording a less powerful defence to its influence. The most dangerous effect that any fictitious character can produce, is when two or three of its popular vices are varnished over with every thing that is captivating and gracious in the exterior, and ennobled by association with splendid virtues: This apology will be more sure of its effect, if the faults are not against nature, but against society. The aversion to murder and cruelty, could not perhaps be so overcome; but a regard to the sanctity of marriage vows, to the sacred and sensitive delicacy of the female character, and to numberless restrictions important to the well-being of our species, may easily be relaxed by this subtle and voluptuous confusion of good and evil. It is in vain to say the fable evinces, in the last act, that vice is productive of misery. We may decorate a villain with graces and felicities for nine volumes, and hang him in the last page. This is not teaching virtue, but gilding the gallows, and raising up splendid associations in favour of being hanged. In such an union of the *amiable* and the vicious (especially if the vices are such, to the commission of which there is no want of natural disposition), the vice will not degrade the man, but the man will ennoble the vice. We shall wish to be him whom we admire, *in spite* of his vices, and, if the novel be well written, even *in consequence* of his vices. There exists, through the whole of this novel, a show of exquisite sensibility to the evils which individuals suffer by the inflexible rules of virtue prescribed by society, and an eager disposition to apologize for particular transgressions. Such doctrine is not confined to Madame de Stael; an Arcadian cant is gaining fast upon Spartan gravity;

gravity ; and the happiness diffused, and the beautiful order established in society, by this unbending discipline, is wholly swallowed up in compassion for the unfortunate and interesting individual. Either the exceptions or the rule must be given up : Every highwayman who thrusts his pistol into a chaise window, has met with *unforeseen misfortunes* ; and every loose matron who flies into the arms of her *Greville*, was compelled to marry an old man whom she detested, by an avaricious and unfeeling father. The passions want not accelerating, but retarding machinery. This fatal and foolish sophistry has power enough over every heart, not to need the aid of fine composition, and well-contrived incident—auxiliaries which Madame de Stael intended to bring forward in the cause, though she has fortunately not succeeded.

M. de Serbellone is received as a guest into the house of M. d'Ervin, whose wife he debauches as a recompense for his hospitality. Is it possible to be disgusted with ingratitude and injustice, when united to such an assemblage of talents and virtues as this man of paper possesses ? Was there ever a more delightful fascinating adúlteress than Madam d'Ervin is intended to be ? or a *povero cornuto* less capable of exciting compassion than her husband ? The morality of all this is the old morality of Farquhar, Vanburgh, and Congreve,—that every witty man may transgress the seventh commandment, which was never meant for the protection of husbands who labour under the incapacity of making repartees. In Matilda, religion is always as unamiable as dissimulation is graceful in Madame de Vernon, and imprudence generous in Delphine. This said Delphine, with her fine auburn hair, and her beautiful blue or green eyes, (we forget which), cheats her cousin Matilda out of her lover, alienates the affections of her husband, and keeps a sort of assignation house for Serbellone and his *chere amie*, justifying herself by the most touching complaints against the rigour of the world, and using the customary phrases, *union of souls, married in the eye of heaven*, &c. &c. &c. and such like diction, the types of which Mr Lane of the Minerva Press very prudently keeps ready composed, in order to facilitate the printing of the Adventures of Captain C—— and Miss F——, and other interesting stories, of which he the said inimitable Mr Lane of the Minerva Press well knows these sentiments must make a part. Another perilous absurdity which this *useful* production tends to cherish, is the common notion, that contempt of rule and order is a proof of greatness of mind. Delphine is everywhere a great spirit, struggling with the shackles imposed upon her in com-  
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mon with the little world around her ; and it is managed so, that her contempt of restrictions shall always appear to flow from the extent, variety, and splendour of her talents. The vulgarity of this heroism ought in some degree to diminish its value. Mr Colquhoun, in his police of the metropolis, reckons up above 40,000 heroines of this species, most of whom, we dare to say, have at one time or another reasoned like the sentimental Delphine about the judgments of the world.

To conclude—Our general opinion of this book is, that it is calculated to shed a mild lustre over adultery ; by gentle and convenient gradation, to destroy the modesty and the caution of women ; to facilitate the acquisition of easy vices, and incurber the difficulty of virtue. What a wretched qualification of this censure to add, that the badness of the principles is alone corrected by the badness of the style, and that this celebrated lady would have been very guilty, if she had not been very dull.

ART. XVIII. *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.* By W. Belsham. Volumes V. & VI. 8vo. G. G. & J. J. Robinson. London. 1801.

THE preceding volumes of this history had created in our minds so little expectation of merit in those which are now presented to the world, that we cannot with propriety say that we have been disappointed. There is a fraud in the very title-page of this work ; for if the reader expects to find in the ‘*Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*’ any thing like an history of that period, he will soon find himself dolefully mistaken. By the illiberality, party spirit, and intemperate ardour for the propagation of his political opinions, which Mr Belsham displays, he has forfeited the title of historian, for the more appropriate, though less respectable, name of zealot, or pamphleteer. The bitter and licentious spirit in which he had indulged his pen throughout his former volumes, has now risen to a height more intolerable to the reader, and disgraceful to the writer. It appears that Mr Belsham’s habits of writing, like all other evil habits, increase in virulence, in proportion as they proceed ; and unless the wholesome discipline of criticism be administered, the press may, at some future day, groan under a still more highly accumulated mass of personal abuse and intolerant zeal.

By stripping these volumes, however, of their title to the rank of history, to which they have assuredly no more claim, than a book made up of political registers and party pamphlets



can pretend to, we have greatly abridged to ourselves the unpleasant task of censure; and by thus bringing their merits and defects to the decisions of an inferior standard, we have allowed greater latitude to the author's eccentric excursions, and greater indulgence to his violations of decency and propriety. It may be proper, however, to hint, that the former are always observable when a low factious citizen comes under the cognizance of the law; and the latter, whenever a prime minister, a tory, or an alarmist, is honoured by a mention in his annals.

The most cursory and rapid review of the events which these volumes detail, would occupy a pamphlet of some magnitude. It would therefore be totally inconsistent with the plan of our work, to offer more than a general view of their design and execution. Unhappily indeed for all Europe, the memory of these events is yet fresh in the mind of every individual; and the spirit in which they originated has not, even to this day, totally subsided.

The Fifth Volume opens with the declaration of war between France and England. And the author at once displays his party spirit, and want of political knowledge, in ascribing solely to the measures of the British court, a war, which had its true origin in principles and passions common to both countries, at that interesting juncture. Whether England or France first adopted measures decisive of their warlike intentions, is a point upon which Europe differs, and Mr Belsham dogmatizes. From his Delphic decision of this question, the author proceeds to give a short account of the Parliamentary transactions of that period. Here our pamphleteer openly enlists himself in the party of Mr Fox; and, after paying his homage to this great man, he proceeds to declare his irreconcilable enmity to the first minister. In a note, which we are induced to mention, merely that the author may observe we are not altogether inattentive to his efforts at wit, he contrasts the characters of these two statesmen, by the school-boy anecdote of Phocion and Demosthenes. Mr Belsham afterwards presents his reader with the Royal message to the House of Commons on the declaration of war; and obligingly marks by *Italic* letters, those passages which we suppose have peculiarly attracted his attention. He next gratifies his ardent zeal against tories and alarmists, (for this is, in truth, a principal object of his work), by reproaching their great leader Edmund Burke. 'Mr Burke,' says he, (speaking of the debate occasioned by the Royal message), 'pronounced a vehement philippic, affording a melancholy contrast to the speeches of his better days.' In this sentiment, many of our readers may, *perhaps*, agree with Mr Belsham,

sham, and reprobate the man who once professed and acted upon genuine Whig principles. But when (in p. 21.) the author denominates him 'this eloquent *madman*,' and afterwards (p. 285.) 'the *demoniac*,' we are at a loss to decide, whether the malignity or the folly of this indecent language is most deserving of condemnation.

As a farther proof of his gross violation of rule and decorum, we shall quote to the reader his last view of Mr Burke's character.

'Mr Burke, who had now no longer a seat in Parliament, published a most furious, sanguinary, and frantic pamphlet, entitled, 'Thoughts on a Regicide Peace;' in which he urged, in his characteristic manner, the prosecution of the war *ad internecionem*.' Vol. v. p. 454-5.

Yet does not all this come up to the bitterness and sarcasm which he pours upon the devoted head of the unfortunate first minister. Mr Belsham's weapon is never sharp, his aim dexterous, nor his vigour formidable; and we might amuse ourselves with the quiverings and deviations of the '*telum imbellè et sine ictu*,' did we not perceive the malignity which directs it. Our readers will judge of the temper and capacity which dictated the following passages. P. 57, he styles Mr Pitt 'that *perfidious* minister who had opposed, almost invariably, and with effect, every liberal measure which had, from time to time, been brought forward in Parliament for the extension of the general system of constitutional liberty.'

Speaking of the British Parliament of 1795, our author utters the following insolent and low invective.

—'and what was infinitely the worst of all, a Parliament, not possessing a spark of the old English spirit, lost to every sense of national honour, sunk into a state of stupefaction, obstinately and idiotically confiding in a minister whose visionary plans and projects had been every where defeated, and whose predictions had been uniformly falsified—a minister evidently destitute of the talents necessary for carrying on any war but the WAR OF WORDS—a bullying, boasting, Bobadil statesman!' Vol. v. p. 258.

We hope it will not be deemed too severe to say of the following passage, that it is worthy of a place in the '*Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*'

'Surely, then, it cannot be too harsh to characterise the financial administration of Mr Pitt as exhibiting a system infamously improvident. If a national bankruptcy should be the ultimate, as it seems the inevitable result of this system, let us thank GOD that the LAND remains, and that no extravagance of kings or ministers can annihilate

it. If our government could have had such communion with the inhabitants of the sun or moon, or any other agents visible or invisible, as by parting with territory to have obtained the means of supplying their immediate purposes, there would not have been by this time an acre of ground left for an Englishman to have set his foot upon. But regret and indignation are alike useless and unavailing; and we submit to the oppressions inflicted by such an administration as the present, as to a plague, a famine, or an earthquake, or any other visitation of Providence in the natural or moral world.'—Vol. v. p. 395-6.

We have been amused likewise with the following passage.

'Under the administration of Mr Pitt, bigotry and malignity advanced with an accelerated progress, and every species of improvement, moral, intellectual, or political, seemed gradually to become the object, first of cold indifference to this insidious statesman, then of dislike, and at length of fear, of hatred, and of horror.'—'When such a man bore sway, it cannot be a matter of wonder that the persecuted and oppressed should be ardently desirous to withdraw far beyond the sphere of his baleful influence; though this could not, in the nature of things, be effected without making great and mournful sacrifices.' Vol. v. p. 194-5.

From these divertisements, which we fancy the author has introduced into this medley calling itself, 'Memoirs,' for the Christian purposes of entertaining his reader, and humbling himself, we shall proceed to an examination of his more serious efforts at composition.

After detailing the principal articles of the petition for reform of Parliament, presented by the 'Society of the Friends of the People,' this libellous oracle thus delivers itself:

'Whoever reads this celebrated petition, and still retains the opinion, that the Parliamentary representation of this kingdom needs no reform, may be regarded as in a state of mind far beyond the reach of facts or of argument.' Vol. v. p. 56.

We admire, too, the lofty and contemptuous style in which Mr Belsham treats the exertions of Government at that period.

'Notwithstanding the great predominance of the spirit of loyalty, and the numberless addresses of duty and allegiance transmitted from all parts of the united kingdom, and the perfect security of the government, a mean and merciless spirit of revenge displayed itself in the prosecution and punishment of very many petty offenders, accused of the vague and indefinable crime of sedition—amongst whom several printers and booksellers; so that it became extremely dangerous to publish any tract or pamphlet reflecting in any manner upon the measures of government; and the liberty of the press was silently and virtually annihilated.' Vol. v. p. 70.

The narration of the trials of Watt and Downie, Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, is conducted with some spirit; though the triumphant air of party, with which he leads them out of court after their acquittal, is better suited to the *coryphaeus*, of a mob, than to a writer of history. Our zealot, too, might have spared this intemperate exclamation, which concludes the whole account.

‘Had the men arraigned upon such an accusation, supported by such evidence, been capitally convicted, and the sentence been carried into execution, it would most unquestionably have been an horrible murder, perpetrated in the forms, and under the pretext of law.’ Vol. v. p. 213-14.

After noticing the embassy of Lord Macartney to China, our sectary takes the opportunity of introducing, what he denominates ‘a few particulars’ respecting the government and manners of the Chinese. From other sources, as well as from Sir George Staunton’s account, he contrives to make up a system more stupendously perfect, than any Utopian scheme with which the world has hitherto been favoured, and which at once manifests the weakness of his credulity, and the vulgarity of his fanaticism. We shall content ourselves with two interrogatories upon the subject: *First*, Whether it be possible, in the nature of human institutions, that, in the immense dominions of China, ‘knowledge and virtue can alone qualify for public employments?’ And, *secondly*, Whether the Emperor can, in every instance, ‘remit the customary taxes to those whom misfortune has rendered unable to discharge them?’

P. 223. In relating those political distractions of Poland which ended in its partition, Mr Belsham again breaks out the zealous and infatuated partizan of democracy. The sagacious counsels and moderate spirit of Kosciusco, are not only reprobated, but treated with a considerable degree of contempt, by this coarse and arrogant politician. How unfortunate for Poland, that Mr Belsham the historian, Mr Hardy the shoemaker, and Mr Holcroft the bookmaker, were not there at this critical juncture, ‘to call a national convention, and establish a new constitution upon the broadest basis of democracy! For, to a grand and glorious effort like this, (says Mr Belsham), the talents of Kosciusco did not appear equal.’

Upon the subject of the Irish Catholic emancipation, our author, after quoting and reprobating the speech of Dr Duignan in the Irish House, and dwelling with fond delight upon the eloquent harangue of Mr A. O’Connor, breaks forth again in his true character of a fourth-rate pamphleteer. As

the Irish apologist and warm advocate for reform, he assumes the arguments both of moral right, and political expediency. His view of the subject is strikingly partial and superficial, and his humanity more conspicuous than his sagacity.

In his 'deviations,' as he styles them, 'into the regions of speculation upon this momentous subject,' after soaring into regions, where the impediment of common sense prevents us from following him, he plumps down upon the following truism :

'Wisdom and virtue are surely not confined to Protestants.'

Of the two negotiations with France, commenced in the year 1796, hear the author of 'the Memoirs.'

'The former bears the evident stamp and impression of a minister who has been characteristically described as possessing every talent for the conduct of great affairs consistent with cunning, and, as it might properly have been added, with pride and obstinacy. But the whole procedure is, notwithstanding, destitute of the real and essential marks of political sagacity and ability.' Vol. v. p. 462.

Of the latter, (Lord Malmsbury's), he says, 'On a review of this strange negotiation, there appears, on the part of the English ministry, a very disgraceful want of sagacity, or a still more disgraceful want of sincerity;' and this alternative, he pronounces it impossible to evade. The attempt and failure of both these negotiations, he ascribes either to the folly or the perfidy of 'the arch enemy Mr Pitt.'

The Sixth Volume is not composed in a spirit quite so outrageous, or a style so completely indecorous as the former ; and, in justice to its real merits, let it be said, that it contains many valuable memorials, which might have atoned for slighter deformities. The account of the negotiation of Lord Malmsbury, though interspersed with frivolous and captious remarks, is full and interesting. The details respecting the Irish affairs are narrated with spirit, and some temper : and we have occasionally found some other passages to admire. Not that this latter volume is without its foul and virulent eruptions, for Mr Belsham is always Mr Belsham. The following paragraph (p. 11.) is coarse and insolent.

'Mr Wilberforce, who for two sessions earnestly, and not without some effect upon the House, and still more upon the public at large, opposed the ruinous and frantic measures of the minister, had been, for a considerable time past, evidently wavering in his conduct ; and he embraced the present opportunity to demonstrate to the world, that he was now again, from a disposition, as those who were friendly to him represented, weak not depraved, capricious not corrupt, as ready and willing as the most servile instrument of Government, to defend the worst of men in the commission of the worst of deeds.'

We cannot refuse to our readers the temptation which the insertion of the following passage, into a most serious and momentous part of history, affords for a smile. Speaking of the Duke of Grafton, our author says in a note—

‘ Nothing less, indeed, than the urgent call of public duty, as was perfectly well known to his friends, could have induced this highly respected Nobleman to have quitted those peaceful and happy shades,

“ Where smiling Euston boasts her good Fitzroy ;  
Lord of pure alms, and gifts that wide extend,—  
The farmer’s patron, and the poor man’s friend.”

*Vide* the singularly beautiful and extraordinary production of natural taste and genius, recently published under the appropriate title of *THE FARMER’S BOY.*’ p. 90.

Mr Bloomfield must no doubt feel much indebted to his historic encomiast. But we have more serious objections to the *Memoirs*, than his amiable patronage of the *Farmer’s Boy*, and more obnoxious passages to point out, than poetic quotations. Mr Belsham’s inveterate rancour against Government, breaks out, on his mention of Mr Fox’s dismissal, into the following invective :

‘ By the counsels of others, whose names are still inscribed in the fatal roll, has the present reign been rendered an almost perpetual spectacle of blood and horror, of corruption, extortion, disgrace, and calamity.’ p. 335.

We must pass, likewise, a very decided censure upon our author’s invidious account of Mr Wakefield’s literary offences and punishment, and still more upon his quotations of violent and absurd passages from the pamphlet of that mistaken gentleman. The mention of Mr Wakefield’s imprisonment draws from our author the following climax of exclamation :

‘ How pleasing must be the reflections of the Bishop of Landaff, on recollecting the complete victory which by the assistance of his new friends, the present ministers, he has been able to obtain over all his enemies—Wakefield, Williams, Jordan, Johnson, Cuthell, and Flower ! How convincing are the arguments of fine and imprisonment ! How satisfactory the refutation of a verdict of conviction ! Certainly the learned Prelate may plume himself henceforth upon being an unanswerable writer.’ p. 338.

Before we conclude this review of the ‘ *Memoirs*,’ we must point out one as a capital defect—the paucity of references. Throughout the two volumes, speeches are quoted, and events detailed, with scarcely a single authority ; and no references are made to books, where information may be obtained upon the political

litical topics of the day. 'Liberticidal,' p. 9.—'Governmental,' p. 440.—'Royalism' for Monarchy, p. 139.—'Sufficance' for suffering, p. 196.—are slight innovations upon the English language, which we cannot give up to the ravages of this thirsty reformer, any more than the English constitution.

We should be sorry to offend Mr Belsham by the severity of our remarks, though we will not sacrifice truth to any apprehensions of his enmity; and we cannot help reminding him, that that man has almost forfeited his right to complain of invective, who has dealt it out so liberally against birth, talents, dignity, and every other object, to which good and wise men always pay the homage of manner, without therefore sacrificing the freedom of investigation, or independence of speech. Our object has been, to recal Mr Belsham to a more accurate knowledge of himself, and to disabuse him of those exaggerated pretensions, to which every sentence of his book proclaims his want of right. An indulgence in gross and unmannerly abuse, implies no other victory, than that which any man may quickly obtain over delicacy and shame. To be distinguished for violence, at a period when nobody is moderate; to inflame the public bigotry, during the omnipotence of political passions; to be more incandescently wrong-headed than any body else; and, above all, to remain mad when the rest of the world are returned to their senses,—are sources of exultation which we should not have been much inclined to deny to Mr Belsham. The noble supremacy of discerning truth amidst warm, fresh, and numerous emotions, and of telling to mankind, in history, their yet visible errors, is a rare gift of God. It must not be claimed by the monks of anarchy, and the boiling bigots of a sect.

ART. XIX.\* *Charles et Marie.* Par l'auteur d'Adèle de Senange. Charles and Mary. By the author of Adèle de Senange. 12mo. Paris. 1802.

**I**N the conduct of a novel, one of two modes is usually followed. The action is related, as completely *past*, in an unbroken narrative; or the heroes and heroines, whose hands are never weary with letter-writing, describe it, as *progressive*, in all its changes of events. The author of '*Charles et Marie*' has adopted a third *mêlée*, or at least a modification of the second, by which

We have been induced to pay some attention to this novel, from the reputation of its authoress, Madame de Souza, wife to the Portuguese Ambassador at Paris.

which the effect is considerably altered. The hero is indeed his own historian ; but the details he presents are those of a journal in which, in obedience to the request of a friend, he had recorded every evening, not merely the events, but the passions and sentiments of the day. The plan, however, will be better understood, from the prefatory epistle :

‘ *Charles Lennox to his Friend.*

‘ I have followed your advice, and at the close of every day have brought before me the different emotions by which I have been agitated. I thought that my journal would be read by *you*, and I said, My friend shall be to me a second conscience, to whom I will speak with the same sincerity as to my-elf. Yet, when thus examined, how great a number of my days have been void of interest ? They remind me of the astonishment of one of our philosophers, at the sight of those numerous epitaphs, which comprehend the history of a whole life, in the dates of the moments when it was begun and finished. I have therefore suppressed in my journal all those hours which have been filled with nothing—the days which have floated along, without leaving a remembrance. I confide to you only that part of my life, which can excite either some consolatory recollection, or those late but generous resolutions of the future which arise from regret of the past.’

This plan seems to bear to the usual epistolary mode the same relation which that mode bears to the unbroken narrative. In such a narrative, *events* are detailed, rather than *feelings*. The writer addresses us in his own person, and informs us of incidents, the whole series of which he is supposed to know. We therefore do not willingly allow him to harrass us with all the doubts, fears, hopes, loves, resentments, which, though strongly felt by his heroes and heroines from the trifling circumstances of one day, were removed by circumstances as trifling in that which succeeded. There is a kind of unity of action, necessary to the dignity of a narrative, which digressions so frequent would destroy. The incidents, accordingly, must all be great in themselves, or, if in themselves unimportant, be great at least in the permanence of the emotions which they leave ; and to them must be sacrificed all those thousand fleeting circumstances, and fleeting feelings, which best display the varied susceptibilities of human passion, and which interest us more, because, being less easily foreseen, we are less prepared to expect them. A long narrative, though of fictitious adventures, is reducible in a great measure to the laws of historical composition, and is hence preferable, only where the attention is chiefly to be fixed by greatness of events and where the passions, though strong, are not rapidly varied. It is thus peculiarly suited to the wild romance ; the interest excited by



by the tales of Mrs Radcliffe would have been comparatively very inconsiderable, if we had received our information of all the mysterious horrors of her castles, only from the epistles of her Emilies and Adelines to their faithful friends.

The epistolary form converts, in some degree, the history into a drama ; but even an epistle has a certain historical dignity, to which it must adhere, and cannot give us all those little changes of sentiment, which arise often from circumstances so slight, as almost to escape our own remark. The mind may converse with itself on the most trifling events ; but we do not readily suppose it to treasure up these trifling events, in the intervals of correspondence, and to pour out to friends at a distance the expressions of fears and hopes, which at the moment of writing, have either been realized or disappointed. A series of letters requires, therefore, a series of incidents, and is hence less suited to those simple tales, in which little more is intended to be exhibited, than the affections and caprices of an irregular mind. For the exhibition of the rapid changes of such a character, no form seems better suited, than that which has been adopted by the author of this little tale. It allows the whole mind to be pourtrayed to us, in all the hourly shiftings of its love, and jealousy, and indignation, and returning love : and though perhaps it may at first strike us as improbable, that any one should keep such a diary, it is an improbability which we forget ; because it is not continually forced upon us, like the epistolary forms of letters that convey no information, but remind us only that the writer is at a distance, and is writing to his friend.

The very circumstance, however, which constitutes the excellence of this mode of narrative, renders it peculiarly dangerous to a taste that is not under powerful restraint. Where the effect is to arise chiefly from delineations of the heart, an author may be tempted to think that his knowledge of the heart is great, precisely as he can, with any degree of apparent justness, deduce powerful emotions from slight events. We shall thus have all the feelings in their distorted, rather than their natural state, and be told to look upon the sickliness of artificial refinement, as the very health and vigour of passion. It is not nature that will be exhibited to us, but mere canvas and paint, in which the design, though fantastic, may be ingenious, and the colours beautiful ; but the figures are sylphs, or goblins, and not our fellow-men. The writer of '*Charles et Marie*' has not been able to avoid this fault. With the many beautiful delineations of human character which he has given us, there are very many, in which we discover the reader of romances, rather than the reader of the heart : and the error is therefore made, with all the propriety of precedent, to

sigh, with nearly the same pathos, for a rose that had faded, as for his mistress whom he believes engaged to another.

The tale is very simple, Charles is a young man, of a disposition tender in the extreme, but impetuous in every passion; affectionate, but jealous in his affection; delighted, and disgusted, and angry, and appeased, from motives which are scarcely felt, but in the effects they produce. At the age of twenty he returns from Oxford to his father's seat. A few weeks afterwards, in a solitary walk by moonlight, he is struck with a simple ballad, sung by a voice unknown to him in a grotto of a neighbouring pleasure ground, and, with that suddenness of passion, which is very frequent *in romance*, is completely enamoured, before he knows of whom. Luckily, however, the singer turns out to be very beautiful. She is the youngest daughter of Lord Seymour, whose family is divided, by great contrast of character, into different parties. The father and his favourite daughter Sara are rivals in the loves of their horses and hounds. Eudoxia, the second, is a little pedant, who talks of the Indus and Timur Beg, and gives lectures on the origin of the Gypsies: She is the pupil, and favourite, and heiress of her aunt Indiana, who is delicately nervous, and trembles at every motion of hand or foot, which the wretched necessities of life oblige her to make. Mary and her mother form a third party, who, alike of mild and unobtrusive character, and neglected by the rest, take shelter in their mutual regard. The display of filial virtue, which is thus afforded, fixes still more strongly the affection of Charles. But, in the very height of his love, he receives from Eudoxia some malicious information, which leads him to believe, that Mary's affection is engaged to Philip, the son of a proprietor of a small estate in the neighbourhood, at this time absent in India; and, as a confirmation of all he dreads, he perceives her coming from the house of Philip's mother, with many circumstances of suspicious secrecy. At length, however, after the usual agonies of despair and indignation, he is convinced that no love has been felt for his imagined rival; and, Lady Seymour having promised to intercede with her husband, for his consent to the marriage of his daughter, he returns home, in too great rapture to know that he is riding on horseback. The horse is as impetuous as his rider. A fractured skull is the consequence. In his delirium he speaks only of Mary; and she, in gratitude for this exclusive remembrance, resolves to marry him, at a time when she is led to believe that he is to be for ever insane. The heroism of her resolution is rewarded, of course, by a speedy cure and a marriage.

Such is the fable of the piece; the interest of which, it is evident, must depend almost wholly on the representations it affords:

fords of character and sentiment. The author has hence been led into error, by wishing to make the characters peculiarly striking, from extravagance of contrast. Mary is not sweet; she is insipid. To all the absurd doubts and jealousies of her lover she submits, with an obsequiousness of affection, that is almost servility, and, though unconscious of guilt, believes that she must have been guilty, as often as he thinks proper to give vent to his caprice in a look of displeasure. Instead of the generous impetuosity of an ardent mind, which the author wishes to represent in Charles, we have depicted to us the ungovernable passions of a selfish and suspicious tyrant, who loves only for his own sake, and delights in torturing the object of his love, merely to feel more strongly the power he has over her; who can 'feign indifference, to mark whether her countenance grow pale, and her eyes be filled with tears;' and who 'cannot think of resigning the power of shaking her whole soul, of destroying her joy by a single glance, and then recalling a smile, when her tears were about to flow.' A character of this kind is not one with which we can sympathize; and as little can we sympathize with any love which it excites. We are provoked that the lady does not share our own indignation; and we are almost content, that the marriage should take place, not as the reward of her gentleness, but as the punishment of her tame submission: For it is certainly impossible, if we take that interest in her fate which the author wishes, to rejoice at her union with one, who, 'if he find her calm, will suppose her indifferent; who will think, if she appear gay, that she has not felt his absence, and, if sad, that she feels no joy at his return.'

We object, then, to the extreme contrast of character in the hero and heroine, who would both have been much more interesting, if each had borrowed a little of what is superabundant in the other: We object to much *false* refinement and extravagance of sentiment; but there are at the same time so many passages of true and simple nature, that we are convinced, if the writer had not been ambitious of the praise of uncommon knowledge of the workings of the heart, she would have exhibited to us pictures, which we should have felt and delighted to recognize, with unmingled approbation. We are not, however, the less sensible of the beauties of the piece, when they occur; and even its faults are preferable to the tame insipidities of a common novel.

As a specimen, we select a part of the explanation, which Charles receives from Mary, of her supposed attachment to Philip. p. 103.

‘ I waited for her near the grotto. It was not love which conducted me ; it was the eagerness of curiosity, to know what excuse her perfidious coquetry could allege. So free from love did I feel myself, that I took a secret pleasure, in imagining every possible justification ; and, passing in review, with a bitter irony, the usual expedients to which women have recourse, their air of innocence, of respect, of timid silence : I exhausted every useless excuse, that I might be more certain of condemning her, when the excuse was delivered. Yes ! I condemned her ; and yet, if at the moment I had heard her confess herself guilty, a cry would have escaped me of painful surprise.

‘ She appeared : I still see her trembling steps, her pale countenance, that look so sad, and so sweet. The reproach was suspended on my lip ; could I add a tear to eyes which had wept so much ! “ You have heard then, of Philip ? ” she said. I was about to name her sister, when she added—“ No : Do not tell me, what it would be too difficult to forgive.” She turned away her head, and stopped, as we were entering the grotto. “ Let us remain here,” said she to me ; and lifting her eyes with a look of confidence, “ Let there be nothing between Heaven and me, for Heaven alone is just.” She sat down on the grass, and again turned away her head, to conceal her tears. My wrath, my love, myself, were all forgotten. I thought only of the anguish she must have suffered, and I was wretched. I watched the first words she should utter, to be still more wretched ; and yet I awaited them with impatience. At length she said, “ You have been very severe, to condemn me without once hearing me ; to fly me without a single reproach. If I had done wrong, and wrong to you, for what greater misfortune could I have needed your consolation ? ” She had not yet uttered a single word of defence, and already I believed her innocent. Her look was so pure, her confidence in herself, in me, so tranquil ; I said within myself, when I have known her better, I shall love her more. “ Mary, forgive me, and let us forget the past. The future is ours. Permit me to ask Lord Seymour for your hand, if you can forget——” I stopped involuntarily at the name of Philip. She pronounced it herself, “ O yes, forget Philip,” she replied with a bitter smile, and her eyes rose towards heaven, as if complaining of my injustice. “ I am ignorant of what may have been said to you, and I do not wish to know it : It will be better for us both, that I should relate to you what I know of myself. Since yesterday, I have retraced with care every past impression. The most indifferent action, the slightest interest to which any casual remembrance may have given value, nothing has escaped me. I said to myself, “ I will tell him all.” Perhaps I may discover some feeling which he may have misconceived, some happy word which may remove his inquietude.’

‘ If we were to prolong this extract, as much as we wish to do, it would be difficult to find occasion of censure ; and the many delicate touches of nature which it presents, are not such as need to be pointed out. The great fault of this part of the story, is the interest

interest excited for Philip, when the writer afterwards deserts, without any mercy for the sympathies of his readers. We hear nothing more of him, than that he leaves England for India, without being completely undeceived in his hope of Mary's affection; and that, as the object of his voyage is only to secure the rich inheritance of an uncle, he is to return in a few months. It would have been but decent humanity to have thrown him to a tyger, or dispatched him in any other Indian method. At any rate, if his life was necessary for a few months, a storm is very easily raised; and no reason can be given, that he should not have been drowned conveniently on his return to Europe. As circumstances are left, there is a most distressing rivalry; and we own, that however differently the lady may have made her preference, to us Philip is the more interesting of the two.

His departure gives occasion to some beautiful pictures of maternal love. Mary immediately hastens to the house of his mother, with the intention of destroying, as soon as possible, the hopes he might have formed.

"I found her sick and feeble; it was not a day to afflict her more. The days which followed added to her grief. If the wind was against him, she sighed because Philip was stopped in his course:—If the wind was in his favour, it took Philip still farther away." p. 136.

"She never spoke to me of Philip, in connexion with myself; but she never would consent to inform him of my real sentiments.—'Let time take its course,' said she to me one day; 'let us hope at least; for every hour of hope is something gained from misfortune.'—'But I do not love Philip.'—'Is it possible not to love Philip!'—'At least I do not feel love.'—'Do you know what love is?'—'No.'—She put her finger on her lips, and said to me, smiling, 'Let us speak no more of Philip, let us take care to say nothing that might distress him; for here, where he was born, and where all his life has been passed with me, I feel always as if he heard me.'" p. 137.

How opposite to such passages of simple nature is the following, which will probably, at Paris, be much more admired. It is, indeed, as *fine as art* can make it.

"Near the grotto from which the sounds had come, was a rosebush covered with flowers. I had plucked one, and scarcely knowing what I had, had smelled it with delight, at every passage of sweeter emotion and the song. On returning to my room, I found that I had still preserved this rose. It pleased me no longer. I cast it on my table, and lay down to sleep. When I woke in the morning, it was faded. I began to regret it. I went into my father's garden; there are there many rosebushes. I was out of humour, though I knew not why, at seeing

seeing so many flowers together. At length, I remarked a distant solitary rose: it was the more beautiful. I plucked it hastily—I inhaled its odour—I sought to find again the sensations which that of the evening before had given me. It reminded me of them, without restoring them. It was full day—I was alone—it was nothing but a rose.” p. 17.

From the specimens already given, the general faults and beauties of this little volume will be easily understood. We can scarcely allow ourselves any further liberty of extract. But there are some passages which we are unwilling to omit.

In going to the house, in which he is to see for the first time his fascinating singer, Charles forms, in his fear, a thousand pictures of her.

“Ugly!—O no—not even commonly beautiful. Immediately I imagined her in all the splendour of youth and loveliness, but arrayed with the art of a coquette: and I, I who had never paid attention to the dress of any woman—all the extremes of fashion were in a moment present to my view.” p. 22.

“In the evening, all the pedants and smatterers in the neighbourhood came to pay their court to Miss Eudoxia. Mary made tea. How strange is that principle of self-love, by which we wish for others an applause which we should disdain for ourselves! I was wretched, at hearing not a word addressed to Mary, except when it was to give her the trouble of serving them. There was not one present whose suffrage could have increased my admiration of her; and yet I was hurt, and out of humour, that the suffrage was not given.” p. 28.

Soon after his introduction to Mary, in a morning walk to the grotto, he discovers her approaching it, followed by two women with baskets of flowers. The scene which ensues is not unworthy of Sterne.

In the passage which follows this, there is much powerful expression in a very simple action; though we own, that the circumstance which calls it forth does not seem to us to harmonize well with the retiring and bashful simplicity of Mary’s character.

In taking our leave of this little volume, it is needless to repeat our remarks on its *faults*, into many of which the writer has probably been led, by the mode of narrative adopted, and perhaps too, in some measure, by her country. To repeat, that, with these, many pictures, of very happy design, are interspersed, would be equally superfluous. We feel that we have paid the volume a higher compliment, when we look back to the extracts we have given, and compare the length of our criticism with the size of the original work.

ART. XX. *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.* Vol. V. Part II. Cadell & Davies. London. 1802.

*An Investigation of the Method whereby Men judge, by the Ear, of the Position of Sonorous Bodies, relative to their own Persons.* By Mr John Gough.

THIS paper aims at explaining a very curious set of phenomena which have seldom been discussed by philosophical writers. The investigation displays some ingenuity and original argument, though we are afraid that the solution still remains hypothetical, and loaded with all its former difficulties. The author distributes his subject into three distinct considerations. *First*, He attempts to explain the mode by which men ascertain that sounds proceed from some point directly before or behind their heads, which he denominates '*direct bearing*:' *2dly*, The mode of determining that sounds proceed from one side or the other, which he denominates '*oblique bearing*:' And, *3dly*, The mode of ascertaining that sounds proceed from above or below. With regard to the first of these ('*direct bearing*'), our author illustrates the common notions upon that subject, by the following apposite plan. He supposes an imaginary right line drawn across the head, joining the two ears, and another line passing from the front to the back of the head, bisecting the former at right angles. If, then, a circle be described upon the first line as a diameter, this circle may be said to represent the head. A sonorous body, then, situated any where in the straight line produced, bisecting this diameter at right angles, will be equally distant from both the extremities of this diameter, viz. the ears. The vibrations or pulses of sound proceeding from it, will therefore fall with equal force upon both ears; and hence, our author declares, the situation of the sonorous body is determined by the person to be either directly before or behind his head. This he considers is the case of direct hearing. Again, upon the supposition, which is very universally admitted, that the undulations or vibrations occasioning the sensation of sound, move in a straight and uniform direction from the sonorous body, any solid interposing obstacle must shelter the parts situated immediately on the opposite side of it, from the direct reception of these vibrations: so that if the sonorous body be placed any where out of the right line just mentioned; or, in other terms, if it be placed so, that a straight line drawn from it to the point of bisection in the line passing across the head and joining both ears, shall form an angle which is not ~~an~~ *acute* angle, a part of the head must intercept vibrations, and prevent

prevent them from arriving directly, or with their full force, on that ear which is thus sheltered. This is obviously demonstrated, by drawing from the given point in which the sounding body is placed, two lines which shall be tangents to the circle before mentioned: then will these lines exhibit the direction in which the vibrations proceed, and show, that while they fall immediately upon one ear, they are interrupted in their progress to the other by a projecting part of the circle or supposed head.

Thus far we perfectly agree with the ingenious author: indeed we conceive this to be little more than a mathematical illustration of a very common notion, that experience teaches us to refer the situation of sonorous bodies to the right or the left of us, according as the ear of one of these sides receives a stronger or more immediate impression than that of the other. The author informs us, that he himself is peculiarly sensible of the slightest obliquity (compared with the plane of the horizon) in the direction from whence sounds proceed. This, however, is not a very common faculty—the result, perhaps, in the author's case, of a peculiarly sensible organ, and frequent attention to the process of hearing.

Our author next attempts to 'investigate the perception which determines the place of a sounding body to be in front of the hearer, or behind him.' We shall quote his reasonings at length, in order that their full force may be comprehended by our readers.

'The head is a sensitive solid, and it perceives the impulses made on it by sounds much more exquisitely than men generally imagine. This sensibility is strongest in the auditory passages, and next to them, in the parts immediately adjacent to the ears; nevertheless, it diffuses itself more or less perfectly over the face, forehead, and temples, as well as all the external teguments of the skull. The sensation in question being of but little use independent of its connexion with hearing, we for the most part mistake its true situation, and refer it to the organs of this sense, unless some circumstance, resembling the succeeding experiment, should happen to discover the nature of it to us. If any one will take the pains to close the orifices of his ears with wet paper, and will hold two slender rods of wood to his forehead, or to one of his temples, taking care to keep the ends which are in contact with the skin separated by a small interval: and let another person at the same time touch the opposite ends of the rods with two watches, one of which does not move: the beats of the active watch will immediately pass along the stick, and make a sensible impression on the spot where its other extremity rests; which proves, that the bones of the head do not simply conduct sounds to the auditory nerves, but that the external teguments of this member also assist in discovering the directions of sounds by their sensibility. The same apparatus may be used to shew, that all parts of the head are not equally alive



to the impulses of sounds; for a stick, which is of a proper length to impress the beats of a watch very faintly on the ear and parts adjacent, will prove too long to produce the same effect on the forehead, which is nevertheless much more exquisite in its feelings than the back part of the head.' p. 638-39.

It is difficult to comprehend what power or faculty our author here means to ascribe to the bones and integuments of the skull. There are only two, relating to the present subject, of which we can form any distinct conception. Either they possess a sentient and auricular faculty, or they act merely as conductors of vibrations. Now, upon the former of these propositions only can the author's reasoning rest. And that it is totally untenable, in other words, that the bones of the skull and its integuments do not possess in the slightest degree an auricular faculty, is demonstrable from this fact, that in cases where the ears are effectually stopped, or in persons who are deprived of these organs, no sensation of sound can be produced, however loud that sound be, or however closely the sonorous body be applied to the integuments, provided only it do not touch: but, on the other hand, the instant that the sonorous or vibrating body comes into contact with the head, the perception of sound is immediate and distinct. Whence we infer, that the bones and integuments of the head act merely as conductors of the sound or vibrations to the organs of hearing. It is true, that a sensation is produced in the head, at the point of contact; but this is merely a matter of feeling, and perfectly distinct from the other sense. That the situation of sonorous bodies, therefore, is determined by the hearer to be before or behind him, by means of the different qualities with which the front and back part of his head are endued, we consider not only as hypotheticalal, but palpably untrue. But the extension of this hypothesis, by our author, to the mode by which we determine whether sounds proceed from a point above or below us, we conceive to be even more fanciful than the former. This 'difference,' therefore, 'between the front and back part of the head;' and again, 'the want of sensibility in the upper part of the head, and the lower part of the face,' we must reject as entirely unfounded in fact or probability.

From this subject our author proceeds to investigate the nature of ventriloquism, a curious, and, as yet, unexplained subject. And here again we are disposed to differ very materially from his opinions.

'He who is master of this art,' says he, 'has nothing to do but to place his mouth obliquely to the company; and to dart his words, if

if I may use the expression, against an opposing object, where they will be reflected immediately, so as to strike the ears of the audience from an unexpected quarter, in consequence of which the reflector will appear to be the speaker.' p. 649.

Though this comprehends the scope of the author's doctrine, we are of opinion that it affords a deficient and inadequate explanation even of the case that he relates, in which the ventriloquist performed his operations in a confined room. The power of projecting the voice against a plain wall, so that it shall be reflected to a given point, is difficult, and we may almost say impossible of attainment. But, granting that this power were attained, the reflected tones of the voice must be a mere echo, whilst the sounds proceeding immediately from the mouth of the speaker, being both louder in degree, and prior in point of time, must necessarily, as is the case in every echo, drown the first parts of the reflected sounds, and make the remainder appear evidently different from the original. The author seems to have been led into this theory by the analogy of light, without perhaps duly considering that the particles of light move successively in direct lines; whereas the undulations of sound must necessarily expand and enlarge, as they proceed on from the sounding body. But the feats of ventriloquism are often performed *sub dio*, when no means for reflecting the voice can be present, and where, of course, the author's doctrine cannot in any respect apply. He has omitted to mention a cause which has a very powerful influence in effecting the deception, viz. the expectation excited in the spectator or hearer, by the artist having previously informed him from whence he proposes to make the sounds proceed. This circumstance of raising expectation almost to belief, aided by a peculiar happy talent for imitating singular or striking sounds, such, for example, as the cries of a child in the act of suffocation, is perhaps a more probable explanation of the phenomena of ventriloquism.

As an appendix to this paper, the author has added a short disquisition on the theory of compound sounds, in which he endeavours to maintain, that Dr Smith's hypothesis on this subject has not been in the least invalidated by a late theory of Dr Young. Our author agrees with Dr Smith in opinion, that 'a number of simple sounds may exist in concert, and strike the ear in a distinct manner, with suffering any interruption in their motions from the interference of their pulses.' He adduces many acute arguments, and mathematical demonstrations, to prove 'that there are as many sets of pulses in an aggregate of sounds, as that aggregate contains elements, and that the coalescence of two sounds is impossible.' Now, we conceive the prominent defect of our author's hypothesis to be, his confusion of the abstract mechanical

nature of sounds, with their sensible effects upon the human ear. We agree perfectly with him, that in a band of music, every separate instrument, or cause of peculiar vibrations, must produce separate and peculiar pulses upon the air ; at the same time, however, that the ear may not be able to detect the appropriate and distinct sounds of each. It is indeed a mathematical absurdity to talk of the absolute coalescence of two sets of pulses, as they must necessarily proceed from different points, and the direction in which they flow must of consequence be in some degree varied. It is nevertheless an obvious and well ascertained fact, that in a concert of musical instruments, the ear only occasionally distinguishes the separate causes or sources of vibratory sounds. This unison, indeed, which deceives the hearer, forms what is properly termed harmony. There is one view of this subject which may perhaps illustrate the distinction that we wish to establish between the absolute and mathematical nature of sounds, or, to speak more philosophically, the causes of sounds, and their sensible properties on the ear. A correct and harmonious concert of musical instruments may produce sets of vibrations or pulses, which have a uniform tendency to coalesce, but which may nevertheless proceed on indefinitely, approaching nearer to each other, without ever constituting an uniform compound. In the same manner, a hearer may place himself so near a band of musical instruments, as to be enabled to distinguish the separate sounds proceeding from each ; but, in proportion as he recedes, their united sounds become more blended and harmonious until he comes first to lose some of the feebler sounds, and at last to have no effect at all produced upon his ear.

But the author attempts to demonstrate, by a mathematical process, what no mathematical reasoning can prove, viz. ‘ that a number of distinct contemporary sounds cannot do otherwise than produce distinct sensations.’ If, by distinct sensations, he means sensations distinctly felt by the individual, the fact overturns all these deductions. But if, by this expression, we are to understand distinct causes, or indefinitely small and separately imperceptible parts of that whole which constitutes one distinguishable sensation, then we shall be ready to admit, that this is at least a highly probable, and very philosophical conjecture. Some men hear more acutely than others, and some animals perhaps more acutely than men. It is impossible, therefore, to bring matters of bodily sensation to the test of mathematical argument, or the correctness of mathematical precision.

ART.

ART. XXI. *Poems written chiefly in Retirement.—Effusions of Social and Relative Feeling, &c. &c.—With a Prefatory Memoir of the Life of the Author, &c.* By John Thelwall. 8vo. pp. 210. Hereford. Second Edition. 1802.

LITERATURE opens so obvious and so pleasant a way to distinction, to those who are without the advantages of birth or fortune, that we need not wonder if more are drawn into it, than are qualified to reach the place of their destination. The task of ministering to the higher wants and more refined pleasures of the species, being both more dignified and more agreeable than that of supplying their vulgar necessities, multitudes are induced to undertake it without any great preparation, and the substantial business of life is defrauded of much valuable labour, while the elegant arts are injured by a crowd of injudicious pretenders. The gradations by which increasing luxury accomplishes these seductions are sufficiently distinguishable. Ploughboys and carpenters are first drawn into the shops of mercers and perfumers, and into the service of esquires, baronets, and peers: the runaway apprentice next goes upon the stage; hair-dressers and valets write amatory verses; coffeehouse waiters publish political pamphlets; and shoemakers and tailors astonish the world with plans for reforming the constitution, and with *effusions of relative and social feeling*.

These observations are so extremely familiar to all who are in the practice of looking into new publications, that we should probably have spared our readers the trouble of perusing them in this place, if they had been suggested only by the quality of the *poetry* in this volume. But there is something that illustrates and justifies them in so remarkable a manner, in the 'prefatory memoir' of the author, that we cannot help thinking that some instruction and entertainment may be derived from a short account of it.

John Thelwall was the son of a silk-mercator of London, and was severely whipped at school, for 'a tardiness and apparent inaptitude,' as he expresses it, 'which occasioned him to be considered as of a slow and even feeble mind.' He was then placed behind the counter, and was beaten by his elder brother, a person, we are informed, 'of a very vehement and tyrannical temper.' His ambitious spirit, however, disdained this double bondage: and he soon tried, like other discontented heroes in similar situations, to deliver himself from it, by going upon the stage. His application to Mr Colman, however, he informs us, 'was answered only by a moral expostulation against the design;' and his own consciousness of want of voice and figure compelled him to give up this idea altogether. He next made an unsuccessful attempt to become a painter; and the grand catastrophe of his early

life is then announced to the reader in the following magnanimous sentences, which afford a tolerable specimen of this interesting biography :

‘ But though disappointed alike in his views, upon the arts and upon the stage, his situation at home was not to be endured ; and, rather than live in that terrible state of domestic discord, which tore his over-irritable nerves, and embittered every moment of his life, *he yielded to the proposal of being apprenticed to an eminent master tailor at the west end of the town*\*.

‘ This was one of those projects of narrow and miscalculating policy, by which the dictates of Nature are so frequently violated, and the prospects and happiness of youth are so inhumanly blighted.’

‘ Young Thelwall had now changed his residence, and his nominal profession ; but his pursuits were still the same. The shopboard, like the shop-counter, was a seat not of business, but of study. Plays (particularly tragedies) were perpetually in his hands and in his mouth. From thence he soared to epic poetry ; devoured with insatiable avidity Pope’s translation of Homer, and committed several hundred verses to memory ; meditating the herculean labour of getting the whole Iliad by heart. His opportunities of study were, however, so inadequate to his wishes, that he even carried a wax taper in his pocket, that he might read as he went along the streets by night.’ P. ix.

Ill health put a temporary stop to those sedentary and peripatetic occupations : But, upon his return to them after his recovery, ‘ gloom and dejection seized upon his spirits ; but his resolution assumed a decisive tone. He burst again from his sordid fetters, and determined to endure all the consequences which his disastrous circumstances seemed to threaten, rather than submit to a situation so irreconcilable to his tastes, his habits, and his wishes.’ P. xv.

He next took to the study of the law, though this was a profession, he acknowledges, ‘ from which his feelings and his principles alike revolted,’ and was articled to an attorney, with whom he passed a very idle period of three years and a half, till at length ‘ his distaste for the drudgery of the office was heightened by his abhorrence of the principles and practices of the profession ; and he quitted the office in the same abrupt way that he had before quitted the shopboard.’

Such a genius, it was apparent, could only rise into distinction in a season of general ferment and disorder ; and the time was not yet come, when mere forwardness and audacity could recommend an individual to the notice of the public. He continued, therefore, for some years to write obscurely in magazines and newspapers,

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\* We conceive this avowal to be the utmost limit of human candour.

pers, and produced some novels and poetry, that have since, he confesses, 'fallen into merited oblivion.' The hour of his greatness, however, it seems was now at hand; he read a paper in a society of medical students, that contained so undisguised a defence of materialism, 'that it was voted out of the society; in consequence of which the author also withdrew himself.' He then became an orator at Coachmakers-Hall; and had the honour of being appointed one of the poll-clerks to Mr Horne Tooke, upon his first canvass for Westminster. Elated with this mark of distinction, he now threatened to desert the debating societies, unless they would agree to confine their inquiries to political subjects exclusively; and when they were shut out of every place of assembly in the city of London, and no person could be found who would venture to carry on a public debate with him, he began a course of 'political lectures,' with a view 'to revive discussion in a form that might depend entirely on his individual exertions.' In the mean time, he had become a member of the London Corresponding Society, and of that of the Friends of the People; and was brought to trial for high treason, accordingly, as a member of their secret committees, in 1794.

After his acquittal, he persisted in his endeavours 'to revive discussion,' and resumed his lectures in various parts of the country, in defiance of the insults and the danger to which they perpetually exposed him. His magnanimity, however, was at length overcome, by the discouragements which he every where experienced; and he resolved, in imitation of Scipio and other ill requited patriots, to solace himself, for his country's ingratitude, in the quiet occupation of a rural life. With this view, although utterly unacquainted with agricultural affairs, he took a small farm in Wales, where he was persecuted, he affirms, by all his neighbours, and very nearly ruined by the bad crops, 'modern rent, and modern taxes,' with which it was his misfortune to be burdened. He persisted for three years in 'this ill-starred experiment;' and left his retreat at length, completely disgusted with the business of a farmer, and the rustic virtues of the Cambrian peasantry. The memoir terminates with an apology for conjecturing favourably of his poetical success from the uniformity of his political mis-carriages.

'Since he has proved so bad a politician, as to plunge himself and his family in ruin, for the dissemination of a principle which he thought conducive to the happiness of mankind, it ought to be regarded as an argument *a priori* in favour of his poetical talent: that species of imprudence (a sort of failing so rare and so fatal in politics) having always been considered as a distinguishing characteristic of those whom Apollo and the muse inspire.' p. xlviii.

Our author probably is not the first who has spoiled a good tradesman, by an unlucky ambition of literary or political glory ; but he is the only one we recollect who has left a minute and authentic record of the steps of his transformation, and of the motives and sentiments by which he was successively actuated. In every page of this extraordinary Memoir, we discover traces of that impatience of honest industry, that presumptuous vanity, and precarious principle, that have thrown so many adventurers upon the world, and drawn so many females from their plain work and their embroidery, to delight the public by their beauty in the streets, and their novels in the circulating library. They have all ‘ ardent temperaments,’ like Mr Thelwall, ‘ irritable feelings, enthusiastic virtues, and a noble contempt for mechanical drudgery, dull regularity, and slow-paced erudition.’ Their performances need no description.

We have little to say of the poetry of this volume. It has come to a second edition, we perceive ; and the author somewhere informs us, that upwards of two thousand copies have been disposed of : but it still appears to us, that very little need be said upon the subject. It consists of a dramatic romance, called the ‘ Fairy of the Lake,’ full of freezing spirits, and songs about ale ; a collection of effusions ; and a fragment of a projected epic upon the establishment of the kingdom of Northumberland. Of the dramatic piece, we give the following scene as a specimen, because it is shorter than any of the others, without having less meaning.

‘ SCENE III. *Enter Fairies.*

‘ 1. *Fa.* Sisters ! Sisters ! 2. *Fa.* Whist ye ! Whist !

1. *Fa.* Tell me—tell me what ye list.

3. *Fa.* Things of moment hover nigh.

1. *Fa.* Who can read them ? 2. *Fa.* I. 3. *Fa.* And I.

*Cho.* Things of moment hover nigh.

1. *Fa.* Sisters ! Sisters ! 2. *Fa.* List ye ! List !

3. *Fa.* Tell me, fairies, what ye wist ?

1. *Fa.* Tell me what ye read on high ?

2. *Fa.* Fading stars. 3. *Fa.* And morning nigh.

1. *Fa.* Who can see it ? 2. *Fa.* I. 3. *Fa.* And I.

*Cho.* To the Grotto—haste away.

4. *Fa.* You have seen it ? 1. *Fa.* Aye. 2. *Fa.* Aye. 3. *Fa.* Aye.

*Cho.* To the Grotto whisk away.

1. *Fa.* Frisk it ! 2. *Fa.* Whisk it !

3. *Fa.* Trip it ! 1. *Fa.* Whip it !

4. *Fa.* To the Grotto—flit away.

*Cho.* What we’ve witness’d there display. [*Exeunt.* p. 44.

King

King Arthur, in the succeeding scene, after being surprised by a violent fit of anger, recollects himself so far as to make the following very natural invocation.

‘ Come then, thou sullen Calm  
Of conscious desperation, thro’ my soul  
Breathe thy narcotic influence—steep each nerve  
In opiate dews, and o’er each maddening sense,  
Bewilder’d, from their chilling urns pour forth  
Thy inanescent torpors, till no more  
Reflection wakes, and dull Oblivion drop  
The vail by Fancy lifted.’ p. 49.

From the ‘*Effusions*,’ we do not know how to make any selection. In the *Epic Fragments*, we were particularly struck with the easy dignity of the language, though the narrative is not very perspicuous. The following simile shows what incalculable improvements our modern poetry may expect from the philosophical skill of its votaries.

‘ As, from group to group, expands  
The electric fire, when to the chrystal jar,  
Or sphere excited, the hermetic hand  
Applies the tried conductor, and relieves  
The imprison’d element, whose subtile flames  
Dart through the languid nerves, the fibres brace,  
And with increas’d pulsation urge the heart.’ p. 197.

Homer’s catalogue of ships, and Milton’s of devils, take away the merit of originality from the following sublime passage; but the author, it will readily be admitted, has borrowed nothing but the general idea.

“ First bled Gwendellau, fierce Caradoc next,  
Madoc and Modred, strong Derwyddon, Ludd,  
Merion and Mathraval; Whiwallon next,  
Renown’d for brutal rage; and Howell’s son,  
Proud Cunvan; swift Ardifferd then we slew,  
O’erta’en in flight; and, making fruitless stand,  
Cadwallader, and Rhun, and Ruthfedel;  
And stern Cadoffin, tall Usgathrog, Mawr,  
Enion and Cadiffor—Arglooddi, all  
Fam’d in their clans.” p. 193, 194.

After selling two thousand copies of his book, and lecturing upon politics to crowded and intelligent audiences, we are afraid there is no great probability of Mr Thelwall submitting to cut out casimere, or stitch in buckram; though we are persuaded that he was infinitely more useful and respectable in his old occupation



occupation, than in those to which he has lately betaken himself. Middling as his poetry is, however, we shall be happy to find that it affords him a subsistence ; because it is a great deal better than his politics. There are some passages in the Lamentation for his Daughter's Death, that are written with tenderness and effect ; and, if he will renounce all pretensions to epic and dramatic fame, and publish his next volume of Effusions without any Prefatory Memoir, we shall be glad to hear that he has sold four thousand of them, instead of two.

ART. XXII. *Thoughts on the Residence of the Clergy.*

By John Sturges, LL. D.

**T**HIS pamphlet is the production of a gentleman, who has acquired a right to teach the duties of the clerical character by fulfilling them ; and who has exercised that right, in the present instance, with honour to himself, and benefit to the public. From the particular character of understanding evinced in this work, we should conceive Dr Sturges to possess a very powerful claim to be heard on all questions referable to the decision of practicable good sense. He has availed himself of his experience, to observe ; and of his observation, to judge well : He neither loves his profession too little, nor too much ; is alive to its interests, without being insensible to those of the community at large ; and treats of those points where his previous habits might render a little intemperance venial, as well as probable, with the most perfect good humour, and moderation.

As exceptions to the general, and indisputable principle of residence, Dr Sturges urges the smallness of some livings ; the probability that their incumbents be engaged in the task of education, or in ecclesiastical duty, in situations where their talents may be more appropriately and importantly employed. Dr Sturges is also of opinion, that the power of enforcing residence, under certain limits, should be invested in the bishops ; and that the acts prohibiting the clergy to hold or cultivate land, should be in a great measure repealed.

We sincerely hope, that the two cases suggested by Dr Sturges, of the clergymen who may keep a school, or be engaged in the duty of some parish not his own, will be attended to in the construction of the approaching Bill, and admitted as pleas for nonresidence. It certainly is better that a clergyman should do the duty of his own benefice, rather than of any other. But the injury done to the community, is not commensurate with the vexation imposed upon the individual. Such a measure is either too

too harsh, not to become obsolete; or, by harassing the clergy with a very severe restriction, to gain a very disproportionate good to the community, would bring the profession into disrepute, and have a tendency to introduce a class of men into the Church, of less liberal manners, education and connexion; points, of the utmost importance, in our present state of religion and wealth. Nothing has enabled men to do wrong with impunity, so much as the extreme severity of the penalties with which the law has threatened them. The only method to insure success to the bill for enforcing ecclesiastical residence, is to consult the convenience of the clergy in its construction, as far as is possibly consistent with the object desired, and even to sacrifice something that *ought* to be done, in order that much *may* be done. Upon this principle, the clergyman should not be confined to his parsonage-house, but to the precincts of his parish. Some advantage would certainly attend the residence of the clergy in their official mansions; but, as we have before observed, the good one party would obtain, bears no sort of proportion to the evil the other would suffer.

Upon the propriety of investing the Bench of Bishops with a power of enforcing residence, we confess ourselves to entertain very serious doubts. A bishop has frequently a very temporary interest in his diocese: he has favours to ask; and he must grant them. Leave of absence will be granted to powerful intercession; and refused, upon stronger pleas, to men without friends. Bishops are frequently men advanced in years, or immersed in study. A single person who compels many others to do their duty, has much odium to bear, and much activity to exert. A bishop is subject to caprice, and enmity, and passion, in common with other individuals; there is some danger also that his power over the clergy may be converted to a political purpose. From innumerable causes, which might be reasoned upon to great length, we are apprehensive the object of the Legislature will be entirely frustrated in a few years, if it be committed to episcopal superintendence and care; though, upon the first view of the subject, no other scheme can appear so natural and so wise.

Dr Sturges observes, that after all the conceivable justifications of nonresidence are enumerated in the Act, many others must from time to time occur, and indicate the propriety of vesting somewhere a discretionary power. If this be true of the penalties by which the clergy are governed, it is equally true of all other penal acts; and the law should extend to every offence the contingency of discretionary remission. The objection to this system is, that it trusts too much to the sagacity and the probity of the

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the judge, and exposes a county to the partial, lax, and corrupt administration of its laws. It is certainly inconvenient, in many cases, to have no other guide to resort to but the unaccommodating mandates of an act of Parliament: yet, of the two inconveniences, it is the least. It is some palliation of the evils of discretionary power, that it should be exercised (as by the Court of Chancery) in the face of day, and that the moderator of law should himself be moderated by the force of precedent, and opinion. A bishop will exercise his discretionary power in the dark; he is at full liberty to depart to-morrow from the precedent he has established to day; and to apply the same decisions to different, or different decisions to the same circumstances, as his humour or his interest may dictate. Such power may be exercised well under one judge of extraordinary integrity; but it is not very probable he will find a proper successor. To suppose a series of men so much superior to temptation, and to construct a system of church government upon such a supposition, is to build upon sand, with materials not more durable than the foundation.

Sir William Scott has made it very clear, by his excellent speech, that it is not possible, in the present state of the revenues of the English Church, to apply a radical cure to the evil of non-residence. It is there stated, that out of 11,700 livings, there are 6,000 under 80*l. per annum*; many of those, 20*l.* 30*l.* and some as low as 2*l.* or 3*l. per annum*. In such a state of endowment, all idea of rigid residence is out of the question. Emoluments, which a footman would spurn, can hardly recompense a scholar and a gentleman. A mere palliation is all that can be applied; and these are the ingredients of which we wish such a palliation should be composed—

1. Let the clergyman have full liberty of farming, and be put in this respect exactly upon a footing with laymen.

2. Power to reside in any other house in the parish, as well as the parsonage-house, and to be absent five months in the year.

3. Schoolmasters, and ministers *bona fide* discharging ministerial functions in another parish exempt from residence.

4. Penalties in proportion to the value of livings, and number of times the offence has been committed.

5. Common informers to sue as at present; though *probably* it might be right to make the name of one parishioner a necessary addition; and a proof of non-residence might be made to operate as a nonsuit in an action for tithes.

6. No action for non-residence to lie where the benefice was less than 80*l. per annum*; and the powers of bishops to remain precisely as they are.

These

These indulgences would leave the clergy without excuse, would reduce the informations to a salutary number, and diminish the odium consequent upon them, by directing their effects against men, who regard church preferment merely as a source of revenue; not as an obligation to the discharge of important duties.

We venture to prognosticate, that a bill of greater severity either will not pass the House of Commons, or will fail of its object. Considering the times and circumstances, we are convinced we have stated the greatest quantum of *attainable* good; which of course will not be attained, by the customary error, of attending to what is desirable to be done, rather than to what it is practicable to do.

ART. XXIII. *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects.* By Sir John Sinclair, Baronet. 8vo. pp. 467. London. 1802.

**T**HIS volume is a collection of various papers, most of which have been printed before in various forms. They consist of speeches in the House of Commons, addresses to the Board of Agriculture, to the Edinburgh Wool Society, to the Clergy of Scotland, &c. It would be idle in us to give any particular account of compositions, of which both the merit and the contents are sufficiently known to all who are likely to take any interest in them. The rest of the essays, which now appear for the first time, possess that general character with which the readers of Sir John Sinclair's works are well acquainted. And although these might have been withheld without much injury to the author's reputation, they afford various proofs of the zeal with which he labours to merit the public approbation, as well as of his readiness to save his country the trouble of bestowing the applauses he has deserved. These appear to be his ruling passions, of which, if the former be highly honourable, the other will easily be forgiven; and they are both so well expressed on the first page of this volume, that we cannot deprive our readers of the following advertisement.

‘ I should hardly have ventured to have troubled the world with this publication, had I not flattered myself with the idea, that any person who will take the trouble of perusing the following Essays, will, on the whole, be inclined to say, “ This is the work of an author who seems to have directed his attention to subjects connected with public utility and national improvement, and whose favourite object was, *not to have lived in vain.*”

In the *first* essay, which is given as a sketch of the plan which the author intended to pursue in his analysis of the Statistical Reports,

Reports, we are informed that all thoughts of that publication are for the present given up; and that 'it is impossible for him to foresee whether it will ever be in his power, even to begin, far less to complete such a work.' We are greatly disappointed by this intelligence: without such a digest of the Statistical accounts as was promised, that immense store of valuable information will remain almost inaccessible; and the labours of Sir John's respectable coadjutors will prove, in a great measure, unprofitable to the public, unless the redundancies of topographical information be reduced into a general description, and the varieties of detail embodied in a distinct arrangement. If he should finally relinquish the task, we hope some other person may be tempted to undertake it, who will probably not adopt, without considerable change, that outline of contents which is sketched in the present volume. Even with respect to such articles as are properly included among the objects of Statistical description, our author's plan might be adapted more nearly to the order of those general inquiries, to which all local researches are subservient. But the chief objection to his design is unnecessary extension, and a want of distinct unity. It includes a description of antiquities, annals of eminent men, an account of the laws and political constitution of Scotland; all of which belong to departments of literature quite distinct from that which professes to describe the resources and political economy of particular states. There was to be prefixed likewise, in an introduction, a review of the history of Scotland. It is not improbable that he may have been misled, in this respect, by the example of Boulainvilliers, whose sketch of the constitutional antiquities of France, most awkwardly prefixed to his abstract of the Provincial Surveys, still delights many readers. Were Sir John Sinclair to imitate that model with any degree of success, we should be apt to overlook any incongruity that might subsist between his historical sketch and the work to which it served as an introduction. If he feels himself bold enough to attempt such a competition, he ought to leave the compilation of Statistical abstracts to labourers of an inferior class.

We had almost forgotten to mention, that the outline, on which we have made these strictures, is subjoined to general observations on the nature and advantages of Statistical inquiries, under which he enumerates, methodically, the sources of human happiness, and attempts to explain the means of extending the advantages of political society.

These observations are extremely trite and puerile, and are the worst specimen we have lately seen of a sort of composition very fashionable among Scottish writers, in which the history of political institutions is deduced metaphysically, from a supposed

posed æra of extreme barbarism, through the successive stages of improvement. The masterly sketches which abound in the writings of Smith and Millar, communicated this taste to the universities, and has, in some degree, vitiated the style of all our inferior writers. Such deductions unquestionably hold a most important rank among the investigations of moral science; but, in the execution, they require most profound skill and delicate management. Whether these powers are displayed in the following picture, our readers will determine.

‘The pleasures of shelter may properly be classed under the head of animal gratifications, as there are many animals, from the lordly lion to the walking rabbit, who shelter themselves in holes, and dens, and in caverns, from the inclemency of the seasons, and from the dangers to which they themselves and their tender offspring are exposed, from the attacks of their enemies, more especially when in sickness or at rest. Similar apprehensions, it is probable, first gave man a conviction of the necessity there was for shelter; and as such dens and caverns as were formed by nature would soon be occupied, the idea would thence occur, of erecting the means of shelter and repose in the trees of the forest; then huts made of wood, of earth, or of stone, would be constructed; and by progressive improvement, thence would arise the comfortable cottage, the elegant and hospitable rural mansion, and the luxurious palace with all its ornaments and splendour. Habitations would then not only afford shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and safety during sickness and repose, but a variety of other conveniencies and advantages would arise from that source of accommodation, more especially the means of using the important article of fuel or heat; through the medium of which, food is prepared to more advantage; clothing is improved in its utility, and in the comfort of using it; and houses themselves, by warmth, and the exclusion of damp, rendered fitter for the habitation of men.’ p. 9, 10.

After this profound deduction of ‘the pleasures of shelter,’ we have an inquiry, equally learned and original, into the pleasures of *friendship* and *matrimony*; and an ingenious account of the gratifications to be derived from *political* institutions and *religious* practices. The best method for promoting all those kinds of happiness, we are finally informed, is to collect *statistical* information; and the essay concludes with this prophetic *apothecosis* of all who devote themselves to such meritorious researches.

‘By such inquiries, when properly conducted, and wisely acted upon; every individual in a great political community may be enabled to enjoy as much real happiness in this world, as the imperfect condition of human nature will admit; and may indulge the pleasing hopes, of partaking in those superior blessings, which Revelation teaches us, a truly virtuous character will inherit beyond the grave.’ p. 22.

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The next essay, which is entitled, 'Observations on the means of enabling a cottager to keep a cow,' was originally addressed to the Board of Agriculture, and circulated in a separate form among the patrons and pupils of that institution. It is now submitted, for the first time, to the *exoteric* students of the science, and really does not appear to contain any of its higher mysteries. There can be no other 'means of enabling a cottager to keep a cow,' we should humbly conceive, than to allow him such a quantity of land adjoining to his cottage, as may be found necessary for her subsistence; and if the cottager pays the ordinary rent for this land, there is every reason to believe that he will make as economical an use of it as any Member of the Board of Agriculture could have done. This is the learned author's opinion also; and it is the sum and substance of an essay consisting of nine titled sections, and an oratorical peroration.

The third essay, 'On the conversion of pasture land into tillage,' consists altogether of facts reported to the author by his correspondents, which lead him, though they may not lead all his readers, to the following conclusions:

'On the whole, though it may not be advisable to recommend the ploughing up of very rich old pastures, or water meadows, or land apt to be overflowed, yet, with these exceptions, there is every reason to believe that other sorts of grass lands may be rendered much more productive, by being occasionally converted into tillage; and for that purpose, it is desirable, that the conversion of such lands should be promoted as much as possible; by removing the obstacles to such conversion—by enforcing the necessity or commuting tithes, without which, no considerable tract of old pasture can be broken up—by pointing out to landlords the conditions under which they may agree to such a plan, not only without detriment to the real value of their property, but also yielding a most important addition to their income—and, above all, by explaining to Parliament, and to the public, that the measure above recommended, is one which may effectually tend to prevent future scarcities; and to render this country independent of foreign nations, in the important article of provision' p. 59, 60.

'Hints regarding cattle' is the title of the fourth essay. It contains neither system nor conjecture, that approaches to originality; and states no facts or maxims that are not either self-evident, or familiar to the most superficial observer of rural economics.

After this, follows a long paper on the improvement of British wool, being the substance of an address to the Edinburgh Wool Society in 1791, which was published at that time, and is now reprinted with a few alterations.

The sixth essay is a third edition of 'An address to the Board of Agriculture, on the improvement of waste lands,' which was printed

printed by their order in 1795, and annexed to a Report to the House of Commons in 1796. Though these publications are within the reach of every one who takes an interest in the subject, the philanthropy of the author has determined him to give his work this additional chance of notoriety.

‘The substance of a speech in the House of Commons, on the subject of private inclosure bills,’ forms the seventh article in this collection. As a specimen of Sir John Sinclair’s eloquence, we extract the following passage from the conclusion of this oration. It describes the feelings of a peasant, ‘looking with hungry anxiety at an improveable waste; and represents him as

—‘enraged to see the skulking rabbit starved, where the industry of man, once unshackled, would soon enable the stately bullock to fatten itself in luxuriant pastures; enraged to see goss and ling, and furze and heath, and all the miserable trash that might be enumerated on such an occasion; to see them growing, where the knotted oak, the pride of the British forest, would expand its lusty branches, enliven the bleak scene, and, in future ages, would become the boast and bulwark of the country.’ P. 204-5.

As our degenerate peasants no longer feed on acorns, the ‘knotted oak,’ we should imagine, would not relieve their hungry anxiety much more effectually than the goss and the ling which are supposed to have excited their indignation.

In the eighth essay, which is entitled, ‘Hints for the improvement of an extensive property, more especially applicable to an estate in the North of Scotland,’ Sir John Sinclair has favoured the public with an account of what he has done, and proposes to do, for the improvement of his own property in the county of Caithness. We shall not trouble our readers with any part of the eulogium which Sir John pronounces on this happy region; which he represents as admirably calculated for every species of improvement—though he confesses that trees will not grow in it; and that there is still nothing more than a probability ‘that a valuable mine of coal may be found.’ As every Highland improver, however, is now suspected of being accessory to the depopulation of his country, (which we are far from regarding as a very grievous offence), it may afford some consolation to those who shudder at such consequences, to learn how this matter is adjusted by our author.

‘The great difficulty in carrying on the improvement of the property I am converting into a sheep farm, arose from the circumstance of its being occupied by eighty small farmers, who did not pay in all above 250*l. per annum*. Nothing could be more absurd than to suffer such an extensive and valuable district to be employed almost in nothing



but in breeding an inconsiderable number of cattle, and feeding some red deer, who wandered about the upper parts of the estate. Humanity, however, required, that above five hundred individuals, who inhabited the estate, should not be driven from their ancient possessions, without having some other means of subsistence pointed out to them: Hence it was necessary to proceed with caution in extending the farm, and to form some liberal plan to provide for the people. The following measure was at last adopted for that purpose,—that of giving two Scotch acres of arable land, or at least fit to be made arable, with a house and garden, to each of those little farmers, under the name of “*Cottage Farms*,” the proprietor becoming bound to employ them for 100, 200, or 300 days in the year, as the cottager chose, paying the labourer so much grain, and so much money, in proportion to the number of days agreed upon; and thus the cottager, in a manner, received rent from the landlord, instead of paying any.’ p. 227-8.

The ninth essay is a republication of ‘An account of the origin and progress of the Board of Agriculture,’ which was published in 1796, and does not require any farther notice in this place.

The tenth essay contains a proposal for establishing a *great experimental farm*, to be supported by subscription. Sir John bestows a whole section in answering the objections which had been stated to this institution; but there is one, of which he takes no notice, that would probably render the whole scheme abortive within two years after its establishment: the subscribers would quarrel about the management, and the theorists would dispute and contradict each other about the actual result of the experiments. Experimental farms are best where they now are, in the hands of individuals; nothing short of the monarchical power of a proprietor can preserve any thing like uniformity or steadiness under a new system of operations.

The next essay is really a curiosity. It is ‘A Letter to a proprietor, on the means of promoting the comfort of the people in his neighbourhood;’ and contains such an enumeration of *truisms* as has rarely been laid before the public in a serious composition. His directions for making the cottages of the lower orders comfortable, for instance, are as follows: ‘1. They should be dry and healthy; 2. They should be warm, cheerful, and *comfortable*; 3. Convenient; 4. Of a proper width,’ &c. &c. On the subject of fuel, in like manner, we are gravely informed, ‘that it is of use, 1. For cooking victuals; 2. For warmth; 3. To remove damp,’ &c. ‘All proprietors,’ it is then said, ‘should make *statistical surveys* of their estates;’ and take care to see the people of their district amusing themselves ‘with music and dancing,’ in imitation of the wise administrations of ancient Greece!

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The *last* essay, 'On Longevity,' is the most amusing of the whole collection, though it contains as few traces of original genius, or judicious selection, as any of those that go before it. Among the 'circumstances tending to promote longevity,' we do not know by what rule of logic the learned author has enumerated 'the renewal of youth, by the reproduction of new teeth, new hair,' &c. This may be an indication of longevity, but can scarcely be accounted a circumstance tending to promote it. Mountainous countries, even though exposed to moisture, seem to be by far the most favourable to long life; and habitual exposure to the open air, appears of much greater importance than the most rigid temperance and regularity. Annexed to this essay is a curious list of ninety-six in-pensioners in Greenwich Hospital, above eighty years of age, (the whole number being 2410,) with a short note of their present state and past conduct. Almost all of these veterans have used tobacco constantly for a great number of years, and most of them acknowledged the habit of drinking freely. It is a singular proof of the admirable management of this institution, that while such is the proportion of aged to the whole among the in-pensioners, there should be no more than twenty-three among 2500 *out*-pensioners who are upwards of eighty years of age.

Upon the whole, there is not much to praise in this volume, but the motives from which it appears to have been composed. Sir John Sinclair would certainly be an useful man, if he knew how to set about it; though there will probably be always a considerable difference between his own estimate of his importance, and that which is adopted by the public.

ART. XXIV. ANAAEKTA MEIZONA. Pars altera. Poëtica complectens. Cum Notis philologicis, quas partim collegit, partim scripsit Andreas Dalzel, S. R. S. Edin. 1802-3.

**A**N exclusive attachment to experimental philosophy, and a laudable desire of extending knowledge, more immediately subservient to the purposes of common life, have induced a very great majority of those who bestow any cultivation on their minds, either wholly to neglect, or, what is truly illiberal, to depreciate the valuable labours of the philological critic. It must be acknowledged, that the accurate grammarian has not always united a delicate taste and a fine imagination, to skill in analysing the language of ancient authors. Destitute of elegance, his disquisitions have been sullied with barbarous invective, and the angry polemic

polemic has irreverently rushed into the vales of Helicon, scattering dismay through the peaceful haunts of Parnassus. But classical learning is sufficiently vindicated from the charges too commonly imputed to it. We may contrast the candour of Markland with the severity of Bentley, and the elegance of Heyne with the dryness of Burmann.

The performance now before us is calculated to remove impressions unfavourable to the study of verbal criticism, by the amiable spirit which pervades the annotations of the learned Professor, and by that happy union of philological erudition and cultivated taste for general literature, which distinguishes this elementary work from all others of a similar nature. The second volume of the *Collectanea Majora*, presented to the public in another edition more correct than the former one, and enriched with additional notes, deserves all the attention from instructors which has been given to the prose collection. The poetical *Excerpta* are divided into five parts. The first consists of selections from the heroic poets, from Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius Rhodius. Those from Homer are exceedingly judicious, containing the whole first book of the *Odyssey*—the discovery of Ulysses to Alcinous, in consequence of the strains of Demodocus—his departure from Calypso; the whole of the ninth book, which includes the most entertaining part of the hero's adventures—his descent to the shades, and the first meeting of Penelope and Ulysses after his return to Ithaca. The reader has certainly here an ample view of Homer's genius, as exhibited in the *Odyssey*. We are not, however, satisfied with the Professor's reason for omitting to present some specimen from the *Iliad*. Though this poem is in the possession of most students of the Greek tongue, we should have been highly gratified by a commentary on the more splendid parts of it from so discerning a critic. From Hesiod we have every thing which a man of taste can wish to peruse; the description of the Ages in the *Opera and Dies*, and the Battle of the Titans in the *Theogonia*. We think the selections from Apollonius too copious. He is a poet by no means of the first class. Some few beauties from Quintus Calaber, or Tryphiodorus, might have supplied the place of part of them. The Second Part consists of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, and the *Medea* of Euripides. It seems a defect to have given no specimen from *Æschylus*, and no example of the Greek comedy. An 'expurgata editio' of some parts of Aristophanes would have contributed to the improvement and entertainment of the pupil. The Third Part contains the principal beauties of Theocritus, and some pleasing compositions of Moschus and Bion. In the Fourth division, we have the *Excerpta Lyrica*, which are divided into *Odes*, *Scholia*, and *Pæans*. These

These selections are from various authors, and form an agreeable diversity. The same observation will apply to the miscellanies composing the Fifth part, and divided into Hymns, ὕμνοι, and Epigrams. Upon the whole, though we have taken the liberty of suggesting some little improvement, a more amusing and instructive selection could scarcely be presented to the public.

The preface to this useful volume claims attention, as it contains some information respecting a consummate master in the critical art. The Professor apologizes for not following the *Medea* of Euripides, as edited by Porson. This new edition of the *Collectanea* was printed before that eminent scholar had published the Tragedy. Dr Raine, master of the Charter-House School, had however communicated to the Professor the other plays by Porson, before the publication of this second edition. His encomium on the critical abilities of that editor, is remarkable for its pure and elegant Latinity, and for the spirit and animation of the style.

In the proem to the Notes, the Professor acknowledges his obligation to two of his friends in the most liberal manner, happy to avail himself of the learning and abilities of others, and not affecting an ostentatious display of his own acquisitions. Our readers will peruse the whole paragraph with pleasure, as a specimen of that candour and politeness, which ought ever to accompany an offering to the Muses. We assent also to the just praise bestowed on Dr Young in this walk of literature. Had he never attempted to transgress into parts beyond his reach, we should have, on former occasions, been spared much trouble.

The notes upon Homer are preceded by an elegant dissertation on his life and writings. In this preliminary treatise, we have occasional glimpses of that accurate and profound erudition, which, to have displayed more fully, would have been foreign to the object of a book intended for novices in the study of antiquity. The reader is every where referred to authorities for more complete information. The following comprehensive view of Homer's merits, as a poet, is drawn with much judgment, and expressed in clear and pleasing language.

‘ Sed ne longius in campum hunc immensum progrediar (ubi quicunque Homerum justis laudibus prosequi aggressus fuerit finis ei circumspicienti nusquam apparere videtur) mihi tantum observare liceat, quicquid animum humanum heroicorum facinorum admiratione in sublime rapiat, quicquid lætitiæ, luctum, misericordiam, cæterosque affectus, quorum exercitatione aut is valde delectatur aut promovetur, excitet, id omne inesse carminibus Homeri. Neque effectus hi plani admirandi ex inconditâ rerum gestarum, descriptionum aut narrationum congerie oriuntur: sed in Iliadæ et Odysseæ exhibentur duo pulcherrime

cherrima opera, quorum partes tum benè sunt dispositæ, omnesque tum apti inter se connexæ ut exempla adhuc absolutissima præbeunt nobilissimi illius fatûs humani ingenii, epici nemirum vel heroici poëmatis.’

B. to inquire into the merits of such discussions, would far exceed our limits. The dissertation is followed by a catalogue of the principal editions of the poet. The plan of annexing an account of the best editions of each author, is pursued throughout the volume, and cannot be too much commended. The peculiar excellence of the Professor’s valuable performance, consists in the substitution of philological notes for Latin versions, which are often erroneous, and, even when executed in the most perfect manner, convey little or no knowledge of the idiom of the Greek language. In the preface to the former edition, he begins with mentioning the propriety of rejecting translations for the assistance of pupils.

‘Fuit jamdiu mihi persuasissimum, nihil ad ætatem juvenilem verâ linguæ Græcæ cognitione imbuendam plus collaturum, quam ut præceptores, perpetuis interpretationibus Latinis repudiatis, annotationum philologicarum usum adoptarent.’

The notes which accompany each selection are chiefly extracted from the most eminent critics, who have illustrated the sense of ancient authors by grammatical accuracy and deep erudition. The reader becomes acquainted with the critical acumen of various scholars, and is thus enabled to estimate their comparative merits, and incited to make himself more familiar with their writings. In this collection of verbal criticisms, the foundation is laid for the most conspicuous attainments in Greek literature; the sources of more extensive information are pointed out to the pupil; and his improvement is every where consulted by the most ample instruction in matters involved in difficulty and obscurity. Nor is this the only merit to which the volume may lay claim. Provision has been made for the cultivation of a refined taste, as well as for a minute acquaintance with the peculiarities of the Greek language. The pleasures of imagination are not wholly sacrificed to verbal minutizæ, which, however important as the basis of a literary education, are but a means to a great end.

In his notes on Theocritus, the Professor directs his pupils to seek information on the subject of pastoral poetry.

‘Cæterùm de poësi Bucolicâ multi scripsere. Est hoc quidem argumentum inter criticos satis tutum. Qui in eo versari cupit; præter has ingeniosas Wartonii et Heynii dissertationes adire potest.—Rapin, de *Carm. Pastoral.*—Dissert. sur l’*Eclogue*, par Fraguier—Memoires de l’Acad. des Inscript. tom. II. p. 132.—Pope’s Discourse on Pastoral.

Poëtry

Poetry.—The Rambler, No. 36. et 37. auctore Sam. Johnson.—Postea autem hicce vir celeberrimis si iniquissimum ostendit in hoc genus poësius in libro suo jucundissimo.—The Lives of the English Poets, ad fin.—Vitæ Joan Gay,—et alibi passim.’

It is superfluous to remark, how greatly notes, containing so much literary information, must conduce to the improvement of the juvenile reader. We cannot close our observations, without expressing great obligations to the Professor for the outline, which he has presented, of the Iambic, Trochaic and Anapæstic metres; a subject perplexed with so many considerable difficulties, but which are in some degree lessened by the ingenious scheme communicated to him by a friend. Upon this passage we beg leave to observe, that whether the canons of metrical criticism be perfectly established by Porson or not, that it is a very doubtful point. The exquisite learning and ingenuity of the preface to the Hecuba, are undeniable. But perhaps the rejection of the anapæst from the third seat of the iambic verse, is only a probable doctrine.

‘Jam loca,’ (says the author) quæ huic doctrinæ adversantur, tam pauca sunt, tam facilia emendatu pleraque, ut si unus et alter forte supersint, quibus nos mederi nequeamus, non idcirco sana judicanda sint. (Præf. ad Hecub.)

But why have recourse to conjectural emendation to establish an hypothesis, when the very passages in question may be instances of negligent composition? The Comic poets, it is granted, are more licentious. May not the Tragic poets have sometimes indulged themselves in similar liberties? On these grounds, we think our Professor has too hastily admitted as certain, a canon which ought to have been stated as dubious.

Upon the whole, we are happy in having the opportunity of recommending a work, which promises to diffuse the knowledge and love of Greek learning, which initiates the student in the arcanæ of the Muses, and tends in the most effectual manner to preserve a respect for those venerable monuments, to the existence of which we owe almost every thing noble and beautiful in the productions of modern genius.

ART. XXV. ΠΑΡΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΩΣ ΤΑ ΗΘΙΚΑ. *Pul-tarchi Chæronensis Moralia, id est, Opera, exceptis Vitis, reliqua. Græca emendavit, notationem emendationum, et Latinum Xylan-dri interpretationem castigatam subjunxit, animadversiones expli-candis rebus ac verbis, item indices copiosos, adjecit, Daniel Wytttenbach, Hist. Eloq. Litt. Gr. et Lat. in illustri Athen. Am-stelod. Professor. XI. Tom.\* Oxonii, E Typographia Clarendo-niano 1795-1802.*

THOSE works of Plutarch, which are improperly styled his *Morals*, are very miscellaneous in their subjects, and various in their degrees of merit. They all, however, bear evident marks of an industrious mind, and a desire to be useful. Some of them are entitled to much higher praise: They discover an accurate and extensive knowledge of mankind, and the ability as well as the desire to communicate that knowledge, or to apply it to the interests of virtue. If we consider the miscellaneous works of Plutarch, in connexion with his *Lives*, the merits of which are more generally known, and more easily appreciated, we shall not hesitate to consider him as one of the most useful and entertaining of the Greek writers. It is surprising, therefore, that his works should have been so seldom edited during the last two centuries, and that in most of the editions, there should have been displayed little of the skill and the industry of Criticism. This was particularly unfavourable to his miscellaneous works, in which the corruptions of the text are so frequent and so great, as to lessen the pleasure and instruction they would otherwise afford. The edition of Henri Etienne, the most portable and convenient which has yet appeared, abounds with vacant spaces, which that editor was unable to fill up, and with corruptions so glaring and fatal, as to defy the utmost licence of conjectural emendation. None of the editions which have appeared since that of Etienne, displayed a text much more full or correct. Few manuscripts seem to have been consulted, and little ingenuity exercised.

It was therefore with considerable satisfaction that the classical world beheld the publication of Plutarch's *Treatise, de Serâ Numinis vindicta*, about thirty years ago, by Professor Wytttenbach. Their satisfaction was much increased, when they beheld the manner

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\* There are properly speaking only five volumes; but they are divided into so many parts, as to be bound in eleven.

There are three editions; one in 4to. and two in different sized 8vo.

manner in which he edited that tract, and received his promise of an entire edition of Plutarch, executed in the same manner, and with the same exertion of industry and talent. Part of this great and difficult work is now completed. The eleven volumes already published, comprehend the text of the *Morals*, a Latin version, and various readings. The Professor means to publish separately the *Notes and Indices*, and afterwards to proceed to the *Lives*. We have thought it advisable to notice the part already published, without waiting even for the notes; because such a corrected edition of the text as this appears to be, cannot be known or appreciated too soon; and because, from the great length of time which has been consumed on these volumes, the publication of the notes appears precarious or distant. This work is dedicated, very briefly, to the University of Oxford, at whose press it was printed. The first volume commences with a very long preface, consisting of 145 pages, divided into chapters, and subdivided into sections. This preface to all will appear too long, and frequently too minute and tedious, and to some entirely without interest. But it will be read with avidity and advantage by the classical scholar, to whom every thing which proves the authenticity and genuineness of his favourite writings, or which exalts their character, or removes their obscurities, is important. It will not be without its use or interest to the philosopher, who wishes to trace the productions of human industry and skill through all the stages of their progressive improvement, and to enter into the motives and the views, the hopes and the fears, which have operated, during that time. For these reasons, and in order to relieve the dryness of verbal criticism, we shall pay particular attention to the contents of the preface, and make extracts from it, where it is remarkably interesting. Delighted and astonished with the exuberant eloquence of Plato, the learned Professor still felt that he had gained little real and useful knowledge, and turned his attention to the unadorned but more solid writings of Plutarch. The difficulty which at first retarded his progress, and almost repelled him, afterwards became the point of attraction, and the source of pleasure.

‘ Qui (Plutarchus) me, fitebor enim, primo sua quadam difficultate rejiciebat; postea eo magis alliciebat, quo magis ad ejus familiaritatem proficerem. Animadvertebam quotidie, quantum illa patefaciendæ intelligentiæ difficultas, patefactæ suavitatem ferret: quantum illa nominibus verbisque et tralatis et efficacibus referta, ac per complures enunciationes continuata oratio præstantiam haberet figurarum



gurarum et sententiarum, cum ex ipsa natura expressarum, tum ex omni doctrinæ genere delibatarum.' Præf. p. 12.

This may be called the language of pedantry or prejudice, of zeal without knowledge; but it expresses, more or less fully, the sentiments of all, who possess that ardour and perseverance of mind, before which the difficulties of literature and science vanish. That truth which is easily discovered, seldom gives much pleasure, or tends to much good. He describes very fully the progress, the difficulties which he met, and the encouragement and advice he received. He exhibits a striking proof of the imperfection of human foresight, or the weakness of human resolution and perseverance, even in men habituated to exertion. He hoped to have finished the publication of the *Morals* within ten years after the publication of his specimen. This calculation he made, from considering the time which he had employed on it. But thirty years, instead of ten, elapsed before the completion of his design. The labour which he appears to have bestowed on this grand work is immense, and must have protracted its publication. He not only performed the customary duties of an editor, in comparing editions, and collating manuscripts, but he read, with great care, almost every author of antiquity. As a proof at once of his knowledge of Greek literature, and the care and industry which he added to that knowledge, it may be mentioned, that he occupied eight months in the perusal of *Athenæus*, whom, when he had not his edition in view, he had read in fifteen days. A man who can peruse a Greek author with so much rapidity, and yet, when it is necessary, can devote so much time and attention to it, is well qualified for an editor. In order to facilitate his progress, he undertook the tedious and laborious work of index-making. Of those he completed four; the first of words; the second of modes of construction; the third of authors and passages mentioned by *Plutarch*; and the last of the names of men, &c. With regard to the means he followed for amending the text, he acknowledges that he first employed conjectural criticism.

‘Erat enim ferax emendationis partæ accurata lectione auctoris: erat eadem laboris pars jucundissima, nec labor potius quam condimentum laboris.’ Præf. p. 23.

But he had also recourse to all the editions and manuscripts within the reach of himself or his friends; and he gives a striking instance of the happy effects of the acuteness of conjectural criticism,

ticism, when joined to careful collation, in restoring a corrupted passage.

‘ In libello *περὶ τῆ Λαβῆ βιώσεως*, Ed. Gr. Lat. p. 1130. E. Steph. p. 2071. ita legitur : ἐδὲν ἔστιν ὑπόλοιμα σώματος τοῖς τεθηκόσι τιμωρίας ὅπῃ ἐστιν ἀντιτύπῃ διξασθαι δυνατόν. Cæteris satis sunt plane : sed quid illud ὅπῃ ἐστιν ? Possit quis ita sententiam accipere : “ Mortuis nullæ sunt corporum reliquiæ, quæ possunt *illud quantum est solidi supplicii suscipere.*” Probabilis est sententia, nec in Latina interpretatione tantum duri habet quantum in Græca Plutarchi oratione. Ergo lectio fertur, vera habetur. At veteribus libris conferendis vidi exstare αἰτίῃ ἐστιν in Aldina et Basiliensibus editionibus, item in plerisque meis codicibus scriptis : at istud nullo modo intelligi poterat : igitur antiquus jam corrector mutavit in ὅπῃ ἐστιν, quod patet ex collectionibus Schotti, collationibus Jannotti, et libro Poli, in quibus est ὑπόλοιπον. Stephanus, qui ex his libris sive ipsæ editionis scripturam constituēbat, hoc arripuit et edidit. Equidem ut vidi veterem lectionem αἰτίῃ ἐστιν, ita ex ea cognovi veram lectionem ἀπέρεισιν, quam recepi : et Xylandri interpretationem, neque reliquiæ corporum sunt post mortem, quæ cruciatus sustinere possint : ita leniter correxi et immutavi, retentis quoad ejus fieri poterat plurimis verbis : neque reliquiæ sunt corporum post mortem, quæ cruciatus inflictionem solidi capere possent. Præf. p. 29.

He seems to have been very industrious and fortunate in the procuring of manuscripts. He laments that he could bestow no more than half a year on the collation of those which he found in the royal library of Paris ; and gives this concise but full account of all which he consulted.

‘ Defungimur iis notitiis, quas nostro ipsi usu collegimus. Vide-mur nobis quatuor recensiones et ætates Moralium deprehendisse. Prima est ante seculum xij. ex qua ætate sunt Moscucenses valde illi mendosi, iisque haud paulo meliores Parisienses D. et E. iisdem tamen lacunis, quibus Aldina et Basilienses editiones affecti. Altera est sub finem sæculi xiii. recuperata a Græcis Constantinopoli, libris Plutarcheis et Vitis et Moralibus in unum volumen collectis, cujusmodi est Codex A, scriptus annò 1296, cum quidem librarii non tam emendata lectionis, quam collectionis omnium, qui reperiri possent, librorum, rationem habuerunt. Tertia est Codicis E. qui eundem librorum numerum, sed lectionem scripturamque magis sinceram habet, petitam ex vetustioribus ac melioribus libris : scriptus sæculo xiv. ineunte : ejusdem generis est Palatinus, in symposiacis etiam melior, quippe quas Codex E, a deteriore ac posteriore manu scriptus habet : cæterum aliis in libris cæteros ejusdem ætatis codices multum superans. Quarta exstat in Codice B. cui major etiam adhibita est emendationis cura quæsitæ ex pluribus et antiquioribus exemplis :  
numeri

numeri et summæ librorum Plutarcheorum non item habita ratio. Sequuntur codices sæculi xv. fere omnes in Italia descripti e codicibus recensionis secundæ, id est, Codicis A. adhibitis forte uno alteroque in libro, aliis exemplis: ex hoc genere sunt codices, Bessarionis, Veneti, unde princeps editio Aldina expressa est.' Præf. p. 76.

In the first section of the third chapter, he gives a list of writers, who have either mentioned Plutarch, or quoted his writings. The professor here displays an accuracy and wideness of research, which does credit to his learning and industry; and gives a perfect specimen of the mode of exhibiting that kind of historical evidence, on which we must ground our belief in the genuineness and authenticity of the ancient authors. He begins with the second century, and proceeds regularly down to the fifteenth, that is, to the invention of printing. In the second section, he enumerates and estimates the different editions, versions, animadversions, and commentaries.

In his account of the seventh century, he mentions the capture of Alexandria by the Saracens, and gives an opinion respecting the probable loss which literature sustained, from the destruction of its famous library, which, as it appears to us to be new and well-founded, we shall give; and, as it may be interesting to some of our readers who have no turn for classical learning, we shall translate it.

' Alexandria having been taken by the Saracens in the year 641, its celebrated library was then destroyed: we shall not inquire how; the fact is certain. It will be more to our purpose to inquire, whether many of the writings of Plutarch, and other ancient authors, then perished; whether the learned world sustained as great a loss as is commonly imagined; and whether, if that library had not been destroyed, we should have had at present, either the books it contained, or copies of them. I am not of this opinion. In the first place, it is highly probable, that, before the invasion of the Saracens, many of the ancient manuscripts contained in that library had perished, through the neglect of transcribing them; and that great part of the manuscripts, at the time of its destruction, were new, and on ecclesiastical subjects. Besides, it is very likely, that there were copies in Greece of most of the Alexandrian manuscripts, which might have been preserved, if proper care had been taken in transcribing them. The sloth of the Greeks, and the inattention which was then, and for long afterwards, manifested towards literature, were the causes of the loss of more works, than all the barbarians; so that, if the Saracens had either not taken Alexandria, or had sent all the books into Greece, we should not have been more fortunate.' Præf. p. 57.

Reiske is one of the latest editors of Plutarch. His edition, however, disappointed the expectations of those who were not acquainted

acquainted with his situation and character. The *res angusta domi*, the irritability of his temper, and the unsettledness of his disposition, made him constantly dependent on the booksellers; and he was therefore more anxious to do much, than to do well. We shall conclude our extracts from the preface, with the character which the Professor draws of Reiske; because all may discover in it the hand of a master, and those who have read his works, and the particular and full account of his life, published soon after his death, will acknowledge the likeness to be just and impartial; and because the Professor appears from it to have followed a maxim, highly necessary to be observed in every department of literature, but by scarcely any more trespassed, than by the editors of the classics.—*Amicus Plato, sed magis amica Veritas.*

‘Omnino ex omnibus ingenii facultatibus iudicium, sive datum a natura sive negatum, minime excoluerat Reiskius. Iudicium dico eam facultatem quæ res confusas distinguit, quid cuique proprium et consequens sit perspicit, et verum a falso accurate distinguit. Hæc in Reiskio facultas non apparuit: minus etiam ea facultas, qua id quod verum iudicasset, oratione subtiliter, ordine perspicue, explicaret. Sensus veri in Reiskio fuit: quidquid ad hunc sensum accideret eumque verisimilitudinis specie percuteret, hoc continuo probabat, hoc amplectebatur: sententiamque si scriptione proderet, eam quasi projiciebat cum impetu, duriter et subito. Nam lenioribus illis cum iudicio conjunctis mentis partibus minus utebatur, ratione, subtilitate, industria, assiduitate: semper actuosus ex alio in aliud involabat, ejusdem operis diu persequendi satietatem fugiens, doctrinæ copias in adversaria congerere negligebat: itaque nullo fere apparatu instructus ad auctores vel emendandos vel edendos accedebat. At valebat memoriæ bonitate, infinita lectione Græcæ linguæ scientia, usu collecta illa, non ad rationem conformata: valebat ingenii velocitate et acumine, subito movebatur, impetu ferebatur: cumque ita incitatus omnes locos, de quibus dubitaret, emendando attingeret, in plerisque a proposito aberrabat, alios probabiliter tractabat, nonnullos penitus complectebatur et certissima restituebat conjectura quæ plane divinitu oblata videbatur—in nullo auctore habitabat: vagabatur per omnes: nec apud quenquam tamdiu divertebat, ut in paulo interiorem ejus consuetudinem se insinuaret: itaque per festinationem omnia arripiebat: sana, corrupta, obscura, difficilia, corrigere tentabat, mutabat, transponebat, demebat, addebat de suo: hæc in charta notabat, et in vulgus prodebat: et plane ut alter Lucilius—in horâ sæpe duentas faciebat correctiones *stans pede in uno*. Et tamen, cum *fluere letulentus, erat quod tollere velles*: non ille quidem *garrulus* sed *piger scribendi ferre laborem; scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror*. Præf. p. 129. 130.

—‘Nunquam eum vidi. Sed conciliavit commune literarum studium, postremus ejus annis, quandam inter nos per epistolas notitiam et consuetudinem.

consuetudinem. Favebat nascenti meæ laudi. Accedebant animi virtutes, quæ eum commendarent: in quibus excellebat candor et veritatis amor. Ergo et vivum dilexi, et mortui memoriam cum benevolentia colui. Et quando nunc de eo dicendum fuit, ita me ejus memoriæ consulturum existimavi, si nec dicerem nec tacerem quidquam contra animi ipsi mei sententiam, nec vel verum detraherem viro laudem vel falsam tribuerem.' Præf. p. 134.

In the last chapter of the preface, he particularises what he has performed in this edition. He here speaks the language of a man conscious of his own industry and talents, and capable of estimating fairly the value of his labours. We shall therefore enter minutely into the contents of this chapter, because from it the reader may infer, what he may justly expect, and because it will render it unnecessary to protract this article, and render it dry, by a critical examination of every volume. After having given the author's account of his labours, and declared that, from an attentive examination of them, it appears to be just, we shall merely quote a few passages, which he has been particularly fortunate in correcting, and some, where he appears to us to be mistaken. He professes to have considered the Aldine edition as the foundation of his. Conjectural criticisms he has rarely indulged in or admitted, except where they were supported by other editions, or agreed with the conjectures of other learned men. In forming his conjectures, he very properly has considered, what most probably the author wrote, rather than what he ought to have written; a rule, by which some of the commentators on Shakespeare might greatly have profited: And, lest the text might have been injured by his conjectures, he has given, in the annotations, the old and common reading, and the correction which he proposes. He has followed Stephen's edition in the order of the treatises.

The annotations are of three kinds: *first*, where a new reading is received; *secondly*, where a conjectural reading is proposed; and, *thirdly*, where the authority of the common reading is doubtful, or where another equally probable is produced. He never has admitted a new reading, without having given the common one, that is, the one to be found in Stephen's edition. He has adopted the Latin version of Xylander; and has endeavoured to render it less imperfect, in what appears to him the three great requisites of a Latin version; that it express faithfully the meaning of the author; that the Latinity be pure and correct; and that it be as much as possible literal, and follow the peculiarities of the author in his phrases and construction.

He acknowledges to have had the use of as many manuscripts as ever were brought to the elucidation of any Greek author; but he professes to have paid attention to them, more because they were manuscripts, than because they were necessary. He has been religiously scrupulous in giving to every former editor the merit of those emendations which he first proposed; and speaks with proper abhorrence of those who are silent, where praise is due to another, and name only in order to censure.

Such is the preface; and from the sketch of its contents, and the extracts from it, which we have given, we think the candid and learned reader will join with us in the character we gave of it, and be induced to peruse the whole. The preface is followed by an account of the different manuscripts and editions which he has used, and a list of the marks or abbreviations by which he designates them in his Notes; and by a full, and apparently complete enumeration of the different editions of Plutarch's works, either altogether or separately, which have been published.

We think he has been too scrupulous in not admitting into the text, the reading of the following passage, which he mentions in the note.

‘ὡς εἰς τὴν παντὶλὴ δικαιοπραγίαν τρεῖς δι’ συνδραμεῖν, φύσιν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ ἦθος. Καλῶ δὲ λόγον μὲν τὴν μάθησιν ἦθος δὲ, τὴν ἄσκησιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαί, τῆς μαθήσεως.

‘Amiotus ita vertit ac si legerit, εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαί τῆς φύσεως, αἱ δὲ προκοπαὶ τῆς μαθήσεως. et ita sententia auctoris plane postulare videtur. Atque ita est cum in Heusingere una editione ex priore quadam Germanica, unde illa expressa est: tum in Augustano codice, ut quidem testatur Schneiderus. Equidem religioni mihi duxi quidquam mutare atque hæc verba recipere, quum absint ab omnibus omnino et editis et scriptis quibus utor libris, atque adeo a Fabricii et editione et codicibus.’

It seems wrong not to receive a reading confessedly necessary to the sense, and supported by one manuscript, merely because the editor had seen no copies in which it was to be found. Not only what immediately precedes, but what follows the words in question, make it highly probable that the reading in the note is genuine.

‘Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἄνθρωπον μαθήσεως, τυφλὸν ἢ δὲ μάθησις δίχα φύσεως, ἑλλειπὴς ἢ δὲ ἄσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν, ἀτελής.’ Tom. I. p. 4.

We differ from him, but with hesitation and doubt, respecting the necessity of the reading of the following passage.

‘Εἰ δέ τις οἴεται, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πεφύκοτάς, μαθήσεως καὶ μιλιτικῆς τυχόντας ὁρῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἐκ τῆς τῆς φύσεως ἐλάττωσιν εἰς τὸνδεχόμενον ἀναδραμεῖν, ἴστα, &c.

‘ἀναδραμεῖν). Legendum ἀναλαβεῖν. quanquam vulgatum in omnibus meis exstat libris et scriptis et editis.’ p. 5.

ἀνταλλάξαι would certainly suit the passage, but ἀνταλλάξαι, *to surmount*, seems equally applicable.

‘Μεγάλη τοι βροχή πρὸς αἰρετῆς κύσειν ἔστιν, καὶ ἥθη, &c.

‘κύσειν) Ita omnes libri. Auctor aut scripsit, aut scribere debuit, κτήσει.’ p. 8.

The author perhaps ought to have written κτήσει, as less harsh, and more strictly applicable; but κύσειν, *conception, production*, is sufficiently correct and intelligible.

‘Ἐχω δὲ δι’ αἰόνας παρατῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνῶμὴν ὥσπερ περιπλῦσαι μὲν πολλὰς πόλεις καλὸν, ἐνοικῆσαι δὲ τῇ κρατίστῃ χρήσιμον.

‘ὥσπερ γὰρ περιπλῦσαι μὲν) Malim περιπλῦσαι μὲν γὰρ. ita nil desideratur ad sententiæ absolutionem.’ p. 24.

This appears to us a happy conjecture: and also the following,

‘καπιδάν ποτε εὐφραίνονται ταῖς ἐπίπληξιν ἐν αἰχμῇ ποιῆσθαι. Forte legendum ἀφραίνονται.’ p. 30.

‘Οτι ἔτως ὅδιν γινῶν καὶ τρέφειν ὡς ἡ μετὰ πέφυκε. Excidit forte παιδαίαν’ aut corrigendum γινῶν ἐτρέφειν.’ p. 33.

Either will suit the sense: the latter seems more probable.

‘Τὸν γὰρ ἀρχιμάγειρον Εὐτροπίωνα γεγενημένον ἐν τάτῳ ἐκπέμψας, παραγινῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤξιν, &c. Jubebat is per Eutropionem coquorum principem qui munus aliquod gesserat, ad se venire Theocritum, &c. Xylandri versionem correxi ad sententiam forte veram. Locus nec perspicuus, nec satis certus est.’ p. 38.

But it is sufficiently plain, if it be translated in the following manner, which the words will certainly bear: ‘He requested Theocritus to come to him, having sent Eutropion, who had been his chief cook, on this errand.’

To the common title of the treatise, Περὶ τῆ ἀέτης, he adds, τῶν φιλοσόφων, on the authority of the index to Plutarch’s works, which is supposed, and with great probability, from the testimony of Suidas, to have been written by Lamprias, the son of Plutarch. The argument of this tract, and the idiom of the Greek language, require this addition.

As a proof of the advantage which the text has received from the extensive and careful reading of the Greek authors, by which the Professor prepared himself for the office of an editor, we quote the following passage:

‘Τοῖς μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὰς ὑπερήμους λοχείας καὶ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ τινὸν καὶ ἀφ’ ἑνὸς ὑπολειμματὸν ἀρχὰς λίγισιν εἶναι.’

‘ὑπολειμματὸν) Non dubitavi recipere ex uno D. accedit auctoritas Aristotelis Hist. Animal. l. vi. c. 2. vulgo ὑπολειμμάτων, quod ex hoc loco laudat Stephanus. Thes. Gr. tom. ii. p. 582.’ p. 147.

By

By comparing the passage in the treatise *Περὶ Πολυφιλίας*, in this edition, p. 366. *Επὶ δ' ἡ ἀληθινή*, with the passage as it stands in Stephen's edition, Tom. i. p. 163, the reader will perceive how a long and intricate sentence, evidently incorrect in many places, has been restored to a clear meaning, and most probably the very words of the author, by extracting from different faulty readings what was good in each, with the assistance of two words of skilful conjecture.

Tom. I. pars 2. p. 528. § 21. ‘ἀκριβοῦς καὶ τιταγμένας τινὰς ἐκ περι-  
δῆ κριτικὰς ἐμβάλλοντας ἀσυντάκτους ἐκ ὁρθῶς τὴν φύσιν μὴ διαμένον διδάσκειν δύν-  
θαι συστολῆς ἢ ποιῆν ἀναγκαίαν τὴν ἐκ ἄν ἀναγκαιαν ὑφαιρῶσιν, ἐν καιρῷ ζητήμα-  
τον ἕως ἀπαυτῶντι.’

This passage, which is extremely difficult, both from the words and the construction, and which in Xylander's version is unintelligible, he thus translates :

‘Statas quasdam, certa tempore conversione quasi decretoria, interponunt cibi abstinentiis : temere assuefacientes naturam, cum non indigeat, indigere coarctatione, et subductione sibi, minime, clam necessarium, reddere necessariam in tempore adscititiam consuetudine desiderante. Κριτικὴ ἀσυντάκτις est decretoria cibi abstinentia, ut dies decretorius medicorum, vulgo κρισίμος ἡμέρας, rarius κριτικὴ ἡμέρας. Forte legendum περιδῆ κριτικῆς.’

— p. 594. Symposion.

‘Διὸ καὶ Κλεόβουλον ἢ πρὸς τὸν Φρύγιον αὐτὸν νεβρόγονος κνημὴν κερασφόρον ἦας ἤξει θασυμάγειν ἑκάτι κρύσιως· ὥστ' ἰσχυρῶς τὸν οἶνον. εἰ παχύτατος καὶ ἀμυστήτα-  
τος ὢν ἀλλὰ λεπτότατον ἔμυστικώτατον ὅςτις παρείχεται.’

‘In loco desperato, cui nil medicinarum præbent codices, licet audacius periclitari : non qui cum sanari a nobis confidamus : sed ut alios in vestigio reperiundi certioris remedii ponamus. Igitur adhuc probabilis mihi visa est hæc mutatio. Κλεόβουλην πρὸς τὸν Φρύγιον αὐτὸν ἔπει, νεβρόγονος κνημὴν κερασφόρον ἦας ἤξει ἑκάτι κρύσιως· ὥστ' ἰσχυρῶς τὸν οἶνον. κ. τ. λ. Cleobulina dixit de Phrygia tibia, Hinnulea tibia duræ auri placuit propter ictum, seu crepitem.’

From this proposed emendation we dissent, for the following reasons. Κλεόβουλος, the father, is more probable than Κλεόβουλη, the daughter. The latter would more probably have been called Eumetis, the name by which she is mentioned in the list prefixed to this dialogue, and by which her father called her. Vide p. 585. The daughter does not appear from any other passage to have taken any part in the conversation. The verb ἔπει (ἐπει, ἐπιδίνα) *placeo*, requires a dative case : but all the MSS. have ἦας. Vid. Herodot. Thal. Hom. Iliad. γ, ver. 748, &c.

Lastly, The connexion between the latter and the former part of the observation is loose, or rather entirely broken,



These objections, we think, will be done away by the following reading, which, at the same time, requires less alteration of the common text.

Κλεόβουλος πρὸς τὸν Φρύγιον αὐλὸν (ἔπει subaud.) ἡ περὶ τὸν ὄνον κρηστὴν ἔκαστος ἔχει. θαυμάζειν, ἔκαστος κρηστὴς. ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν ὄνον, ἢ κ. τ. λ.'

'Cleobulus remarked of the Phrygian flute, that he was surprised the bone of a stag should make an impression on the dullest ear by its noise, as he was surprised that the ass, &c. ἔχει seems a much more proper expression than ἦναι, when applied to the effect produced by mere loudness on dull ears.

That both circumstances should be matter of surprise is much more rational, than that Cleobulus, after having remarked that the bone of a stag pleased the dullest ear by its noise, should express his surprise that the bone of an ass produced the softest music.—ὥστε θαυμάζειν ut mirari subeat.' This version, which the Professor gives, makes his proposed emendation still less agreeable to the sense.

Tom. ii. p. 98. 'γίνεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρέπαν τινὰ καὶ φύσις. Locus mancus, ut vere monuit Xylander. Puto corrigendum γίνεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρέπαν τινὰ ἢ φύσις.'

— p. 399. 'Καλυθάνιος οἶνος. Legendum Καλυθάνιος. Vinum Syriæ celebratum. Monuit et J. Toup. cur. nov. in Suid. p. 145.' See also Strabo, L. 15. and Hesychius, who mention it as wine so excellent, that the Persian kings drank no other. See also Athen. L. I. c. 22. aud Causab. in loc.

— pars 2. p. 797. A. 12. 2. παραμένωσιν. Revocavi ex Ald. Bas. pro pervulgato in Plutarchi codicibus παρδίσωσιν.'

In can hardly be inferred from the passage in Herodotus here referred to by Plutarch (Melp. p. 225. edit. Stephan. 1592.) whether the Scythians deprived their slaves of their eyes, in order that they might not run away, or to make them better qualified for their work: as they were employed solely in stirring the milk, the Scythians most probably considered the loss of sight as no injury, and as a sure mode of keeping them.

— p. 796. E. 3. ἐκκαλᾷ occurs, Aristoph. Nub. ver. 979.

— p. 472. 'πολλαχῇ κῆσθαι λεγόμενα τῷ σώματος. Αβυδοῖς ἴσως ἢ Μίμφιν ὀνομάζεσθαι παλίστην λέγουσιν ὡς μόνον τὸ ἀπὸ θίνου ἔχουσιν.

'Locus turbatus. Primo delenda Αβυδοῖς ἴσως ἢ Μίμφιν. auctoritate quatuor codicum. A. E. Flor. Petav. Tum reliqua ita constituenda. πολλαχῇ γὰρ κῆσθαι λεγόμενα τῷ σώματος, ὀνομάζεσθαι παλίστην λέγουσιν ὡς μόνον τὸ ἀπὸ θίνου ἔχουσιν.

— p. 441. 'Τὰ ἄλλα μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ἂν δίδωται διδασκῶν, οἰκιστὰς καὶ κτηνηνὸς τὰῦτα καὶ χροάμενος.

'Locus

' *Locus mutilus, ita supplendus e vestigiis scripturæ et Eustathio in Aust. Ethic. l. vi. p. 98.* Τά ἄλλα μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ἂν δίδωται διδασιν νῦν δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως μεταδίδωσιν, οἷα κινημένους ταῦτα καὶ χρωμένους.'

— p. 536. 'Καθόλου ἀμείνων ὅτός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ Πλάτων ὑπονοεῖ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, κινεῖται δὲ τῆς φύσεως τὸ μὲν γόνιμον καὶ σωτήριον ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρετικὸν καὶ φθαρτικόν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι.'

' *Corrigo.* Καθόλου δὲ ἀμείνων, ὥσπερ καὶ Πλάτων ὑπονοεῖ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, κινεῖσθαι τῆς φύσεως τὸ μὲν γόνιμον καὶ σωτήριον ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αἰ. κ. φθ. ἀπ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι.'

The learned reader will agree with us, that the text has received great assistance, in the passages quoted, from the Professor's skill in conjectural criticism, his accurate and extensive learning, and his industry in collating different readings, and his knowledge in selecting the text. In the last quoted passage, however, we should be inclined to differ from him, in one part. ἐπὶ τὸ δὲ seems very nearly if not exactly the same as ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι, and does not contrast the different parts of Nature sufficiently: would not ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ be preferable? the sense of the passage would then be complete: that part of Nature which is creative and preservative is moved to the same place, and to existence: the destructive and corruptive part is moved from the same place, and to nonexistence.—Vid. Aristot. de Longit. et Brev. Vit. c. 3. Natural. Auscul. L. v. de motu, c. 1. 2. 3.

As we are unwilling to protract this Article by more quotations, we shall, in our examination of the remainder, merely refer to the passages, where the Professor has displayed his reading, industry or skill, to greatest advantage as an editor of Plutarch, and where we differ from him.

— p. 569. F. 6. 657. E. 4. 753. B. 3.

Tom. iii. p. 169. E. 9. The treatise, De Fato, in this volume, p. 189. is remarkably corrupt in all the MSS. and printed copies; and here the Professor acknowledges, he has admitted the most probable of his conjectures into the text. We therefore examined his text in this tract with particular attention, and, on the whole, think the alterations not only assist the sense, but approach very nearly to what may be supposed to have been the expressions of Plutarch.

— 428. D. 7. 490. F. 4. 500. B. 8. 501. C. 9. 609 E. 4. 632. C. 3. In this last passage, we think the following reading preferable to his ἐκ ἀκρατῶν ἀλλ' οἷον καὶ ὕδατος τῇ κρείσει. or, with the insertion of ἐκ, and the changing of ἀκρατῶν into ἀκράτη, which he proposes, we think Xylander's ἀλλ', ἡμῶν, or Junius's ἀλλ', ὡ, much more likely than the common one \* which he retains, ἀλλ' αἰείῳ, and we cannot concur with him in his remark on it—'Nec inelegans dictu αἰετος εἶνος.'

— 672.

\* Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. LXXI. c. 8. LXXXVII. c. 6. & 9.

— 672. B. 7. 736. E. 1. 753. B. 1. 841. D. 11. 857. C. 2. 1081. E. 6.

— pars 2. p. 741. F. 6. ‘*ἐξυκναι*’—we should prefer *ἐξυήκναι*, as more conformable to the adjective and to the opposite noun *δυσήκναι*.—Vid. Diosc. L. 11. et Plut. *ἐν τῇ τῇ πρὸς βουγὴν πολλήν* :

Tom. iv. p. 12. B. 8. 265. C. 9. The reading proposed here in the note, appears to us neither so probable, nor to express the sense so fully, as the following—*καρπὸν ἢ μόνον—ἀλλὰ μέγαν*.—

— p. 336. A. 4. 461. F. 9. — pars 2. p. 852. A. 3. 988. E. 7.

Tom. v. p. 12. E. 8. 21. B. 5. Here he has been too scrupulous in not admitting the reading given in the note, with the text. No future editor will, we imagine, hesitate, but receive it without, most probably, either mentioning who first proposed it, or the authorities on which it rests.

— p. 104. C. 9. 253. F. 7. 273. E. 1. — pars 2. p. 324. F. 7. 377. E. 14. 480. B. 2. 651. D. 4.

The Third part of the Fifth tome, which makes the eleventh volume, and completes the Works, contains Fragments of Plutarch, and several Treatises which have either not been published till lately, or printed very seldom: most of which are wanting in the editions of Plutarch's Morals. The Professor, here, has had more than common occasion for his reading and acuteness, and has displayed them to great advantage: a few references, however, to this volume must suffice.

Tom. v. pars 3. p. 895. B. 5. 1010. E. 3. 1138. C. 3. 1146. B. 5. 1266. C. 1.

We think we have adduced sufficient proofs of the character we have given of this edition. Many passages are still corrupt; many words wanting; and some of the supposed readings may not to every critic appear supported by sufficient authority: but, on the whole, the miscellaneous works of Plutarch, have perhaps received as much emendation, as can well be expected, when we consider the state of the common text, the failure of assistance from manuscripts, in many passages where the most bold conjecturist would be at a loss, and, compared with these advantages, the text which the professor has given.

We cannot conclude this Article, till we have entered our protest against the editing of the Greek classics with Latin versions: we hoped, from a few works which were published here, and on the Continent, that the practice was about to be discontinued—But it is not so. The reasons alleged, will appear strong and convincing only to those, who interest themselves more in the sale of the book, than in the advantage which classical literature may derive from it.

Warton, in his observations on Pope, after having quoted, in Greek, a passage from Aristotle, *de Mundo*, laments, that the state of Greek literature in this island is such, as to render it necessary to add a Latin version. We hope the same imputation cannot now be made with equal justice: but, if it can, the only mode of effacing it is by taking away the temptation and the assistance of a Latin Translation: the room which it occupies nearly doubles the size, and consequently the price of a book, and might certainly be filled to more advantage and utility by a judicious selection of notes. We would even object to notes, if they were very numerous or minute: those difficulties should be left unexplained, which would merely exercise and improve the knowledge and acuteness of the reader. There should be rather too few for the ignorant, or idle, than too many for the industrious scholar. Schutz, in his excellent edition of *Æschylus*, has erred in this respect: but, in annotating such an author as *Æschylus*, the error is more pardonable. Most other classical authors might be given to the world, with every requisite note, in less bulk, and at less expence, than they are increased to by the Latin version.

The University of Oxford has done itself much honour by the encouragement it gave to Wytttenbach, and by the correct and elegant manner, in which it has published his *Plutarch*.

ART. XXVI. *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson, D. D. F. R. S. E. late Principal of the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. &c.* By Professor Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. E. London. Cadell & Davies. 1801. pp. 307.

THE few preliminary remarks which we have to suggest upon the plan of this very interesting performance, are dictated by the highest veneration for the memory of that illustrious man who is the subject of the publication; and tempered by the most unfeigned respect for the personal character and literary talents of his biographer. Indeed, when we consider how much Professor Stewart must have reflected upon the nature of a species of composition that has occupied so large a share of his attention, we deliver our opinion upon this point with real diffidence, inasmuch as it differs very materially from the sentiments which he appears to entertain.

We have heard of various kinds of biography enumerated by superficial thinkers. We are told of the life of the man, as distinct from the life of the author; and literary is thus separated from personal biography. In this division or arrangement we cannot by any means acquiesce. It appears to us, in the first place, that the literary and the personal history of an author are as closely connected together, as the public and private life

life of a warrior or a statesman. What indeed, is an author, but a public character, who has made himself known to mankind by his influence on their minds, as the general or the minister has distinguished his name by the effects of his measures upon the destinies of the world? His writings are his memorable achievements; his victories are gained over prejudice, ignorance, and error: the laws which he gives, and the sway which he exercises, are extended over the opinions of men. We may observe, in the next place, that to separate the public from the private history of a general, or statesman, would be to omit exactly one part of his story; a part, too, so intimately connected with the whole, that no opinion whatever could be formed of the personage so imperfectly depicted. The distinction between the military and civil life of a man, who like Marlborough or Frederic, united the eminent qualities of both stations, would be as just a principle of arrangement as that which we are considering. We can understand the plan of the historian who writes the history of Frederic's campaigns, and leaves another to narrate the civil events of his reign. The former intends merely to detail those military occurrences in which Frederick bore a more distinguished part than any other individual; and he connects his subject with the Prussian Warrior, in order to limit its extent, and give it a sort of unity. In like manner, the historian of his civil actions chooses for his theme another branch of the Germanic history, connecting its different branches and bounding the whole subject by the relation of the leading figure to the rest of the group, and by his duration upon the stage. But both the one and the other of those historians leave to a third writer the biography of Frederic; that is, the narrative of which Frederick forms the paramount object, which is undertaken on his account, and embraces other men and things only from their relation to him. Of this narrative, the private character and actions of the prince form an essential part: and to separate them from his conduct as a statesman and a warrior, would be as inconsistent with the idea of biography, as to denominate an account of his campaigns, or a summary of his civil reforms, a history of Frederic the Second. In like manner, it seems inconsistent with the idea of biographical composition to confine the narrative to the history of an author's works, that is his public achievements, while his private conduct, and his personal deeds remain unnoticed. This is a worse than useless subdivision of a subject, which appears to be undoubtedly one, and simple. It is a separating and frittering down, which distorts and confuses; prevents us from either feeling so warm an interest, or forming so correct a judgement, as we might do upon the whole piece. The skin of one beauty,

beauty, the mouth of another, and the eyes of a third, have been the theme of universal admiration ; but no one, beyond the walls of the academy, would wish to see the most finished sketch of those *chef-d'œuvres* of natural or artificial workmanship, abstracted from the whole figures to which they belong. It is in fact, exactly because the public character interests us, that we desire to view the great man in his private walks. Where a man has moved through life with nothing but innocence or common virtues to recommend him, we would rather subscribe to the marble-cutter and the author for a monumental narrative, than read the biographies of his friends and admirers. But where the author has instructed or delighted, where the great man has astonished or overawed, we desire to see mingled with the story of that grandeur, which we ourselves can view, the narratives of those incidents and anecdotes which, during their occurrence, were veiled from the world. The private life is only interesting in its connexion with the public ; and the deeds which lie in common fame, must, in a biographical sketch, be fixed down to some real person, not to an abstract being ; they must be told of a man who lived, as well as wrote, and acted, and spoke. They immediately excite a desire to know all that belonged to this *real* man. The gratification of this double curiosity, is the province of biography. This union of objects constitutes its claim to a distinct place in the circle of the sciences. From its subserviency to this important purpose, both its name and value are derived. But if the history of a life ought, in every case to comprehend the private as well as public transactions of the man, how much more forcibly does this remark apply to the biography of a scholar—a person, whose public life furnishes of itself so faint a delineation of his peculiar habits and character ? Those who might be satisfied with reading the story of a general's campaigns and political conduct, because they necessarily occupy a very large space in the canvas, and throw much light on the private circumstances of the subject, would be disappointed at finding, in the biography of an author, no account of his manners—no anecdotes of his peculiarities—no personal history of the man ; because these are circumstances on which the recital of his literary achievements throw little or no light.

We have now been considering that division of subject, which separates the literary from the personal life of an author. By literary life, however, we must be understood to mean something very different from the account which Mr Stewart has in this work given of Dr Robertson. We conceive, that all history, whether

whether of nations or of individuals, bears a reference to the succession of events in the order of time. We can form no other idea, either of national or individual history. The private biography of an author, is a narrative of the events composing his private life; his literary biography, is a narrative (interspersed, no doubt, with more discussion and remark) of the events which distinguished the progress of his mind in its literary attainments, and tended to form his peculiar habits of thinking and composing.

Now, Mr Stewart's life of Dr Robertson cannot possibly be said to consist of this: it contains a few short notices of his private life; that is, the date of his birth and death and marriage; a nomenclature of his contemporaries, a list of his preferments, a statement of the periods of his different publications, with numerous excerpts from the correspondence of his friends, and various admirable *critiques*, both upon the nature of his merits as an author, and as a leader of the Scottish Church. But we must be allowed to say, that he will be disappointed, who shall expect from these pages an account of the progress of Dr Robertson's mind, or a distinct view of his mental character, farther than can be obtained in his works. We meet neither with striking anecdotes, nor discriminative touches, nor fine and descriptive sketches. We recognize in every part of the piece a great master's hand: but the painting is not historical—it is not a portrait. It is a composition of inimitable beauties; the contemplation of its harmonious arrangement and brilliant colouring, confer a delight which we should in vain seek elsewhere. But all that part of the effect which is didactic, which consists in awakening distinct ideas of resemblance, which is intended to describe unknown objects, or to recal exact impressions of objects that are known; all this may be produced, by contemplating the only original from which the imitative part of the piece is taken—the portraits contained in the works of the original himself. Such appears to us to be the sum of Mr Stewart's merit, as an historian of Dr Robertson's mind; or, in other words, a literary biographer. He has given us criticisms instead of narrative; and on opening what we expected would prove a life of Robertson, or at least an account of his literary life, we find ourselves engaged in reading an exquisite dissertation upon the merits of his works. \*

But if this performance gives us little new information with respect to the historian, much less does it introduce us to the man. The care with which Mr Stewart has avoided all descriptive anecdote, is indeed mortifying to the very natural curiosity inspired by a perusal of Robertson's works. We cannot avoid

avoid feeling some desire to extend our acquaintance with the man who has so often instructed, dazzled, enchanted us, by the profundity of his disquisitions, the brilliant majesty of his narration, the varied spells of his language. We eagerly seize the opportunity which seems to be presented by the title of this work ; and we cannot avoid expecting, when we open it, that Mr Stewart, himself an intimate friend, will introduce us to the great modern historian. We certainly perceive a figure, which tantalizes us by its resemblance to the real or fancied original : but it is sullen and silent ; it deigns not to hold converse ; it vouchsafes not to cheer us by a smile, or to comfort us by the disclosure of a single human imperfection ; its eye has no speculation, it wants expression and animation. We soon discover it to be an airy fleeting form, lifeless and unsubstantial. We are left in admiration of the magician who conjured it up ; but we lament that his powers do not extend to recal a reality, as well as to deceive with a phantasm.

But why do we talk of Mr Stewart's powers ? Was it not Mr Stewart who sketched the only striking and living portrait that exists of Burns\* ? And did he know Dr Robertson less intimately, or was the historian a less interesting subject, or were his features less marked and less worthy of the pencil, than the coarse lineaments of the Scottish rustic ? The omission is without doubt wilful : it must have proceeded from an amiable solicitude about the subject ; a delicate fear of raking up things which, from their minuteness, might offend surviving relatives ; a dread, not unnatural, of falling into the modern errors of gossiping biography ; errors which often tend to throw upon the subject a little of the contempt that should be left entire for the authors.

These feelings, no one will be much inclined to blame, who considers the high literary character which Mr Stewart has to support, and the still more sacred trust which is committed to him, as biographer of the great historian. But, unfortunately, there is something essentially inherent in that walk of literature, to which Mr Stewart has devoted no inconsiderable share of his attention, perhaps necessarily connecting it with deviations from the stately deportment that the historian of nations is required to maintain. Personal biography is one of those walks, we can scarcely call them subordinate, in treading which, a man must stoop to contemplate and pick up objects of a less dignified nature and less extensive mass, than those that beset the paths of the annalist. Unless the biographer will condescend thus

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\* See Mr Stewart's "*Letter*" in Dr Currie's life of Burns ; in our opinion the most interesting part of that publication.



thus to lower his attention, his work will neither be useful, nor satisfactory, nor pleasing, nor, in one word, biographical. And when we recollect the illustrious names which have adorned this branch of science, we are inclined to think, that the possibility of maintaining as much dignity as would satisfy a man of ordinary ambition and laudable pride, depends altogether upon the right choice of the subject, and the manner in which the writer applies his talents to the task. We acknowledge, that so long as the works of Xenophon, of Plutarch, of Tacitus, and of Johnson, remain to instruct and delight mankind, we shall be disposed, in spite of the Boswells, the Piozzis, and the herd of anecdote-mongers, who have filled our libraries with table-talk, to mingle sufficient respect with our esteem of the men who devote their talents and industry to that captivating art, which consists in the delineation of individual excellence; in portraying the resemblance of all that is estimable or singular in mind; in embalming, for the veneration, for the love, for the personal acquaintance and social intercourse of posterity, those finer parts in the frame of the benefactors of mankind, which escaped all the skill of all the artists of Egypt. Let the men who undertake to exhibit specimens of this fascinating power, choose subjects worthy of their pencil, study their originals with a temperate attention, and delineate only those parts which decency does not command us to veil, in attitudes which are neither mean nor ungraceful, nor uninteresting. The artist may be well assured, that the public, far from diminishing the sentiments of respect due to his skill and usefulness, because he has chosen to paint portraits in preference to history, will bestow upon the master somewhat of the veneration, challenged by his subject, and dignify with a name as high as that of the historical painter, him who has preferred the individual to the group, and brought forward from the multitude those most striking figures, so well worthy of nearer contemplation.

Upon the whole, our readers will perceive, that we are decidedly partial to that species of historical composition, which consists in the minute description of the lives of such men as are worthy of a biographer; that we can in no sense of the word be satisfied with mere general sketches of such interesting personages; that we wish to have the ancient practice revived, of handing down to posterity the manners as well as the deeds of famous men; that we are far, indeed, from thinking it any degradation to the most celebrated of our contemporaries, thus to occupy themselves in recording excellence and virtue; that we even regret to see the example of Gibbon and Hume so little followed, and would willingly pardon a much greater degree of vanity than those illustrious men have exhibited, for the sake of acquiring accurate and lively

lively representations of the spirits which have animated and guided the world.

*‘Clarorum virorum facta moresque (says the biographer of Agricola) posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum. Sed apud priores ut agere memoratu digna pronum, magisque in aperto erat : ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt : nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtreptioni fuit : adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur.*

The other feeling, by which we have supposed our author to be influenced, is the much more manly and dignified tenderness for the character of a departed friend : and here, again, we can only observe, that if the execution of the biographer's task brings an illustrious character into contempt, the blame is imputable, not to that species of composition which we recommend, but to the unskilful manner in which an useful and honourable duty is performed. The story of a man's life may be rendered contemptible, and his character held up to profane ridicule, by the prying curiosity, the perfidious breaches of confidence, the babbling pen of a silly gossiping woman, or by the inimitable folly of a Boswell, ambitious of universal absurdity. But this visitation of the sins of the author upon his subject, is not peculiar to any one department of literature. It is possible by tedious minuteness, and the detail of ludicrous particulars, which have no other recommendation than that they are natural and true, to cast a broad glare of ridicule around the most venerable, and important transactions. The victory of Marathon might have been described by some Greek trifler, with a minute detail of Miltiades's dress ; an Homeric description of the passage of each javelin among the entrails of the wounded ; and a narrative accompanied by cuts, of the distortions which the pain occasioned in the sleek faces of the Persians, or the more manly visages of the Grecian warriors. Had Mr Boswell unfortunately lived about the age of Leonidas, we should doubtless have received from his pen, a catalogue of the dishes which composed the last repast of the Spartan warriors, and a full detail of all the notable impertinences with which he interrupted the slumbers of the devoted hero. But, surely, although such absurdity would have caused the name of this trifler to live in deathless ridicule, little of that sentiment could have been lent to his immortal subject ; and if a Plutarch or a Xenophon had accompanied the Lacedemonian monarch to the scene of his glory, we should have gladly pored over

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over volumes of all the anecdotes which their pen might have preserved; and revered the more, upon more intimate acquaintance, that achievement of which we scarcely know any thing but the name, the martyrdom of Thermopylæ.

It appears to us, that the life of a person, whose days, and nights were spent for above half a century in conferring everlasting benefits, not upon a petty district of savages, but upon the whole community of the world, is as worthy of minute record, as that of a petty prince, who is only known to us by the last action of his career, the savage valour of four-and-twenty hours: nor do we repose so little confidence in Mr Stewart, as to think that any effort of his pen, had he really employed it in biography, would have rendered contemptible a character, in itself more dignified, more useful, and, in every sense of the word, far more venerable than the heroes, whose private lives delight and instruct us in the divine portraits which the classics have left.

There is another consideration to which we have not adverted, because we trust it has had much less weight with Mr Stewart than any of the above circumstances. We allude to a fear, neither inexcusable nor unamiable, of giving offence, or creating any kind of uneasiness to the surviving relations of the historian. We conceive that when an individual, who is only known to the private circle of his friends, departs this life, he leaves to those who inherit his property the legacy of his honour and character. They only have an interest in defending his memory, and procuring a good reception for his name when it happens to be mentioned: they naturally endeavour, by all possible means, to trumpet forth his praises, and conceal his defects even at the expence of truth. In all this the public is wholly unconcerned; it is entirely a family matter. The interests of truth or of virtue can never be injured by the falsehoods which vanity or affection draw from a few private individuals, which are propagated through a narrow and insignificant circle, and which tend to gloss over the faults, or raise the virtues of a personage, so wholly unimportant, that no exaggerations can extend his notoriety, or prevent his name from being forgotten in a month. It has frequently happened, that the feelings of friends, we mean their silly and preposterous vanity, induce them to print (they perhaps cannot so easily publish) a narrative of the deceased person's life. In this case it can do no manner of good to specify the dark, as well as the bright parts of his character; for as no one will, in the ordinary course of things, peruse the performance, but either friends whom the recital of his foibles would hurt, or enemies whose malignity it would

would gratify, it is contrary to the object for which the writer is hired, to mingle, with the funeral eulogium, any sacrifices to candour and truth. Now, in all these circumstances, the case of a great and public character is diametrically opposite to that of an obscure and private individual. As his time and talents were not his own; as his life was devoted to the public service; as he belonged not so much to the family in which he ate, and drank, and slept, as to the great community for whom he read and thought: so, after his death, his name and character is the property of the public; and it is the interest of the world that the whole truth should be made known. His friends indeed may feel, or affect to feel, the consequences of such sacrifice to the public cause. But it is the tax which they must of necessity pay for the honours and advantages of their connexion with the departed worthy. It is a task which he paid during life for his glory, and which his name must continue to pay for renown. If friends are determined to tickle themselves with an eulogium, unalloyed by the more severe graces of the historian, a skilful preacher may make the temple resound with unmingled praise, and load the altar with burnt-offerings to his memory: or let them, if their relative was so very obscure that no preacher would give him a funeral sermon, procure admittance for the panegyric into the Memoirs of a Belles Lettres Academy, or a Royal Society. But, when a great man falls, something more remains to be done. That truth, which relations dare not hear, it is criminal to conceal from the world.

For these reasons, (very few of which can have any particular application to the case of Dr Robertson), we conceive it to be in general highly improper, to say the least of it, that much deference should ever be paid to the feelings of relations: in these cases they are the parties least concerned; their number is so small, their stake so trifling, and the injury their feelings can sustain so inconsiderable, in a comparative view, that it would be wholly unworthy of a *man* to steer according to their wishes, in performing so sacred a duty as that entrusted to the biographer.

Now, although we do not conceive that Mr Stewart merits such a censure as this, we suspect that a tenderness, scarcely excusable, may have perhaps induced him to balk the natural curiosity of his readers with general dissertations upon Dr Robertson's style, and still more general remarks upon his character, while every one who opened the book expected to find anecdotes of the man. Did Mr Stewart know less of the historian's life and manners than he did of those of the Ayrshire Poet; or, were the public more curious about Burns, than about Robertson? Had our author been desired to write an article for the Edinburgh Transactions, containing the life, that is, the praises, of an obscure Judge

Judge or Lord Mayor, it might have been injudicious in him to comply with the request, but still more injudicious, after compliance, to defeat the end proposed, by minute details either of peculiarities in manner, or of foibles in character. Those details would inevitably have sunk the puny name of the subject a few moments sooner than the destined time; but the name of the historian is sufficiently buoyant to float all the details which the most intimate acquaintance could have enabled a biographer to heap upon it. We are far from insinuating that there were faults in the character of Dr Robertson which his biographer has voluntarily concealed. Our veneration for that great and good man is as profound as any which it is possible for Mr Stewart to entertain. In reading his tract we have frequently said to ourselves, *Si quis piorum manibus locus, si ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ, placide quiescas; nos domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio, et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas est; admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et si natura suppeditet, similitudine decoremus.* A character more adorned both with the severer and milder virtues, we believe has seldom appeared among men. As his imperfections and faults (if indeed he had any) were uncommonly few, the impartial part of his biographer's task would have been extremely small. In truth, our remarks apply to what we imagine may have been Mr Stewart's feelings upon the *minuteness*, rather than upon the *impartiality* of his narrative. We have endeavoured to show, that all the reasons which can be alleged against giving those details to the world are groundless: that the biographer's dignity, or the dignity of his subject, can never be impaired by the faithful discharge of his task; and that where a man has a duty to perform to the world, to violate it by consulting the feelings of a small circle of relations, is not atoned for by the benevolence of the motive. Mr Stewart will, therefore, excuse us for suggesting, that the life of Robertson is still an important *desideratum* in literary biography; and for expressing a wish, that some person, as nearly as possible allied to Mr Stewart in talents and in taste, but differing from him as much as possible in his ideas of this branch of history, may be found to supply the want, while authentic materials are yet within our reach. To those friends who are tender of Dr Robertson's memory, we would address, together with the foregoing remarks, one additional consideration. The blank which Mr Stewart has left is so great, and so obvious, that attempts to fill it up must inevitably be made. Let those who are interested in defending the memory of their friend, reflect how infinitely more agreeable

able it is, even to their tenderest feelings, that a complete account, from which they can have nothing to fear, should be given at present, than that hereafter, as has uniformly happened in such cases, the unavoidable defect should be supplied by multiplied falsehoods.

The work of Mr Stewart which is now before us, may be considered as belonging to a new and most interesting department of literature. It is a union of general criticism with literary history, and contains the most judicious and profound remarks upon some celebrated writings, interspersed with all those anecdotes concerning the works which the reader is most desirous to know. We express ourselves with unaffected and unaccustomed praise, when we state the great pleasure which we have received from a perusal of this tract. The extracts from Dr Robertson's correspondence are generally interesting, some of them truly delightful. We particularly refer to the charming and inimitable letters of Mr Hume. So far from thinking an apology necessary for publishing any one of these, we are really surprised that any of them have been suppressed. We are by no means eager to extend the same remark to the letters of Horace Walpole. We cannot help thinking it a little injudicious in Mr Stewart to have filled so many pages of his valuable collection with the effusions of this *dilettante*. To introduce Horace Walpole as speaking to the character of Dr Robertson, is nearly as unnecessary as to prefix the testimonials of obscure friends to the poems of Dryden and Pope, more especially if we consider that the former testimonials are not, like the latter, given to the world, while the fame of the author, and the successes of his work, are matters of doubt. Besides, Mr Stewart has himself acknowledged, that the testimony of this person deserves no regard in point of sincerity; and all the facts contained in it are much better told by various other correspondents of the Historian. Indeed, as the biographer himself has expressed his own decided, though cautious contempt of it, we are the more inclined to marvel at the apparent inconsistency of admitting this branch of correspondence.

We cannot avoid remarking, that our author does not appear to have adopted the best mode of procuring authentic information with regard to the conduct of Dr Robertson as a leader of the Scottish Church. Had the narrative of Dr Hill, which is partly inserted in his own works, partly incorporated with Mr Stewart's composition, been confined to a statement of Dr Robertson's views and measures, we should perhaps have admitted him to be a fair witness; because he was intimately



mately acquainted with that eminent person, and is one of those who continue zealously to support the same, or at least similar principles. But the reverend author has also given a general account of the Church establishment ; and Mr Stewart has received this account as part of his work, entering indeed his caveat, that it rests entirely upon the authority of the writer. Now, with great deference, we presume to think Dr Hill and his friends exactly the most suspicious quarter, from whence information of this description could have been obtained. We are happily unacquainted with the disputes of the Scottish churchmen, unless in those parts which interfere with the municipal laws, and the civil history of the realm. But we know enough of *those parts*, to satisfy us, that Dr Hill's narrative contains popular topics of invective and insinuation against half the Church, which we suspect Dr Robertson never condescended to use ; and very glaring mistatements of important points of statute law.

In Mr Stewart's general opinion of Dr Robertson's character as an historian, we are very much disposed to concur. One observation we think he has omitted, which must strike every one who compares the historian's narrative with the authorities from which it was drawn, or indeed who reads the narrative with a view to make use of it in serious inquiries. The histories of Robertson abound in the finest descriptions, the most pleasing delineations of character, the most dignified and judicious mixture of reflections ; and more especially they are distinguished by a style of narration, at once manly, copious, and easy. But all these descriptions, delineations, reflections, and even this narrative itself, are too general for practical use and application. The politician and political economist will search those writings in vain for the accurate details of fact which they have a right to expect from one who investigates the subjects of particular men and nations. We will not by any means go so far as say, with Johnson, that the substance of Robertson's works is like a guinea wrapt up in a wool pack ; but we think that the mass of the historian's gold has come from a mint, where the beauty of the die is rather more attended to than the accuracy of the marks which prevent falsification, and give the coin its uses and currency. In this instance, indeed, there is no light weight ; but he who possesses the powers of ornament may give base metals a similar appearance. In plain terms, Dr Robertson appears to have studied grace and dignity ; more than usefulness. He has chosen those features of every figure which he could best paint, rather than those which were most worthy of the pencil. His buildings are more remarkable for that symmetry and those ornaments which would please a common observer, than for the De-

ric strength which adapts them for lasting use—that internal arrangement which is necessary to the purposes of inhabitancy, or even that accuracy of proportion in the external parts, which is as much required by the eye of a learned architect, as chasteness of ornamental design. The charms of Robertson's style, and the full flow of his narration, which is always sufficiently minute for ordinary readers, will render his works immortal in the hands of the bulk of mankind. But the scientific reader requires something more than periods which fill his ear, and general statements which gratify by amusing: he even requires more than a general text-book—a happy arrangement of intricate subjects, which may enable him to pursue them in their details. It is not always enough that proportions should be stated by general terms of comparison. A period may look finer for the want of figures; and common readers will certainly be satisfied with the words *more* and *less*. Those who alone, as Lord Bolingbroke says, deserve the name of historical readers, require to be told *how much more* and *how much less*. When we repair to the works of Robertson for the purpose of finding facts, we are instantly carried away by the stream of his narrative, and forget the purpose of our errand to the fountain. As soon as we can stop ourselves, we discover that our search has been vain, and that we must apply to those sources from which he drew and culled his supplies.

We do not maintain that history should be degraded to the rank of German statistics; but we are inclined to think that this tedious, and, in general, useless department of literature, owes its origin, and certainly all its bad qualities, to an unnecessary division of labour, which has been rendered indispensable by such writers as Dr Robertson, who, in order to polish their periods, and generalise their remarks, have carefully avoided all those substantial parts of history which render style and discussion necessary and useful. If these writers had filled up this vacuity, and made this requisite combination, the political world would have reaped more advantage than it has gained from all the learned labours of the German pedants, and been saved from the weight of all that large proportion of the science which is utterly useless.

We are therefore inclined to wish that Dr Robertson had added to his other accomplishments a taste for inductive science, which would have given minute details a greater importance in his eyes, without drawing off his attention in any degree from those general views of system and arrangement, unaccompanied by which, details are altogether nugatory. Perhaps, too, we might wish that the turn of his mind had been more generally scientific, and less popular; and that he had gained, in rigid philosophical spirit, what

he probably would have lost in elegance and taste. As illustrations of all these remarks, which at the same time we offer with extreme diffidence, (greater perhaps than we have contrived to express), we refer our readers to the account of the feudal system in the first book of the *History of Scotland*, to the greater part of the first volume of the *Emperor Charles*, and to the whole of the eighth book of the *History of America*.

With respect to the style of Robertson's *History*, we are very much inclined to agree with Mr Stewart in his account of its various excellences. It is infinitely more faultless than Hume's, if it is less forcible; and although it wants some of the inimitable beauties that shine in the histories of the English fanatics and courtiers of the seventeenth century, it compensates the deficiency by the possession of many excellences, which Hume's narrative does not possess, and which are of much more ordinary application and general use in historical composition, than powers that can only be called forth by the downfall of kingdoms and hierarchies, or the romantic valour and faithfulness of Sydneys and Falklands. It deserves to be remarked, also, that Dr Robertson's subjects were infinitely more difficult, more various, and less susceptible of decoration, than Mr Hume's. He has, in fact, brought within the range of civil history, and the province of the historic muse, various subjects that had formerly been confined to the dry pages of the geographer and the naturalist. His *History of America*, in our opinion, the finest of his performances, though perhaps not the most faultless, abounds in examples of this bold originality of plan, which neither formed any feature of his general intellectual character, nor, we believe, of his passions and actions. We shall present our readers with the following statement of Mr Stewart's opinion upon this unrivalled specimen of historical composition, which at once expresses our sentiments, and exhibits one of the most splendid efforts of Mr Stewart's own distinguishing vein of eloquence.

'After these testimonies to the excellence of the *American History*, joined to twenty years possession of the public favour, it may perhaps be thought presumption in me to interpose my judgment with respect to its peculiar merits. I cannot help, however, remarking (what appears still more characteristic of this than of any of Dr Robertson's other works) the comprehensive survey which he has taken of his vast and various subject, and the skilful arrangement by which he has bestowed connexion and symmetry on a mass of materials so shapeless and disjointed. The penetration and sagacity displayed in his delineation of savage manners, and the unbiassed good sense with which he has contrasted that state of society with civilized life, (a speculation in the prosecution of which so many of his predecessors had lost themselves

selves in vague declamation or in paradoxical refinement), have been much and deservedly admired. His industry, also, and accuracy in collecting information with respect to the Spanish system of colonial policy, have received warm praise from his friends and from the public.\* But what, perhaps, does no less honour to the powers of his mind than any of these particulars, is, the ability and address with which he has treated some topics that did not fall within the ordinary sphere of his studies; more especially those which border on the province of the natural historian. In the consideration of these, although we may perhaps, in one or two instances, have room to regret that he had not been still more completely prepared for the undertaking by previous habits of scientific disquisition, we uniformly find him interesting and instructive, in the information he conveys; and happy, beyond most English writers, in the descriptive powers of his style. The species of description, too, in which he excels, is peculiarly adapted to his subject; distinguished, not by those picturesque touches which vie with the effects of the pencil in presenting local scenery to the mind, but by an expression, to which language alone is equal, of the grand features of an unsubdued world. In these passages, he discovers talents, as a writer, different from any thing that appears in his other publications; a compass and richness of diction the more surprising, that the objects described were so little familiarized to his thoughts, and, in more than one instance, rivalling the majestic eloquence which destined Buffon to be the historian of nature.

After all, however, the principal charm of this, as well as of his histories, arises from the graphical effect of his narrative, wherever his subject affords him materials for an interesting picture. What force and beauty of painting in his circumstantial details of the voyage of Columbus; of the first aspect of the New Continent; and of the interviews of the natives with the Spanish adventurers! With what animation and fire does he follow the steps of Cortes through the varying fortunes of his vast and hazardous career; yielding, it must be owned, somewhat too much to the influence of the passions which his hero felt; but bestowing, at the same time, the warm tribute of admiration and sympathy on the virtues and fate of those whom he subdued? The arts, the institutions, and the manners of Europe and of America; but, above all, the splendid characters of Cortes and of Guatimozin, enable him, in this part of his work, to add to its other attractions that of the finest contrasts which occur in history.

On these and similar occasions, if I may be allowed to judge from what I experience in myself, he seizes more completely than any other modern historian the attention of his reader, and transports him into the midst of the transactions which he records. His own imagination

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\* We cannot avoid remarking, on this sentence, that, independent of our radical objections to the proposition implied in it, the tameness of the thought and expression is not Mr Stewart's.

was warm and vigorous ; and, although in the conduct of life it gave no tincture of enthusiasm to his temper, yet, in the solitude of the closet, it attached him peculiarly to those passages of history which approach to the romantic. Hence many of the characteristic beauties of his writings ; and hence too, perhaps, some of their imperfections. A cold phlegmatic historian, who surveys human affairs like the inhabitant of a different planet, if his narrative should sometimes languish for want of interest, will at least avoid those prepossessions into which the writer must occasionally be betrayed, who, mingling with a sympathetic ardour among the illustrious personages whose story he contemplates, is liable, while he kindles with their generous emotions, to be infected by the contagion of their prejudices and passions.' p. 111—115.

If, in a style which has received such unqualified admiration from the public, as well as from the most judicious critics of the age, we might be permitted to point out any defect, we should suggest, that the roundness of the narrative, which it seems so much the author's object to preserve entire, does not always strike the mind as perfect, upon a second perusal, even after the ear has been filled and satisfied with the first. A more minute inspection frequently discovers blanks, rather in the sense than the sound ; which, nevertheless, by association, diminish the effect of the sound as well as the sense. Often, too, we find in the composition, some sacrifices of the purest taste made to the preservation of symmetry and regularity ; morsels inserted, which are extraneous to the substance of the mass ; a perpetual attempt always to please the eye, by smoothness and equability of surface, by gradation and blending of tints, when the general effect of the piece would have been much better secured by a skilful attention to the general massing, grouping, and disposition, of the subject, and the balancing of the whole design, although accompanied with the neglect of a few particular departments. Robertson has unquestionably avoided all those unchaste graces which, in common language, are usually denominated tinsel ; yet there is certainly something in the whole structure of his periods, which, even at first sight, appears a little artificial. We do not at present allude to those circumlocutions which Mr Stewart has well accounted for, by suggesting that they owe their origin to the fear of vulgar or provincial phrases ; we speak of those additions to his periods, which, without at all perverting the meaning, seem often to consist rather of tautological explanations, than of parts necessary to the sense, and of remarks and inferences of the historian, which, as they did not form part of his materials, ought to have been given under the separate form of observations and conjectures.

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The speeches which we meet with in the writings of ancient historians, are confessedly the work of the author, put into the mouths of the actors. No modern historian has indulged his imagination so far as to imitate this practice; but we cannot help thinking that something of the same kind is imputable to the ordinary style of them all; more especially of Mr Gibbon and Dr Robertson. These excellent writers seem to be a great deal too well acquainted with the manners and events of past times, and with the very thoughts of the actors in the scenes which they describe. In order to give their narrative smoothness and rotundity, they do not borrow altogether from contemporary historians, not even from the accounts of eye-witnesses. They rather seem to transport themselves some centuries back, seize the places of those eye-witnesses or contemporary narrators, and give their descriptions as they would have done had they actually occupied those situations. Now, we are not so fastidious as to object to this, where the only inducement is the communication of force and novelty to the narrative; but we think such painting may be well spared in many cases, where it has been introduced for the sole purpose of filling up gaps, and adding members to sentences, in order to match other members which naturally belonged to them.

The consequence of all these circumstances is, that Dr Robertson's style has acquired a degree of regularity not natural to the subject, and often bordering on monotony. When a battle is to be described, or a character drawn, or the effects of contending emotions upon a man's mind, and of difficult circumstances upon his plans, are to be sketched, we can almost tell beforehand the very periods which we shall meet with. In almost all these branches of narrative, much is indeed left to the fancy of the historian; and Dr Robertson appears to have had but little variety in the style of his imagination; or rather he seems to have conceived it necessary to adopt always one style, nay, one cadence of periods, and one set of expressions, on all those occasions. Mr Gibbon's style would have the same general appearance, were not its artificial texture perpetually broken by inelegant harshness, shaded by quaint obscurity, and daubed with meretricious ornaments.

We think that Mr Stewart's own style, chaste, animated, and elegant as it is, can by no means be reckoned free from an imperfection similar to that with which we have ventured to charge Dr Robertson's. The stream of his diction rolls on with admirable smoothness, sometimes with considerable rapidity, and with great variety of windings, though unbroken in its course. Its sound changes from time to time in loudness. The music is always grateful, often charming; but sometimes its effect is to lull, rather than to rouse the attention.

Both the style of Dr Robertson and that of his biographer, would have been improved by a little negligence, even by a little roughness, and occasional harshness of expression; by now and then displaying those careless efforts of strength, which mark the reach of a master genius; and 'here and there disclosing a brave neglect,' which would alarm an ordinary mind.

These remarks, we are sensible, would be extremely misplaced upon any common occasion. They belong exclusively to works of genius which far surpass the usual standard. Had an ordinary writer published a tract, in any degree approaching to the excellence either of Dr Robertson's or Mr Stewart's composition, we should naturally have thought that he had done more than enough, and should have pronounced our unqualified approbation: but at present we are speaking of works in which the style forms an important ingredient, and of authors whose merits must be tried by the most delicate and susceptible tests.

The style of Mr Stewart, although it resembles Robertson's in being liable to the criticism which we have just now presumed to offer, is nevertheless distinguished from Robertson's, and indeed from every other, by peculiar features of beauty and expression. Its flow and rotundity is perhaps superior to that of most other writers upon any subject, and far superior to that of either Hume or Gibbon, or Robertson himself, upon general and abstract topics. We are acquainted with no author who has so happy a faculty of writing *finely* upon matters of science, without admitting into his composition any of those puerile conceits, or gaudy ornaments, or fictitious and declamatory periods, which are obviously incongruous with the character of philosophical style. But there are more marked peculiarities in Mr Stewart's style, which render it perhaps more easily distinguished than that of any author who is not a mannerist. These it is by no means difficult to *exemplify*; but we are doubtful if we shall succeed in *describing* them. They perhaps consist rather in a rare union of qualities, which seldom appear combined, and a singular possession of various excellences, unaccompanied by the defects which usually attend them, than in any single or striking characteristic. Indeed all such characteristics, as those of Tacitus, Sallust, Cicero, and even Robertson, are rather to be viewed in the light of imperfections than beauties. If we examine them, we shall find, that all those distinguishing marks are certain favourite forms of thought or expression, striking and prominent, because unnatural, unexpected, and surprising; or constant repetitions of the same pleasing train of ideas and combination of words. We think the marks of Mr Stewart's style are of a purer and higher cast: it has character without mannerism, or eccentricity. All the graces of the strictest propriety are preserved, combined

bined with animation, adorned by elegance, reconciled to characteristic tones of sentiment and modulations of speech.

This admirable style is in an eminent degree abstract: It is drawn from metaphysical sources, and adapted to general speculations; but it is as remarkable for clearness and perspicuity, as the satires of Swift, or the popular essays of Addison. It is in a great measure metaphorical; sometimes compassing the higher efforts of imagery; generally attracted towards a fanciful, in opposition to a plain form of expression; never chargeable with florid or indecent ornaments; and as distant from the ludicrous (so nearly allied to all the higher styles), as the reasonings of the *Principia*, or the narration of the *Optics*. But nothing is more remarkable in the composition of Mr Stewart, than the calm and unimpassioned manner in which his sentiments are delivered—a calmness very distant from cold or inanimate writing. Nothing tends so much to prepossess us in his favour as a reasoner, and to disarm our minds of any prejudices that we might have entertained against his doctrines: nothing so completely marks the philosophical style. This is a species of eloquence almost peculiar to Mr Stewart. The congenial nature of his favourite subjects, gives it the greatest scope; and although it consists as much in qualities of thought and matter, as of expression and composition, it is that feature of his writings, which, more than any other, bestows upon them their interest and charms. He delights, too, it may be remarked, in certain simple and expressive words or phrases, which, when cautiously used, add much to the force, and greatly sustain the dignity of a composition. These he often uses with great felicity; but they are the ornament of which he is the least sparing. We are rather inclined to think, that their frequent introduction tends to increase the monotony of his periods. This circumstance is the more to be regretted, that such phrases and epithets derive their principal effect from their rare occurrence. In the use of another kind of phrases, Mr Stewart is often very fortunate, and sometimes a little too profuse; we allude to certain general descriptive or narrative expressions, which are necessary to present an idea not easily specified, by leaving more to the force of the reader's conceptions than is always safe. The adoption of this mode of expressing one's ideas, is delicate and dangerous in the extreme; for it is as nearly allied to looseness and carelessness, as the sublime is to the ludicrous, or the metaphorical to the florid. It is principally in the adoption of certain metaphysical abstract terms, that we conceive our author to be a little incautious.

By these two modes of expression chiefly—by the use of simple phrases, which derive much of their power from associations and



sound, and by the introduction of general and philosophical terms, which leave much to the reader's mind after directing it into the proper channel—Mr Stewart fills up those finer passages, where language is required to make its greatest efforts, to portray the most fleeting and delicate forms of thought. As one writer describes by simile; another by skilful enumeration of particulars; a third by fine quotations from those classics whose beauties are universally well known, like the beauties of nature: our author, in a more abstract and comprehensive manner, presents a great general idea, rather than a peculiar feature of his subject; awakens lively associations, by indirect movements, and conjures up those conceptions which are perhaps a little factitious, and owe their origin to the conventional signs of language.

We may farther remark, but it is a defect of almost unavoidable occurrence in a style that abounds with metaphorical and abstract turns of expression, that we not unfrequently find a little inaccuracy, perhaps confusion of figure; and, without any more general illustration, we shall present one or two examples, involving all the peculiarities, both the eminent beauties, and the slight imperfections, which we have now endeavoured to point out. In the following admirable passage, the advantages of choosing the reign of Charles V. for a subject of historical composition, are happily illustrated by a new and appropriate comparison.

‘The advantage of making the transactions of a particular nation, and still more the reign of a particular sovereign, a ground-work for such comprehensive views of human affairs, is sufficiently obvious. By carrying on a connected series of important events, and indicating their relations to the contemporary history of mankind, a *meridian* is traced (if I may use the expression) through the vast and crowded map of time; and a line of reference is exhibited to the mind, for marking the bearings of those subordinate occurrences, in the multiplicity of which its powers would have been lost.’ p. 89, 90.

Immediately after we meet with another fine period in Mr Stewart's peculiar style of expression.

‘The reader who is previously acquainted with the last scenes of his enterprising and brilliant life, while he follows him through the splendid career of his ambition, can scarcely avoid to indulge occasionally those *moral* sympathies which the contrast awakens; and to borrow from the solitude of the cloister some prophetic touches, to soften the sternness of the warrior and the statesman.’ p. 91. 92.

In the whole of the passage formerly quoted (p. 242-3) the same peculiarities are observable. In one part of it, we meet with the slight

slight and venial inaccuracy of figure which has been hinted at—  
*'a compass and richness of diction rivalling the majestic eloquence which destined Buffon to be the historian of nature.'* The diction of Robertson rivalled the *eloquence* of Buffon. *Compass and richness* are qualities of that diction, which enabled it to stand the competition, and which could only be compared with some *quality* of Buffon's eloquence. A rich diction may rival a majestic eloquence, or richness of diction may rival majesty of eloquence; but richness of diction does not properly rival majestic eloquence.

In the following sentence, we meet with the character of Mr Stewart's style, although the subject is of a nature much more humble and tame than that of the above passages.

*'A letter from William Lord Mansfield, though it bears no marks of the superior mind of that eminent man, is valuable at least as a testimony of his respect for Dr Robertson: nor will it, perhaps, when contrasted with the splendour of his professional exertions, be altogether unacceptable to those who have a pleasure in studying the varieties and the limits of human genius.'* p. 103, 104.

We may remark here, that *'a letter of Lord Mansfield'* is contrasted with *'the splendour of his professional exertions'*—a figure somewhat more violent than the unimportant nature of the occasion required or justified. Perhaps *'the varieties and limits of human genius'* is intended to mean a good deal more than several sentences would suffice accurately to describe. For the rest, the structure of the period is a good specimen of that repose which distinguishes Mr Stewart's style.

Before taking our leave of this subject, we must offer to the author our thanks for the pleasure which we have derived from his very skilful and appropriate illustrations drawn from antiquity. The allusions and quotations which he introduces, diffuse a classical light over the subject; awaken a thousand delightful associations, which endear the discussions to us; and cast upon objects, in themselves not always the most elegant or pleasing until they are softened through distance, the charming tints spread by the evening of a brighter day.

**ART. XXVII.** *The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Warton, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Poet-Laureat. Fifth Edition, corrected and enlarged. To which are now added, Inscriptionum Romanarum Delectus, and an inaugural Speech, as Camden Professor of History. Together with Memoirs of his Life and Writings; and Notes, critical and explanatory. By Richard Mant, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 2 vol. 8vo. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1802.*

**I**F we may be allowed to judge from our own feelings, the curiosity and expectation of the admirers of Mr Warton can scarcely fail to be agreeably excited by the external appearance of these volumes, which would seem to promise a large succession to the 'poetical works' which the author himself had formerly given to the world. In this expectation the reader will be quickly undeceived. With some very trifling exceptions, he will find that no addition has been procured to the stock of original composition; and that the industrious editor has swelled out the work to its present size, by the introduction of a very copious admixture of biographical, critical, and explanatory matter.

Among the literary artizans of the present age, it has become a favourite and prevailing occupation to set forth the writings of the older English classics, with all the tediousness of annotation and commentary, which, till of late, was exclusively bestowed on those of Greece and of Rome. For these voluminous compilations, there is an obvious apology in the obscurities which time has thrown over the language, and manners, and accidental associations of a remote period, from which the veil can be withdrawn only by the diligent and fatiguing study of prior and contemporary writers. Even while we turn away, with occasional disgust, from the profuse and tasteless quotations of the black-letter annotator, we are forced in justice to acknowledge the utility of his labours. Such researches are to be regarded as a natural and necessary step in the progress of the literature of every country. We ought to consider them, not as the finished workmanship of an artist, but as the rude materials on which future, and perhaps more enlightened critics, are to employ their powers of selection and combination, and by a more judicious and happy arrangement of which, they may be at length enabled to illustrate and adorn, without encumbering and overwhelming the pages of Spencer, of Shakespeare, and of Milton.

Although the late Mr Warton certainly had the merit of exhibiting to the public one of the earliest and most successful examples of that species of critical research to which we have been alluding, we did not expect to see him, so very soon, become the subject

subject of a similar experiment. To unfold their beauties, to illustrate their obscurities, to catch their allusions, and to trace the forgotten sources of imitation, are pious duties, which, in behalf of the generality of writers, have been discharged only by late posterity. Whether fortunately or unfortunately for the fame of Mr Warton, we have now before us a very decided exception to this usual tardiness of procedure; and in Mr Mant he has already found a biographer and a commentator, who has given an edition of his poetical works that would seem intended to vie with the most elaborate of those '*cum notis variorum*.'

As a man of genius and a scholar, Mr Warton holds a place in the literary history of his age, which cannot fail to give an interest to the events of his life, and the delineation of his character. But in undertaking the task of his biographer, Mr Mant labours under the disadvantage of having been personally unacquainted with Mr Warton. For this disadvantage, no industry in the collection of materials, no ingenuity or address in the management of them, can ever fully compensate. In the chronological narration of facts, or in the impartial estimation of literary or political merit, the disadvantage may be surmounted; but it must inevitably deprive the representation of manners and character of all that boldness, and truth and spirit, which give, if not the greatest value, yet surely the greatest charm to biographical writing.

Mr Mant informs us, that he was himself educated under the late Dr Joseph Warton at Winchester school; and he would appear to have there imbibed that admiration of the 'learned brothers,' by which, probably, he was determined to his present undertaking. In the collection of the materials from which his narrative is derived, his diligence, we trust, has been greater than his success. Besides the slight sketches of his author, which have appeared in some former biographical compilations, Mr Mant seems to have drawn his information from a few of the surviving relatives and academical friends of Mr Warton; and among the latter, the name of Dr Huntingford, Bishop of Gloucester, appears with peculiar advantage. From epistolary correspondence, that most favourite and fertile source of characteristic anecdote, he has derived but very slight assistance. Mr Warton is said to have been an indolent and careless correspondent; and the few letters which have been preserved were scarcely worthy of insertion, unless as specimens of the artless and unaffected good humour of the writer.

Among the writers of literary lives, barrenness of incident is an established topic of apology and regret; and certainly no life of equal length, and of equal importance to letters, can well be conceived to have flowed on in a tenor less diversified or disturbed by

by casual events, than that of Mr Warton. Although a divine by profession, he does not appear to have been a very assiduous or successful votary of fortune in the road of ecclesiastical promotion; and his course through life is scarcely marked by any of those enlivening gradations of preferment, which are usually recorded with so much chronological accuracy and minuteness of detail, in the annals of learned churchmen. From the period at which he first quitted his father's roof, at the age of sixteen, when he became a member of the University of Oxford, till his death, at the age of sixty-three, his life was completely academical. On ceasing to be a pupil, he became himself an instructor; and his residence as a Fellow of Trinity College was never interrupted, but by his visits, during vacation, to his brother at Winchester, or by short occasional excursions of curiosity or amusement. During this long period, though he continued to be the boast of Oxford, as one of her brightest ornaments for genius and learning, yet the share he obtained of the more substantial rewards of literary eminence, either in the Church or in College, was by no means liberal; a neglect which is said to have excited the indignant exclamations of Warburton, but which, without being fully justified, might perhaps be traced to some peculiarities of character and of manners not entirely consonant to rigid notions of academical propriety and reserve, and which, while they made him the delight of the *common-room*, might be thought incompatible with the more artificial and guarded formalities of office.

Whatever may have been the causes which influenced his professional fortunes, they certainly left him at full liberty to follow the literary career to which he was led by the natural bent of his genius. In tracing the different steps of his literary progress, his biographer is, accordingly, very little distracted by extraneous objects; and, in the execution of this important part of his undertaking, Mr Mant seems entitled to the praise of fullness, and apparently of accuracy, in his details. To praise of any higher kind, he does not seem to have greatly aspired; and the modesty of his pretensions as an original writer, ought to disarm criticism of her sternness and fastidious severity. In the view which he has given of the literary labours and literary character of his author, Mr Mant has seldom had the temerity to think or judge for himself. His aim rather has been to catch the prevailing opinions and sentiments which have already gone forth into the world; and he has prudently withdrawn from the more perilous enterprise of guiding or correcting the public taste. His defects in vigour and precision are probably compensated, in some degree, by a timid and vague approximation to the truth; and from the details which are presented, the reader may be enabled to form for himself, a tolerably correct

correct estimate of the peculiar character and merits of Mr Warton as a poet, a critic, and an antiquary.

That all the peculiarities of intellectual character, by which individuals are so widely discriminated, may have had their origin in accidental and extrinsic causes, perhaps of seeming unimportance, has been, with some, a favourite conjectural speculation: but it is rarely that curiosity can be gratified by the actual discovery of them in particular instances. It would be certainly too much to say, that the biographer of Warton has been in this respect completely successful; yet, to those who are acquainted with some of the more striking and noted peculiarities of his taste, an anecdote, communicated by Dr Huntingford, may probably appear to furnish an amusing hint for the solution of the problem.

‘ Dr Joseph Warton (he observes) was accustomed to relate a circumstance, which, though in itself apparently unimportant, yet, with respect to the writings of Mr Thomas Warton, was perhaps in its effects of considerable importance.—When they were both boys, their father took them to see Windsor castle. The several objects presented to their view, much engaged the attention and excited the admiration of the father and his son Joseph. As they were returning, the father, with some concern, said to Joseph, “ Thomas goes on and takes no notice of anything he has seen.” This remark was never forgotten by his son, who, however, in mature years made this reflection: “ I believe my brother was more struck with what he saw, and took more notice of every object than either of us.” And there is good reason to think, that the peculiar fondness for *castle imagery*, which our author on many occasions strongly discovers, may be traced to this incident of his early days. That his imagination should afterwards be turned to the description of scenes, with which, in his youth, his fancy had been captivated, it is natural to conceive, if we do but recollect, how often the mind takes its complexion and bias through life, from a trivial circumstance happening before we arrive at manhood.’

Without stopping to examine the solidity of this speculation, we shall only observe, that it is by no means invalidated by that appearance of mute insensibility with which the first impressions are said to have been received. The real sublimity of the object, and the many interesting associations which it is calculated to excite, may be very naturally supposed, at the first moment of observation, to have overpowered his youthful faculties: the ideas left in the memory, which were at first indistinct and distracting, grasped with difficulty, and incapable of being uttered, instead of fading away, may have gradually acquired additional vigour and a permanent influence: and we may be tempted to believe, that the recollection of these early impressions may have contributed to

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rouse that fond enthusiasm with which, almost at the close of life, he sung the progressive glories of this venerable pile,—the proud and stupendous monument of the rude magnificence of former ages.

At an early age, Mr Warton began to be distinguished as a poet; and, in his first and rudest efforts, he discovered the same cast of genius and manner which characterise all his serious compositions. His most prominent feature is a fancy splendid and vigorous, which delights to form its objects in picturesque and fantastic groupes, but which appears to draw his materials less from an extensive and original observation of nature, than from a memory richly stored with images rifled from the poetical treasures of a former period. Without being insensible to the charms of classical learning, he appears to have been still more powerfully attracted to the literature of what may be called the heroic ages of modern Europe. His mind seems to have rioted in the gaudy fictions of the Gothic chivalry and romance. In quest of 'Gothic manners,' and 'Gothic arts,' he did not shrink from the fatigue of exploring the more remote and neglected sources of this fairy lore: but, above all, the writers from whom he probably first caught this enthusiasm, who had themselves been under its powerful influence, and whose works were fitted to afford it the most full and exquisite gratification, were unquestionably Spenser and Milton. Indeed, we might perhaps be warranted in saying, that his fond admiration of the peculiar beauties of these two poets, had, in a great degree, subdued his own originality of genius. The obvious character, and most obvious defect of the poetry of Warton, is a too servile imitation, or rather an adoption of their imagery and language. It gives to many of his larger and more successful compositions, too much the air of a parody or a cento: and, even when his ideas may have been derived from other sources, or may be regarded as his own, they seem, involuntarily, to have embodied themselves in the borrowed language, and set phrases of his great masters.

As it is not our intention to enter into a particular criticism on the poems of Warton, which have been long in the possession of the public, it would be of little utility or interest here to follow his biographer through the detail of their respective dates, which he has very properly, and we presume very accurately given. Of his poetry so much has now been said, only as it serves to indicate the general character of his mind, and the particular direction which it gave to his literary pursuits. A still more decided proof of the indulgence he had given to his favourite propensities, was afforded by his '*Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser,*'

Spenser,' first published in the year 1754; and of which an enlarged edition was given in 1762. Of the merits of this work a very fair estimate, we believe, has long been formed by the public. The chief praise, unquestionably, is due to the discovery which it made of a new track of research in the literature of early English poetry and romance, which is certainly by no means incurious or uninteresting in itself, and which on all hands must be admitted to possess very great attractions, as conducting almost exclusively to the full illustration of the great writers of a later period. This track of research, Warton himself continued to pursue with great ardour; and even in the earliest specimen of his critical talents, we may discern the commencement of those investigations which ultimately led him to the accomplishment of his greatest and most important work, 'The History of English Poetry.'

Although the compilation of this elaborate work must have occupied much time, and exacted no common share of diligence and industry, yet we find the intermediate period, preceding the appearance of the first volume in 1774, filled up with many other literary pursuits. Of these Mr Mant has given a particular chronicle. They sufficiently serve to indicate the ardour and versatility of Warton's mind; but are not, in general, of such a kind as essentially and permanently to affect his fame. The most considerable among them is his splendid edition of Theocritus; a work which we believe was received by critical scholars with disappointment, and from which, certainly, his reputation has not derived much increase. The undertaking is said to have been pressed on him by the exhortations of some of his literary friends; but we suspect that he had, by this time, become too much a 'truant to the classic page,' to perform, with adequate diligence and zeal, the toilsome duties of an editor.

The 'History of English Poetry' is a work which has long been so perfectly known to the learned, that in this place it would be inexcusable to enter into any minute examination of its character and merits. In Mr Mant's circumstantiated details relative to the history of the work itself, the reader who is not altogether a stranger to literary history and anecdote, will meet with very little that is interesting from its novelty; but in the life of Warton, some degree of prolixity on this head may easily be forgiven. The unfinished state in which the work has been left by its author, is known to every one. In addition to three ponderous volumes in quarto, a considerable portion of the poetical annals of the reign of Elizabeth, and those of the important and interesting period which followed, till the commencement of the eighteenth century, still remained to be given. At his death, a few sheets of



of a fourth volume had been printed; but, among his manuscripts, no discovery has been made of any part of the remainder, and a suspicion naturally arises, which we cannot help regarding as warranted by the construction and execution of the whole work, that Warton, confiding in his great facility of composition, was in the practice of writing immediately for the press. The introductory paragraph, containing the general scheme of the volume, has been transcribed by Mr Mant, and will be read with feelings of regret for the irreparable loss of so valuable a portion of this interesting work.

In Mr Mant's attempt to estimate the merits of the 'history of English poetry,' there is a great deal of that feeble sobriety which distinguishes most of his critical lucubrations; and we expect to be very readily pardoned for avoiding a minute statement or review of his opinions. We will confine our remarks to a single point. When taken as a whole, it is impossible to deny that there is a certain lifeless massiveness in 'the History of English Poetry,' which, in the perusal, becomes extremely oppressive, and which, with various excellencies in other respects, has already, we suspect, condemned it to be in the number of those books which are oftener praised than read. This, we apprehend, is not to be ascribed to the bulk of the work, to the minuteness of its details, or to the profuseness of its quotations from obscure and antiquated writers. To those who are not mere loungers in reading, there is in all this a richness and fullness which would not be without powerful attractions. To us it appears, that the fault is intimately connected with the general frame and construction of the work. In adopting a simply chronological arrangement of his materials, instead of a systematic method founded on some leading principle, Mr Warton is known to have deviated from the projected plans of Pope, and of Gray; and, in doing so, he has been at pains to vindicate his choice, by assuring us, that it proceeded from an experimental conviction of the utter impracticability of the latter. How far such an experiment had been ever fairly made, might perhaps be questioned, from the rapid and slovenly manner in which the composition of the work appears to have proceeded. But the real difficulty of the attempt we are inclined to ascribe, not so much to its own impracticable nature, as to the absence of those scientific powers and habits which were requisite to its successful execution. No ordinary shares of genius and of taste may be allowed to Warton; and we sincerely believe, that in point of mere literary accomplishment, few men could have been found so well qualified for the execution of the particular parts of such a work. But, unquestionably, to powers of that higher order which, by a sort of magical influence, could have

have given the unity, and simplicity, and strength of a whole, to an infinite number of scattered and various parts, the pretensions of Mr Warton were extremely moderate. We would not be understood to insinuate, that the plans suggested by Pope, and by Gray, were very happily conceived, or very judiciously digested, or that the simple adoption of them by Warton could have cured the radical defect of his book. Neither do we mean to state, that an arrangement of a chronological nature was in itself utterly incompatible with that higher species of excellence which he has failed of attaining. The excellence of which we speak, is by no means essentially dependent on mere mechanical arrangement; and, by the infusion of an informing spirit into the whole mass, we should even conceive it possible to vanquish the disadvantages of an awkward and unnatural method. The successful execution of the plan might probably be attended with the sacrifice of some of those collateral details which Warton has not scrupled to collect in his long and desultory course; yet it may be safely presumed, that, with a tolerable share of address, almost every thing might be retained and incorporated which is not an offensive excrescence even on the miscellaneous pages of his curious and amusing work.

During the publication of the successive volumes of 'the History of English Poetry,' and after the appearance of the last of them, Mr Warton continued to amuse and instruct the public by various inferior literary productions. Among these, was his short, but satisfactory detection of the forgeries of Chatterton; which appeared at a period when it was regarded as some merit, to have been among the foremost to expose the shallow impostures of that wonderful boy. But the most important of his later works was his edition of the *Juvenilia* of Milton, with very copious annotations, in which he gave full scope to that species of critical discussion in which he was best fitted to excel. His early and intimate acquaintance with the poetry of Milton, and his liberal use of Miltonic imagery and language, we have formerly noticed. In return, he here employs himself in tracing the obligation of Milton to his poetical predecessors; but in his detections there is nothing invidious, or that will not tend to heighten, rather than to lower the admiration of that mighty genius. Even in his imitations, Milton throws aside every air of servility, and moves on with native and unborrowed dignity. The annotations of Warton have been blamed for their excessive minuteness and prolixity; but we beg leave to profess ourselves of the number of those to whom even his tediousness never ceases to be agreeable. His biographer, with better reason, takes occasion to blame the too frequent and impertinent intrusion of his censures on the political opinions

pinions and conduct of Milton. The idle asperity of his strictures sounds too much like the still more idle apology of the courtly laureat for appearing as the commentator of the democratic Milton.—These commentaries, and his observations on Spenser, may be now regarded as in some degree supplemental to his great unfinished work on English Poetry.

In accepting the laurel, ‘profaned by Cibber, and contemned by Gray,’ it would be difficult, and even unjust, to suppose that Warton was not conscious of degradation. Of this feeling there indeed appear to us very evident symptoms in the choice of the subjects, and in the general strain of what, with ludicrous gravity, a former biographer has been pleased to denominate his *official* odes. By excluding the usual topics of adulation, he may be said to have escaped, rather than conquered, the difficulties of his periodical task. His constant excursions into his own favourite regions of Chivalry, remind us too often of the cypress in the sea-piece, and of the ‘*nunc non erat his locus*’ of Horace. In some of them, however, the turn and application is ingenious and happy; and after all, even in his wildest rambles, he is not without the apology of precedent in the father of Lyric poetry himself—his grand predecessor and prototype in the art of *official* ode-writing.

In delineating the private character of Mr Warton, his biographer has gone through his task with the most inefficient and drawling prolixity—such as was to be expected from a writer whose knowledge is derived from casual information, and through whose mind the scattered lights seem to pass without the least tendency to convergence. Of the truth of the likeness, such as it is, we do not pretend to judge; and shall refrain from hazarding any criticisms on its merits in that respect.

We have already observed, that in estimating the literary character of Mr Warton, his biographer generally takes the safe ground of prevailing opinion. Among the few deviations from the noiseless tenor of his way which he has ventured to make, the most eccentric and amusing is a parallel of the literary characters of Warton and Gray. It chiefly consists of a statement, on the one hand, of the many things which Gray projected, and the few he executed; and, on the other hand, of the many similar things which Warton had the industry to carry into actual execution. The result of the comparison is intended to exalt the character of Warton: yet the most partial admirers of Gray would have certainly very little pretence for challenging the award of Mr Mant. In poetry, and in epistolary writing, the palm is given, almost without a struggle, to Gray.

As the editor and annotator of Warton's poems, Mr Mant has been naturally led to enter into a more minute and careful examination of his poetical character, and the peculiar merits or defects of his compositions of that class. This, although it partakes of the same common nature with the rest, is perhaps the least exceptionable part of Mr Mant's performance : but it would exceed the proper bounds of this article to examine the justness and solidity of his criticisms. As a specimen of his manner, and indeed one of the most favourable which we could have chosen, we shall present our readers with the concluding paragraphs of Warton's life. We would not be understood as implicitly assenting to his panegyric ; but a little may be pardoned to the natural partialities of a biographer.

‘ If these observations are just, it may be concluded, by way of general remark, that notwithstanding his blemishes, for blemishes he undoubtedly had, Warton is entitled to claim no mean rank amongst the poets of his country : that he displays great facility and variety of powers ; that his style is forcible and ornamented ; his thoughts lofty and dignified ; his imagery in his descriptive poetry, select, new, and distinct ; in his lyric poetry, gorgeous and magnificent : that in his less serious pieces, he has the humour, without the grossness of Swift ; that in his Latin compositions, he shows a true classical taste and feeling ; and that in all his poems, though he abounds in imitations of his predecessors, his imitations are not servile, and that what he borrows he makes his own.

‘ In one department, he is not only unequalled, but original and unprecedented : I mean, in applying to modern poetry, the embellishment of Gothic manners and Gothic arts ; the tournaments and festivals, the poetry, music, painting, and architecture of “ elder days.” Nor can I here refrain from repeating, that, though engaged in the service, his talents were never prostituted to the undue praise of royalty : nor from adding as a topic of incidental applause, that, though he wanders in the mazes of fancy, he may always be resorted to as supplying at least an harmless amusement ; and that with Milton and Gray, whom he resembled in various other points, he shares also this moral commendation, that his laurels, like theirs, are untainted by impurity, and that he has uniformly written” (to use the words of another unsullied bard)—

“ Verse that a virgin without blush may read.”

We will not detain our readers with a particular examination of the remaining part of these volumes. We have already said, that to the text of Warton's poems very little has been added by the present editor ; and of that little, no particular notice appears to be requisite. Of the value of Mr Mant's labours as an annotator,

tator, we have also hinted our opinion. And judging, as we can only pretend to do, from a cursory inspection, it may be enough to say, that the instruction or amusement we have derived from his notes, has farely compensated the pain of perpetual interruption in the perusal of the text. From his constant and liberal adoption of the poetical phrases and formularies of a few favourite authors, it is easy to suppose that the poems of Warton must furnish to his annotator abundant opportunities for the display of imitations and parallelisms. These Mr Mant has set himself to trace with the most scrupulous minuteness; and although he has already done more than is sufficient to gratify the curiosity of most readers, yet it would probably be no arduous task to enlarge the collection. This, however, is a hint which we would be sorry to see improved by any future editor. To detect the sources from which the great original poets of any country have silently drawn, is a matter at least of great curiosity, and is often essential to the full illustration of their meaning; but for the cumbrous labours of Mr Warton's annotators, we are not aware that any similar apology can be pleaded.

To the original poetry of Warton, his editor has annexed a small selection of Latin Metrical inscriptions, published in 1758. The original edition has long been rare, and almost forgotten: and the present republication will, we presume, be acceptable to every classical reader. It is composed of a few of the choicest flowers, culled from the tasteless and unwieldy collections of Mazochi, Smetius, and Gruter, blended with a few sprigs of modern growth. Those which have been since ascertained to be Warton's, might have imposed on the discernment of a connoisseur; and may be regarded as affording another curious instance of his faculty of imitation.

The volumes conclude with an inaugural oration, pronounced by Mr Warton, on his appointment to the Camdenian Professorship of History in the University of Oxford. The institution of Camden was one of the earliest attempts to innovate on the established system of academical education, by intermingling more liberal and useful studies with the scholastic discipline which had long exclusively prevailed. Of the boldness of the innovation we may judge from the duties imposed on the professor of history by the statutes of the University: '*Prælector historicus Camdenianus, his in quolibet septimana, Lucium Florum, aut alium quemvis antiquioris et melioris notæ historicum, prælegat Artium Baccalaureis et studiosis in jure Civili.*' Leaving the bachelors in arts, and the students in the Civil law of the present day, to their own private studies in the interpretation of Lucius Florus, the Camden professor here announces his design of taking a wider range, more suitable.

suitable to the genius of the age. In his views of the capabilities of his subject, he cannot, however, be accused of deviating very extravagantly from the ancient track. Instead of aspiring to those higher speculations, which the *matter* of history is calculated to suggest, or aiming to instruct his hearers in those lessons of moral and political wisdom which give to it its greatest value, he proposes to confine himself to a critical examination of the literary merits of the great historians of Greece and Rome. In choosing this subordinate walk, our readers will probably agree with us, that Mr Warton prudently consulted the vigour and extent of his own powers.

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ART. XXVIII. *Practical Observations in Surgery, illustrated with Cases.* By William Hey, Esq. F. R. S. Senior Surgeon to the General Infirmary at Leeds, &c. &c. &c. London. Printed for T. Cadell & W. Davies. 1803. 8vo. 537 pages.

**T**HIS work has many claims to the attention of the practical surgeon. It is written by a man who, during a period of more than forty years, seems to have enjoyed very favourable opportunities for observation, and who has been in the custom of daily committing to paper whatever appeared to him to be new, or peculiarly instructive in practice. In communicating the result of his experience to the public, Mr Hey uniformly speaks with a proper degree of modesty of his success, and of the improvements which he conceives he has introduced into the practice of his art; while at the same time he acknowledges, with a frankness and candour which do him much honour, the mistakes he has occasionally committed. Unlike, in their nature and object, to the ephemeral medical productions of the day, these 'Practical observations' may be regarded as a legacy bequeathed to the coming, rather than as a recommendatory introduction to the present generation.

The work now before us will not readily admit, nor does it seem to us to require a regular analysis. In reviewing it, therefore, we conceive we shall best fulfil our duty to the public, by pointing out some of those modes of practice which seem to be peculiar to the author, and the particular points in which we may happen to differ from him in opinion.

The first chapter is entitled, 'On fractures of the skull,' and seems to have been written chiefly with a view to recommend the use of a small saw, in place of the instrument called Trephine, in removing depressed portions, or too prominent points of the skull

skull. Mr Hey gives, in a plate, figures of two forms of this saw; one with a semicircular, the other with a straight edge.

‘The straight edged saw (he observes) executes its task with greater readiness; but the convex edge is necessary when the bone is to be sawed in a curvilinear direction. It is also useful when the thickness of that part of the cranium which is to be sawed out is very unequal.

‘This instrument is worked with ease, if the pressure made upon it by the hand is light. It saves much time in cases of extensive fracture, where the repeated application of a trephine would have been needful; and it may be used with less danger of wounding the dura mater, if the same precautions are used in examining, from time to time, the depth of the groove, as is necessary in the use of the trephine.’

In this chapter, two cases of caries of the tibia are related, in which a cure was effected by removing the diseased bone with instruments. They are obviously cases in which most surgeons would have judged it necessary to have had recourse to amputation. The mode of practice adopted in these cases by Mr Hey, certainly deserves a more extensive trial than it has hitherto received.

The Chapter ‘on Cataract’ contains many curious facts, and some original observations. Mr Hey is a strenuous advocate for the method of cure by *couching*. He has given very accurate figures of the needle he employs. It differs from the common, by being nearly one half shorter; by having a semicircular, instead of a pointed extremity; and by its increasing gradually in diameter from the extremity to the handle. Its principal merit, however, would seem to us to consist in being smaller than the common needle. This circumstance has not in general been sufficiently attended to, though we believe it will be found that the degree of inflammation succeeding to the operation of *couching*, will be in some measure proportional to the size of the needle which is used. From the shortness of Mr Hey’s instrument, it is easy, in operating, to judge of the depth in the eye to which the instrument has penetrated. We doubt whether the comparison of this instrument with the common needle be in all respects fair. Some of the defects attributed to the old instrument are common to both, and are perhaps inseparable from every form of cataract needle that can be conceived.

Mr Hey has observed, that when the needle is pushed through the coats of the eye, in a direction parallel to the iris, that the eye is apt to roll; but that by directing the point of the needle to the centre of the eye, that organ is rendered steady, and the needle passes through its coats, without any danger of wounding either the iris or the ciliary processes. The point of the instrument

strument is to be carried forwards till it reach the centre of the crystalline; but as it is in this part of the operation that our author's practice seems to us to be peculiar, we shall give his account of it in his own words.

‘ If, in bringing forwards the point of the needle, I perceive the cataract to advance, and dilate the pupil, I then know that the cataract is firm, and that the needle is in contact with its posterior part. The pressure used in bringing forwards the cataract, sometimes causes the point of the needle to sink so far into the crystalline, and to become so much entangled in its more tenacious part, that the depression may be completed, though the instrument has not been seen through the pupil. When, therefore, the appearance which I have mentioned takes place, I do not persist in bringing forwards the point of the needle, lest the iris should be injured by the too great dilatation of the pupil; but I depress the point, and at the same time carry it backwards. If this motion of the needle removes the cataract from its place, the operation is usually concluded without any farther trouble.

‘ If the cataract does not follow the motion of the needle, I cautiously bring forward its point through the softer part of the crystalline, till I can see my instrument through the pupil, and then proceed in my attempts to effect the depression. In these attempts, I always move the needle backwards, as well as downwards; for the operator ought always to be sure, that his needle is between the ciliary processes when he moves it upwards or downwards. Before I withdraw the needle, I usually elevate its point a little, to see whether the cataract rises again when the pressure is removed. If it does the pressure is renewed once or twice, and the needle is then withdrawn. I always endeavour to lodge the cataract below the place where my needle entered the vitreous humour, and withdraw the needle in a direction nearly parallel with the axis of the pupil.

‘ Though I do not think it advisable to persist in pressing an entire cataract into the anterior chamber, when the advance of the cataract causes a large dilatation of the pupil; yet after the needle has wounded the capsule, a firm cataract, or at least its nucleus, will sometimes slip through the pupil, without the design of the operator. This has been considered by some authors as a disagreeable circumstance, and has been ranked amongst the objections to the operation of couching. On the contrary, it ought to be considered as a favourable event; since the cataract always dissolves in the aqueous humour, and finally disappears, without any injury to the eye. This, at least, has been the event in every case of the kind which I have seen. I have six or seven times seen the whole opaque nucleus fall into the anterior chamber of the eye, and very frequently small opaque portions. Indeed, if the cataract could, in all cases, be brought into the anterior chamber of the eye, without injury to the iris, it would be the best method of performing the operation. But this is not usually practicable; the softness, as well as the bulk of the cataract, presenting an obstacle to this process,



‘ If the crystalline, or rather its capsule, is found to adhere in part to the iris, great caution should be used in our attempts to destroy the adhesion ; as it is much more safe to repeat the operation after a gentle attempt, than by continuing the use of force, to risk the danger of an inflammation. It is useful, in this case, to lift up the cataract with the needle ; as elevation may be successful, where depression has failed. Mr Warner succeeded, at the fourth operation, in destroying an adhesion of the iris ; and I have repeated the operation oftener than four times with advantage, rather than incur the hazard of inflammation, which might have left my patient in total blindness.

‘ Hitherto, the cataract has been considered as firm, and capable of bearing the pressure of the needle ; but, in the greater number of cases which have fallen under my care, the cataracts have been found so soft, as to permit the needle to pass through them in all directions. In this state of the disease, I do nothing more than break down the texture of the cataract, and endeavour to puncture, or tear off a portion of the capsule, that the aqueous humour may flow in upon the broken cataract. In doing this, it is common to see some fragments of the cataract fall, through the pupil, into the anterior chamber of the eye. I am always glad to see this take place ; as I then know that there is a passage opened for the admission of the aqueous humour, and that those opaque fragments, which have passed through the pupil, will soon disappear.

‘ Sometimes the cataract is so uniformly soft, that the passage of the needle through it makes no alteration in its appearance. This species of cataract was considered by the late Mr Sharp and Mr Warner, as incurable. In this opinion, these excellent authors were certainly under a mistake ; for I find, that although an uniform softness of the cataract may require a more frequent repetition of the operation, it affords no permanent impediment to the cure. Upon repeating the operation in such cases, I have often found that the first operation had produced more effect, than at the time of operating it appeared to produce. The cataract, upon a subsequent operation, appears more broken, and irregularly opaque. Some portions may now be removed, which before appeared immoveable ; some fall into the anterior chamber ; and the remainder becomes gradually dissolved into its original situation.’ P. 57—62.

The assertion, p. 42. that ‘ the point of a needle, which has penetrated the coats of the eye behind the ciliary ligament, cannot be brought into the posterior chamber without passing through the crystalline,’ is not supported by an accurate anatomical investigation of these parts. If the needle employed in performing the operation for cataract be curved at the point, and its convexity be turned towards the iris, we know from trial, both on the dead and living eye, that by insinuating it between the capsule of the lens and the ciliary processes, it can be brought over the upper edge of the crystalline, into the posterior chamber, without

without wounding either the lens or the iris. This is a mode of operating in cataract, which has been described by several very eminent oculists upon the Continent; and a mode which bids fairer than that practised by our author, to prevent the formation of secondary membranous cataract, either by depressing the capsule along with the lens, or by rupturing it so, that its parts shall recede sufficiently, to admit the rays of light into the bottom of the eye, should it afterwards become opaque.

Mr Hey concludes his account of cataract, with a very satisfactory refutation of some of the unfair and ill-founded objections of Baron Wenzel, to the operation by *couching*. We cannot go so completely along with our author, when he endeavours to prove the decided superiority of the mode of operating by couching to that by extraction. Each mode of operating has, we conceive, its peculiar advantages, and each its peculiar defects; and we should be sorry to see either mode practised, to the complete exclusion of the other. In deciding upon the comparative merits of the two operations, the partizans of each have generally appealed to their own individual experience; and it has been but too common with them to attribute to the mode of operating, accidents and evils, which are owing, in a great measure, to the unskilfulness and improper management of the operator.

Chapter Third treats of Strangulated Hernia; and contains the history of many interesting cases, skilfully and ably treated, with some very judicious practical remarks. The following paragraph conveys a sufficiently distinct account of Mr Hey's mode of dilating the abdominal ring.

‘ The next step is to enlarge the aperture through which the prolapsed parts have descended from the abdomen, by dividing the aponeurosis of the external oblique muscle, together with the neck of the hernial sac, which sometimes produces the principal part of the stricture. If the tip of the fore-finger can be sufficiently introduced to conduct the bubonocoele knife, the division may be made in this way with the greatest advantage. It should be made upwards and a little outwards, when the hernia descends through the abdominal ring; and in this species of hernia I have never found any difficulty in executing this part of the operation.’ P. 147, 148.

Upon this mode of dilating the ring, we must observe, that when the stricture is seated solely in the tendinous fibres crossing the pillars of the ring, and surrounds its orifice, the complete division of the parietes of the abdomen seems to be wholly unnecessary. This mode of removing the stricture, not only tends to weaken the parietes of the abdomen, but may even be attended with fatal consequences in those cases in which the epigastric artery is situated.

situated on the outside of the neck of the hernial sac ; a situation of the artery which, we conceive, must have occurred in two of the cases recorded by Mr Hey. In the account of case 14th, it is particularly remarked, that on dissection there was found a slight protuberance of the peritoneum appearing just below the abdominal ring, and lying on the inner side of the spermatic cord. This is the very situation in which the hernial sac is found, when it protrudes immediately from the cavity of the abdomen, at the lower and external aperture of the ring : when the hernial sac, on the contrary, descends along the course of the inguinal canal, the spermatic cord is found lying upon the inner and posterior side of the sac.

It is in this variety of Bubonocoele, also, that we must seek for an explanation of the peculiarities described in case 17th, and of which many similar examples are to be found in authors. In this case, two hernial sacs were found existing together on the same side of the scrotum. One of these sacs, we conceive, must have entered the parietes of the abdomen with the spermatic vessels, and descended along the course of the inguinal canal ; while the other sac came directly out of the abdomen at the inner and external orifice of the ring. The history of our author's case, though not very accurately detailed, contains statements which seem to justify this conjecture.

‘ The interior sac was complete at its upper part, and was there quite distinct from the sac which I had first opened, and in which lay the omentum. The interior sac contained intestine only.’ P. 213.

Mr Hey has performed the operation for femoral hernia sixteen times ; and his cases, and remarks upon the subject, are peculiarly instructive. In two only of these cases did he find it impossible to introduce the point of his finger into the mouth of the hernial sac, so as to serve him as a conductor in dividing that portion of the tendon of the external oblique muscle, which is usually the seat of stricture in this species of hernia. When the stricture is such as not to admit the introduction of the point of the finger, Mr Hey uses a grooved director, and, introducing his knife upon the finger, or director, carries his incision directly upwards. In practising this mode of dilating the femoral ring, Mr Hey does not seem to be aware of a danger which sometimes occurs from a peculiarity in the distribution of the blood-vessels in the neighbourhood of the hernial sac. The obturator artery often arises in common with the epigastric ; and when this distribution of artery takes place, the obturator may pass along the upper and inner side of the neck of the hernial sac. It was probably the division of this artery in the cases terminating fatally, mentioned by Gunz and other  
practical

practical authors, which was mistaken for the division of the epigastric. Whenever the obturator occupies this situation, it is obvious that it must be divided in the operation practised by Mr Hey. We think it more than probable that it was the division of this artery which occasioned the very dangerous hemorrhage described as having taken place in Case 7th. The obturator, when it arises in common with the epigastric, does not, we allow, necessarily surround the neck of the hernial sac; for when the common trunk of these two arteries is short, we have found the obturator passing down into the pelvis on the outside of the hernial sac, and placed, as in this case, out of the reach of the knife. But as this distribution of the artery is frequent, and as we have no means of ascertaining its existence previous to the division of the stricture, we are of opinion, that the operation practised by Mr Hey, and that proposed by Dr Gimbernat, cannot in all cases be employed with safety.

Chapter Fourth contains a most interesting account of ten cases of a disease, which has hitherto been very imperfectly known, and which our author describes under the name of *Fungus Haematodes*. It is the same disease, he remarks, which has been described by Mr Burns of Glasgow under the title of the *Spongoid inflammation*. Previous to the publication of these two accounts, we had no full nor connected account of this very formidable disease; but it was not by any means so completely unknown to, nor unobserved by former surgeons, as these authors seem to imagine.

The late Dr Monro, than whom few have more accurately observed, or more clearly described, the symptoms and progress of chirurgical diseases, gives a tolerably accurate delineation of some of the more prominent features of this species of tumour, in the 463. page of the quarto edition of his works: and many similar cases, we doubt not, are to be found in the records of surgery. We have yet to learn, what the particular habits are, in which this species of tumour occurs; in what respects it agrees with, and in what respects it differs from, tumours of a scrophulous or cancerous nature. It is much to be regretted, that the formation and structure of indolent sarcomatous tumours, is a branch of chirurgical pathology which has hitherto been almost entirely neglected. We have no accurate descriptions of them in our books of morbid anatomy; and we cannot therefore express too strongly our obligations to Mr Burns and Mr Hey, for making us better acquainted with a species of tumour, which is as singular in its symptoms and progress, as it appears to be fatal in its termination.

We shall not add to the prolixity of this review, by entering into critical examinations of the doctrines and modes of practice contained in the remaining parts of this work. We have said enough to recommend it to the attention of our surgical readers ; and we would not willingly dispute about minute or unimportant points with an author from whom we have received so much valuable instruction.

## CONTENTS OF No. IV.

ART. I. Miss Baillie's Plays on the Passions	p. 269
II. Cateau, Tableau des Etats Danois	287
III. Heyné, Homeri Carmina	308
IV. Wittman's Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, &c. and into Egypt	330
V. Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Systems of Geology	337
VI. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society	348
VII. Vindication of the Celts, from ancient Authorities; with Observations on Mr Pinkerton's Hypothesis, concerning the Origin of the European Nations, in his Modern Geography and Dissertation on the Scy- thians or Goths	355
VIII. Dallas's History of the Maroons, including the Expe- dition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs, and the State of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years, &c.	376
IX. Werner, Nouvelle Theorie de la Formation des Fi- lons	391
X. R. & M. Edgeworth's Essay on Irish Bulls	398
XI. Lord King's Thoughts on the Restriction of Pay- ments in Specie at the Banks of England and Ire- land	402
XII. Walker's Defence of Order: a Poem	421
XIII. Home's Description of the Anatomy of the Ornitho- rynchus Paradoxus	418
XIV. Dr Craven's Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, compared with other Institutions, &c.	437
XV. Davis's Travels in the United States of America, dur- ing 1798—1802	443
XVI. Fuseli's Lectures on Painting	453
XVII. Moore's Odes of Anacreon	462
XVIII. The Trial of John Peltier Esq. for a Libel against Napoleon Buonaparté, &c.	477
XIX. Governor Pownall's Memorial, addressed to the Sove- reigns of Europe and the Atlantic	484
XX. Dr Darwin's Temple of Nature: a Poem	491
XXI. The Works of Lady M. W. Montagu	507



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THE

# EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY 1803.

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ART. I. *A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind; each Passion being the subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy.* By Joanna Baillie. Vol. II. London. 1802.

THESE plays require a double criticism; first, as to the merit of the peculiar plan upon which they are composed; and, secondly, as to their own intrinsic excellence.

To such peculiar plans, in general, we confess that we are far from being partial; they necessarily exclude many beauties, and ensure nothing but constraint: the only plan of a dramatic writer should be, to please and to interest as much as possible; but when, in addition to this, he resolves to write upon nothing but scriptural subjects, or to imitate the style of Shakespeare, or to have a siege, or the history of a passion in every one of his pieces, he evidently cuts himself off from some of the means of success, puts fetters upon the freedom of his own genius, and multiplies the difficulties of a very arduous undertaking.

The writer of the pieces before us, has espoused the patronage of what she has been pleased to call *characteristic truth*, the great charm of dramatic composition; and, in order to magnify its importance, has degraded all the other requisites of a perfect drama to the rank of very weak and unprofitable auxiliaries. With a partiality not at all unusual in the advocates of a peculiar system, she admits, indeed, that a play may have qualities that give nearly as much pleasure; but maintains, that this is altogether owing to the *folly* of mankind, and that if we were constituted as we ought to be, we should care very little for any thing but the just representation of character in our dramatic performances. This sentiment, we think, is pretty clearly expressed, in the following passage of the 'Introductory Discourse,' prefixed to the former volume.



‘ Our love of the grand, the beautiful, the novel, and, above all, of the marvellous, is very strong ; and if we are richly fed with what we have a good relish for, we may be weaned to forget our native and favourite aliment : yet we can never so far forget it, but that we shall cling to, and acknowledge it again, whenever it is presented before us. In a work abounding with the marvellous and unnatural, if the author has any how stumbled upon an unsophisticated genuine stroke of nature, we shall immediately perceive, and be delighted with it ; though we are *foolish enough*, at the same time, to admire all the nonsense with which it is surrounded. ’

Now, we really cannot perceive why the admiration of novelty and grandeur should be considered as more foolish, than the admiration of just sentiments, or consistent character. The same power that gave us a relish for the one, formed us to be delighted with the other ; and the wisdom that guides us to the gratification of the first propensity, can scarcely condemn our indulgence in the second. Where the object is to give pleasure, nothing that pleases can be foolish ; and a striking trait of characters, or of nature, will only please the more, when it occurs in a performance, which has already delighted us with its grandeur, its novelty, and its beauty. The skilful delineation of character, is no doubt among the highest objects of the drama, but this has been so generally admitted, that it was the less necessary to undervalue all the rest. The true object of the drama, is to interest and delight ; and this it can frequently accomplish, by incident, as effectually as by character. There are innumerable *situations* that excite our sympathy in the strongest degree, though the characters of those who are placed in them be left almost entirely to be filled up from our general conceptions of human nature. Mothers bereaved of their children ; lovers separated or restored to each other ; the young and valiant cut off by untimely death ; tyrants precipitated from their thrones ; and many other occurrences or representations, are capable of awakening the highest interest, and the most anxious curiosity, although the characters should be drawn only with those vague and undistinguishing features that fancy has associated with the situation.

But, even if we could agree with Miss Baillie, that the striking delineation of character was the cardinal excellence of the drama, we should find great difficulty in admitting that her plan was the most likely to ensure its attainment. The peculiarity of that plan consists in limiting the interest of the piece, in a great degree, to the development of some one great passion in the principal character, and in exhibiting this passion in all the successive stages of its progress, from its origin to its final catastrophe. It  
does

does not appear to us that either of these observances is well calculated to increase the effect of any dramatic production.

If any thing more is meant by limiting the interest of the piece to the consequences of a single passion, than is implied in the vulgar rules for preserving unity of character and of action, we are inclined to think, that something more is meant than can very easily be justified. The old maxims evidently require the predominancy of certain motives in the minds of the leading characters, and a certain consistency in the sympathies that are excited by their fortunes. To carry these restrictions still farther, and to confine the whole interest of the story to the developement of a single passion, seems to us to be altogether impracticable, and could not even be attempted, in a very imperfect degree, without violating that unity of action by which the general effect of the piece would be very materially impaired. To confine the attention, and tie down the sympathies to the observance of one master passion through a whole play, is plainly impossible; first, because that passion, in order to prove its strength, must have some other passion to encounter and overcome in the bosom where it is at last to reign; and, secondly, because a certain portion of our sympathy must necessarily be reserved for the fate and the feelings of those who are the objects and the victims of this ruling passion in the hero. The first partition of our sympathy is altogether unavoidable; and Miss Baillie herself has accordingly been forced to submit to it. *Count Basil* is distracted between love and a passion for military glory; and the interest and sympathy excited by the whole story, may be referred to the one passion, just as properly as to the other. *De Montfort* is represented as struggling between a high sense of honour, and a frantic and disgraceful antipathy; nor could the latter have been made interesting in any degree, unless our sympathy had first been very powerfully engaged for the former. *Ethwald*, in like manner, is agitated by ambition, and gratitude, and personal attachment; and pleases us as much by his generosity and kind affections, as he terrifies us by the consequences of his thirst for power. The second division of interest that is claimed by those who inspire or oppose the domineering passion of the chief personage, is scarcely less necessary. We cannot easily sympathise with a lover, unless we take some concern in the object of his attachment; and are seldom much offended by the oppressions of a tyrant, when we do not enter very warmly into the feelings of those whom he oppresses. The only way in which the interest we take in the story can be in any degree engrossed by the hero, is to provide him with a succession of inferior patients and observers, through whom he moves in the grand career of his passion, and who are successively forgotten for

the sake of those who replace them. By this contrivance, which is but seldom practicable, it is very obvious, however, that the interest of the piece is impaired and dissipated, and the unity of the action entirely broken. Miss Baillie has had recourse to it in the tragedy that occupies so large a portion of the present volume; and every reader of *Ethwald* must acknowledge, that the interest of the play is exceedingly diminished by the constant introduction and renewal of the inferior characters; and that the catastrophe, which is accomplished by persons with whom we have scarcely any previous acquaintance, is but ill calculated to produce any strong or satisfactory impression.

The peculiarity of Miss Baillie's plan, however, does not consist so much in reducing any play to the exhibition of a single passion, as in attempting to comprehend within it a complete view of the origin, growth, and consummation of this passion, under all its aspects of progress and maturity. This plan seems to us almost as unpoetical as that of the bard who began the tale of the Trojan war from the egg of Leda; and really does not appear very well calculated for a species of composition, in which the time of the action represented has usually been more circumscribed than in any other. Miss Baillie, however, is of opinion, that it will turn out to be a very valuable discovery; and insists much upon the advantage that will be gained by adhering to it, both in the developement of character, the increase of interest, and the promotion of moral improvement. We are afraid that these expectations are more sanguine than reasonable.

To delineate a man's character, by tracing the progress of his ruling passion, is like describing his person by the yearly admeasurement of his foot, or rather by a termly report of the increase of a wen, by which his health and his beauty are ultimately destroyed. A ruling passion distorts and deforms the character; and its growth, instead of developing that character more fully, constantly withdraws more and more of it from our view. The growth of the passion is not the growth of the mind; and its progress and symptoms are pretty conform, in whatever subject it may have originated. *Amor omnibus idem*, at least, says the poet; and it may fairly be admitted, that men become assimilated, by their common subjection to some master passion, who had previously been distinguished by very opposite characters. To delineate character, therefore, by the progress of such a passion, is like following a cloud of smoke, in order to discriminate more clearly the objects that it envelopes.

These considerations are so very obvious, that though Miss Baillie has certainly talked a great deal about tracing a passion from

from its origin, we are persuaded that she really did not expect much assistance from this maxim in the delineation of character. She has built, in general, upon a truer ground; and seems to have perceived very clearly the method of employing a predominating passion, so as to give brilliancy and effect to characteristic representation. This method, which, however, is by no means new, consists principally in the occasional introduction of the passion, or peculiar turn of mind, in transactions of inferior moment, and in circumstances where it does not serve at all to help forward the action of the piece. By this apparently accidental disclosure of consistency, a stamp of nature and reality is given to the whole delineation; and the glimpses that are thus caught of the hero, in the course of his ordinary deportment, serve, in a manner, to confirm those impressions that had been excited by his more studied and imposing appearances. In private life, and on trifling occasions, the splendid drapery of the passions is usually laid aside; and, if we are permitted to look in upon them in this situation, we fancy that we recognise their genuine features with less uncertainty. If care be taken, therefore, to relieve the glare and pomp of the main action, by the insertion of a few such casual incidents, we seem to be let into the interior of the character, and attain a certain familiarity with the chief personages, that renders our conception of their whole character much more lively, entire, and impressive. It is upon this principle, that the effect of most of the fine strokes of nature and character, which occur in the writings of the poets, will be found to depend; and it is a principle, that has been quite familiar to criticism, ever since it was illustrated by the ancient commentators of Homer.

But, though Miss Baillie has not overlooked this powerful instrument, for the developement of characteristic effect, there is another, of still greater importance, which appears to be, in a good measure, excluded by her doctrine of the unity of passion. The art to which we now allude, is that by which an appearance of individual reality is communicated to an ideal personage, and the functions of a dramatic hero assigned to a living being, with the whole of whose capacities and dispositions we are made to feel that we are acquainted. This poetical deception, however, can never be accomplished by the display of a single passion, and cannot even take place, we should imagine, where such a display is made the chief object of our attention. It is to be effected, indeed, only by an occasional neglect and intermission of the principal action, and of the passions by which that action is forwarded, by the introduction of arbitrary and inconsiderable occurrences, and slight and transient indications of habits, senti-

ments, and failings, that could not have been inferred from the conduct or emotions of the chief characters in the greater incidents of the piece. It is by these, and by these alone, that a definite object can be created for our sympathies to attach upon, and the true image of a living man be presented to our imagination. There is no man alive, of whose whole character we could judge merely from his conduct or expressions in some important transaction; and our sympathies are always but feebly excited for those with whose internal feelings we are so imperfectly acquainted. It is not enough, therefore, that the qualities bestowed upon our heroes be suitable to the conduct which is assigned them, or consistent with each other. A naked combination of the qualities necessary to account for the action, will never make up the idea of a real and entire man. There must be a delineation of those, also, that are of no use at the moment, and are not necessarily implied by the presence of the leading features. Without these, an action indeed may be represented; but the actors will be utterly unknown, and all impression of reality, along with every emotion of individual sympathy, will be utterly excluded. A play which discriminates its characters only by the great and leading passions that are essential to the parts they have to sustain, must be as deficient in interest and effect, therefore, as a picture which shows no more of the figures than is necessary to explain its subject; that displays the hand of the murderer, and the bleeding bosom of his victim, but omits all representation of the countenance and gestures of either, or of those circumstances in the surrounding scenery which may suggest aggravations or apologies for the crime. By the plan of Miss Baillie, however, these subordinate and arbitrary traits of character appear to be in a great measure excluded. Her heroes are to be mere personifications of single passions; and the growth and varied condition of one grand feature is to be incessantly held out to our observation, while an impenetrable shade is to be spread upon all the rest of the physiognomy. Among the debasements of modern tragedy, against which Miss Baillie declaims with so much animation, there is none, perhaps, so material as this, which her doctrine has so evident a tendency to sanction; nor is there any thing by which the writings of Shakespeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, are so remarkably distinguished from those of the later dramatists, as by the individual truth and completeness of their representations of character. They are all drawn with the full lineaments and just proportions of real men; and, while the qualities by which their conduct is to be determined are marked with sufficient boldness and vivacity, the subordinate attributes are not forgotten, by  
which

which we recognise them to be creatures like ourselves, and are enabled to attach our feelings upon some definite and tangible object.

As to the *moral* effect of the drama, conducted upon this or upon any other plan, we confess that we are disposed to be very sceptical. Those plays are the best, we believe, that have done the least harm. The display of great passions is apt to excite an admiration which is not always extinguished by a fictitious view of their tragical effects; and the exhibition of interesting occurrences sometimes begets a disgust and contempt for the insipidity of ordinary life. There is something of cant, however, in this also. Plays have, for the most part, no moral effect at all: they are seen or read for amusement and curiosity only; and the study of them forms so small a part of the occupation of any individual, that it is really altogether fantastical to ascribe to them any sensible effect in the formation of his character.

But even if the case were otherwise, and we were to believe all the pretty things that have been delivered by our essayists as to the moral effects of the stage, we really do not perceive that Miss Baillie's plan of composition is at all likely to forward that great and salutary object. It is her persuasion, it seems, that 'looking back to the first rise, and tracing the progress of passion, points out to us those stages, in the approach of the enemy, where he might have been combated most successfully, and where the suffering him to pass, may be considered as occasioning all the misery that ensues.' Now, though this observation sounds tolerably well when taken in the abstract, it unfortunately fails altogether in the application. The greater part of the passions that are made use of in the drama, are laudable in themselves, and only become vicious in their excess; while, at the same time, their progress is so gradual, that it is frequently almost impossible to say where they ought to have been arrested. To look back to the first rise of such a passion, therefore, will be of no use to us in any case; since it is not till long after that period, that it can become an object of jealousy or alarm; and since the occasions and stages of its increase are so complicated and multiplied, that it must often be impracticable to settle where the vicious series begins. The passion itself, too, may often be confirmed, before it indicates any tendency to evil; and the warning of the drama must either come too late, or lead us to repress some of the noblest and most generous propensities of our nature. The love of Count Basil, for instance, for an accomplished and virtuous princess, has nothing in it that should lead the readers of that tragedy to stifle such an honourable and successful passion in their own bosoms, or to shut the avenues of their hearts to the

approaches of beauty and merit. Ethwald's impatience of obscurity, and his thirst for honourable distinction, in like manner is a feeling which no moralist would wish to eradicate from a powerful or aspiring mind. In all such cases, the shades, by which a passion graduates into criminality, are so fine, and the temptations and apologies by which its seductions are made effectual, so variously and nicely adapted to the circumstances of the imaginary character, that it is impossible to suppose, for a moment, that any one can be taught to guard against them by the peculiar incidents of one dramatic representation. Every one knows, that violent passions are apt to hurry men into crimes and improprieties; and this vulgar lesson, which surely stands in no need of illustration, can scarcely be brought more home to our feelings by a drama, which can never accommodate its fable to the particular character and situation of individuals.

If there be any passions to which Miss Baillie's dramatic warnings can be applicable, they can only be those, therefore, that are intrinsically and fundamentally vicious, and against the remotest approaches of which we ought to be continually on our guard. Hatred, jealousy, envy, and some others, are in this class; and it may be conceived, that to trace these to their origin, may contribute to the preservation of our morality, by enabling us to detect them in their rudiments, and to resist them in their infancy. It has happened, however, that Miss B., by a very singular infelicity in the execution of her plan, has been at the trouble to trace the origin and progress of love and ambition with great care and exactness, while she has only given us a view of hatred in its matured and confirmed state. She has taught us, in this way, how to distinguish and resist the first symptoms of those passions, which, in their beginning, are neither criminal nor dangerous; and has left us altogether without any instructions for combating or discovering those other passions that are never for a moment either innocent or satisfactory, and against the first dawns of which our conscientious vigilance should have been directed. Basil and Ethwald are made to run their whole career of love and ambition before us, while it is almost impossible to say at what period their passions become criminal; while De Montford presents himself, in the very first scene, the victim of a confirmed and inveterate hatred. If Miss B. really believed that her readers would be better able to resist the influence of bad passions, by studying their natural history and early symptoms, in her plays, she ought certainly to have traced this of hatred to its origin, more carefully than any other, since there is none of which it would be so desirable to cut off the shoots, or extirpate the seeds, at the beginning.

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Though it be almost time to conclude those general remarks upon the plan announced on the title-page of this volume, yet we cannot leave the subject without making one remark upon the spontaneous addition that is made to its difficulties, by the extraordinary resolution of making every separate passion the subject of a tragedy and a comedy. Passion, perhaps, is not essential to comedy at all; but the distribution of passions into tragical and comical, is so old, so obvious, and so natural, that we really are at a loss to conceive what strange caprice could have tempted this ingenious writer into so wanton a violation of it. A comedy upon Hatred, sounds as paradoxical to our ears, as an elegy on a wedding, and implies as great a violation of all our customary associations. The constraint that must be submitted to, in order to make out this fantastic piece of uniformity, would deserve our most cordial compassion, if it were not assumed with a certain voluntary perversity: it would not be half so absurd in a manager to insist that all his performers should appear every night, both in a tragic and a comic character.

Upon the whole, then, we are pretty decidedly of opinion, that Miss Baillie's plan of composing separate plays upon the passions, is, in so far as it is at all new or original, in all respects extremely injudicious; and we have been induced to express this opinion more fully and strongly, from the anxiety that we feel to deliver her pleasing and powerful genius from the trammels that have been imposed upon it by this unfortunate system. It is paying no great compliment, perhaps, to her talents, to say, that they are superior to those of any of her contemporaries among the English writers of tragedy; and that, with proper management, they bid fair to produce something that posterity will not allow to be forgotten. Without perplexing herself with the observances of an arbitrary system, she will find that all tragical subjects imply the agency of the greater passions; and that she will have occasion for all her skill, in the delineation of character, and all her knowledge of the human heart, although she should only aim (as Shakespeare and Otway have done before her) at the excitation of virtuous sympathy, and the production of a high pathetic effect. Her readers, and her critics, will then discover those moral lessons, which she is now a little too eager to obtrude upon their notice; and will admire, more freely, the productions of a genius, that seems less incumbered with its task, and less conscious of its exertions.

This volume contains four plays, a comedy upon Hatred, and two tragedies and a comedy on Ambition. We shall make a few remarks upon each of them in its order.



If Miss Baillie had delighted us less with some passages of her tragedies, we should, perhaps, have had more reluctance in saying that we think she ought to write no more comedies. There is no flagrant violation of nature in these productions; and the language is for the most part unusually pure and easy. But there is no comic effect in them; a certain placid cheerfulness and gay good sense runs through the whole of them; and though these qualities form the greatest charm of real life, they are somewhat deficient in lustre and brilliancy for the stage. Though Miss Baillie's taste seems, upon the whole, to be tolerably correct as to the proper tone of pleasing conversation; yet she has no great powers, either of wit or humour, and appears to have made her observations on manners, with great judgement and sagacity, without having acquired the faculty of giving much life or animation to her characters. The story moves on too slowly, and the characters unfold themselves so very gently and leisurely, that even when the delineation is completed, the impression is but indistinct and feeble. Her comedies, therefore, have more the effect of moral tales, than of proper dramatic pieces; and an orderly sober-paced progression of dialogues and incidents, is left to bring out the catastrophe, that ought to have been committed to the chances and exertions of a more rapid, irregular, and varied assemblage. As these pieces turn professedly upon the stronger passions of the mind, we cannot help thinking the incidents, in general, too insignificant for the interference of such mighty agents. The plots are fitter for an after-piece, than for a regular moral drama of five acts; and the attention can scarcely support itself, through so long a period, without the relief of more drollery, variety, and surprise, than the writer has condescended to employ. Besides all this, there is too little *vice*, and too little *danger* in these comedies, to give interest to compositions of so serious a complexion. The greater part of the persons too, have so much good sense and so much good humour, that we are never very much alarmed for their happiness, and are apt to weary a little for the *denouement* that is to reconcile so many good people to each other. From a laudable desire to avoid the affectation or snappishness of modern comedy, Miss Baillie has reduced the language of these pieces, in many places, rather too near to the level of common speech. The dialogue is always deficient in brilliancy, and often in elegance: sometimes it sinks into vulgarity, and sometimes it is puerile and silly.

After these general remarks upon Miss Baillie's comedies, we need not detain our readers with any particular account of 'The Election, a comedy on Hatred.' The hero of this piece is the representative of an ancient, but decayed family, who has con-  
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ceived an unconquerable antipathy at an opulent clothier for having bought up the greater part of his patrimonial domains, and established himself in a huge brick house within sight of the old baronial castle. They are both very good sort of people; but the tradesman is constantly giving offence by certain impolite allusions to his own riches or influence; and the gentleman is at length exasperated beyond all endurance, by his having the audacity to offer himself as a candidate for the old family borough, which becomes vacant at the beginning of the play. The humours of an election are not represented by Miss Baillie with any great spirit or effect; and, setting these aside, the piece is rather deficient in incident or variety. The characters are as fully developed in the second act, as in the fifth; and as we care very little for the issue of an election in an imaginary borough, we cannot help wishing for the close of the poll a good while before it is announced to us. The incidents that do occur, in the mean time, are certainly of a kind that do not naturally arise out of the character or situation of the parties. The tradesman plumps into a pond, and is fished up by his antagonist, at the risk of his life. The gentleman is then put in prison by some of his creditors, and is liberated by the generosity of his competitor. After this, they go out to fight a duel; and the piece ends with reconciling them, by the discovery of their being *brothers*, the gentleman's father having had an intrigue with the tradesman's mother before marriage. This comedy, we are afraid, will not live to mend the morals of posterity.

It is rather unfortunate for Miss Baillie's tragedies on *Ambition*, that they can scarcely be read by any body who is not familiar with Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. We do not remember any instance in which so notorious a model has been so exactly imitated. *Ethwald*, the hero of the play before us, is the son of an aged thane in Mercia, and distinguishes himself in a great battle against the enemies of the kingdom, for which he is rewarded by his sovereign with the earldom of Mairnieth; he then murders the old king, and violently possesses himself of the royalty; he descends into a cavern to consult the weird sisters as to his future destiny, and is terrified at the prediction of his crimes and his misery; he becomes gradually more suspicious, bloody, and ferocious; and is slain at length in his own palace, by a body of those who had escaped from the murderous hands of his assassins. Besides this correct transcript of *Macbeth* in the main fable, there are many subordinate scenes that are not less evidently borrowed from the same great author. The desolation and musical madness of *Bertha*, is an apparent copy of *Ophelia*; the wooing of *Elburga*, by the avowed murderer of her father; is plainly imitated from  
the

scene between King Richard and Lady Anne; and the murder of Edward, with all its preliminary horrors, is compounded of the killing of the princes in the play last alluded to, and the inimitable consultation with Hubert in King John.

There is a good deal too much fighting and slaughtering in these tragedies. There are at least three pitched battles fought upon the stage, each of them lasting through two or three busy scenes; and one act opens with the view of a field covered with the dead and the dying, and is filled to a considerable extent with the last words of the wounded, who expire successively, in all manner of tempers and attitudes. There are also five or six assassinations perpetrated in the sight of the audience; and a head is fairly struck off, and held up to them, towards the conclusion of the piece. None of the dramas that are usually quoted as proofs of the bloodiness of the English theatre, and the barbarity of our national taste, come up to the horrors delineated in these tragedies by the delicate hand of a female.

In the conduct of the fable, there are two great defects. The story goes on a great deal too slowly, and it goes on a great deal too long. Every thing, especially towards the beginning of the piece, is described and transacted at full length before us. The conceptions of the author are commonly good, and they are generally brought out very completely; but it is done with so much labour, so slowly, and at so great length, that it frequently gives a great heaviness to the composition. Miss Baillie cannot insinuate any thing, without expressing it; and is afraid to trust her meaning to a short and incidental intimation. She spreads a broad canvas before her, and puts in every thing that presents itself, with the full colouring, and the full proportions of reality. To show that Ethwald, while lost in visions of future royalty, disdains the petty glory and safe achievements of the chase, she makes his two brothers address, each of them, a whole page of blank verse to him, descriptive of the pleasures of hunting; and sets his uncle upon a very dull and useless vindication of himself, from the charges of heresy, which the priests had preferred against him. This apologetical oration, which fills nearly three pages, begins with these mean and miserable verses.

- ‘ Those cunning priests full loudly blast my fame,  
Because that I, with diligence and cost,  
Have got myself instructed how to read  
The holy Scriptures, which, they would maintain,  
No eye profane may dare to violate,’ &c.

This elaborate and excessive fulness of expression is particularly remarkable in those parts of the play, where, in conformity

to the general plan, the greatest exertions have been used to characterise the ruling passion of the hero. The different tendencies and emotions of an ambitious spirit are represented with considerable truth and sagacity; but they are obtruded upon the reader with so much pains and anxiety, that they are delineated with such deliberate and persevering industry, that they fatigue and overwhelm the attention, instead of captivating the imagination, or awakening an unconscious sympathy. Though the play contains, therefore, a great number of good things on the subject of ambition, and even perhaps all the good things that could have been said on such a subject, still, there is such a want of compression and vivacity, throughout, that the whole composition has a most cumberfome and massive appearance; and the mind is overloaded, rather than delighted, with the indiscriminating superfluity of the images it affords. The piece, therefore, is more like a rich collection of materials, than a finished work: there are blocks of marble, and beams of cedar, in plenty; but they are not put together with gracefulness or effect: the heavy and coarse parts are not chiseled away, nor the massive and necessary supports sufficiently removed from observation.

To illustrate this observation at full length, would be to quote one half of the drama before us: we shall only observe, that the obvious and well-worn simile, in which an ambitious man is compared to a man climbing up a mountain, is introduced in three different places, and is dilated in one of them into a declamation of nearly twenty verses.

The other grand defect in the construction of these plays, is, the excessive prolongation of the story. All the characters with whom we set out are killed off before the end of the first six acts, and a second generation of victims is half exhausted, before the tyrant is immolated to their safety. Vengeance is thus executed by a set of persons in whom we take no interest: and not one of those who have suffered by his tyranny, survives to enjoy the retribution. In this particular, Miss Baillie has deviated rather unfortunately from the model which she has followed with so much exactness in the other parts of the fable. In *Macbeth*, the son of the gracious Duncan survives to avenge his death, and to vindicate his inheritance; and the usurper falls by the hand of the very man for whose injuries we feel the strongest indignation. In *Ethwald*, the gentle Edward embraces the bloody fate of his predecessor; the deserted Bertha dies unrevenged; brother Selred and uncle Ethelbert are massacred, without producing any disturbance; and the monster is taken off at last by one Hereulf, of whom we hear nothing till the middle of the sixth

sixth act, and by certain discontented Thanes, who are not even introduced by name to the acquaintance of the reader.

The diction and poetry of those tragedies is certainly entitled to very considerable praise. There is no part of Miss Baillie's introductory remarks better founded, than that in which she condemns the artificial stateliness and wearisome pomp of our modern tragedy. This lofty vein, indeed, has of late years been very generally ridiculed; but it has been supplanted by an opposite excess; and the plain vulgarity and prose ecstasies of the German drama deserve still less indulgence, than the mellifluous majesty of our native dramatic poetry. The writer of these plays has attempted a more temperate reform; and, taking for her model the middle style of Shakespeare's versification, has ventured to bespeak the public attention to a species of composition in which so many of her contemporaries have miscarried. There is something certainly very meritorious in this attempt, and its success has been such as should encourage the author to proceed in it. The principal peculiarity, in the style of these tragedies, is the free use of antiquated terms and phraseology. Miss Baillie has not only imitated the manner of Shakespeare, but has revived his language; and, not contented with making her characters speak more like real men and women than modern dramatists have usually done, she has thought it necessary to make them speak like men and women of the sixteenth century. Now, though something is undoubtedly gained in this way by the poetical and pleasing associations which the genius of Shakespeare has connected with this obsolete diction, it rather appears to us, that Miss Baillie has carried the practice a little into excess, and taken something both from the originality and the ease of her composition, by this decided predilection for a language that is no longer natural. There are many passages in the volume before us, that bear such evident marks of imitation, that we are apt to forget the sentiment they express, and to think more of Shakespeare than of the persons of the drama. The ideas contained in the following passages are not half so remarkable as the exactness with which the diction of our great dramatist is copied in the expression.

‘ Some do conceit that disembodied spirits  
Have in them more capacity of woe  
Than flesh and blood maintain. ’

‘ I am as one, who, in a misty dream,  
Listens to things wild and fantastical;  
Which no congruity, nor kindred, bear  
To preconceived impressions. ’

‘ The

' The land is full of blood : and savage birds  
O'er human carcases do scream and batten.  
The silent hamlet smokes not ; in the field  
The aged grandfire turns the joyless soil.  
Dark spirits are abroad, and gentle truth,  
Within the narrow house of death, is laid  
An early tenant. '

————— ' Let that be unto him,  
Which in the crowded breach, or busy field,  
All meet regardless from a free man's hand.  
Doth the still chamber, and the muffled head,  
And the unseen stroke that doth th' infliction deal,  
Alter its nature ? '

These, however, are very favourable examples, and have much of the spirit and force that was necessary to justify so bold an imitation. There are many passages, however, that are mere centos, and have nothing of Shakespeare but the words : For instance,

' Yes, yes ! from out the herd, like a mark'd deer,  
They drive the poor distraught. The storms of heaven  
Beat on him ; gaping hinds stare at his woe ;  
And no one stops to bid heav'n speed his way. '

The following lines are evidently a modern corruption of a fine passage in Macbeth :

' When vision'd horrors, thro' perturbed sleep,  
Harden to deeds of blood the dreamer's breast ;  
When, from the nether world, fell dæmons rise  
To guide with lurid flames the murderer's way. '

In her attempts to imitate the familiar and easy style of her great master, Miss Baillie is still more unsuccessful ; and as failures in that department are inevitably ridiculous, her ill success is the more to be lamented. The following lines were intended to be pleasant and ironical.

' *Hex.* The King must be inform'd without delay.  
*Alwy.* As quickly as you please, if that you please  
To take that office on yourself, good father ;  
But as for me, I must right plainly say,  
*I will not venture it ; no faith !* Of late,  
The frame and temper of King Ethwald's mind  
Is chang'd, ' &c.

An angry Thane, in another passage, goes off the stage with this striking exclamation,

' Mine armour man hath ta'en away my helm,  
*Faith ! and my target too—hell blast the buzzard. '*

If this had really been Shakespeare's style, it certainly ought not to have been imitated.

In using an antiquated style, a modern writer is likely to commit almost as many blunders as a foreigner; at the same time that he runs the risk of appearing to blunder, when his modern readers are not equally profound with himself in antiquarian philology. Where the stock of obsolete phrases is rather scanty, the perpetual recurrence of the same ill-sounding syllables becomes very disgusting and offensive, especially when a word is frequently repeated that is no longer at all used in composition. Miss Baillie has distressed us much, by making use of the verb to 'shend,' at least a dozen times in these tragedies.

After having made so many strictures on the plays before us, we would willingly make some extracts from them, to justify the encomium we have already passed on the genius of the writer. The task of selection, however, is by no means easy; many of the finest passages deriving their chief merit from their adaptation to the preceding context, or to what has gone before in the preparation of the fable. Ethwald's soliloquy on the field of victory, affords a very fair specimen of Miss Baillie's manner of composition.

' So thus ye lie, who, with the morning sun,  
Rose cheerily, and girt your armour on  
With all the vigour, and capacity,  
And comelieness of strong and youthful men.  
Ye also, taken in your manhood's wane,  
With grizzled pates, from mates, whose withered hands  
For some good thirty years had smooth'd your couch :  
Alas ! and ye whose fair and early growth  
Did give you the similitude of men  
Ere your fond mothers ceas'd to tend you still,  
As nurselings of their care, ye lie together !' p. 270.

The subsequent description of the same scene by a peasant, is marked, at least, with some strong painting, though there is rather too much of the horrible in the picture.

————— ' Oh ! there be some  
Whose writhed features, fix'd in all the strength  
Of grappling agony, do stare upon you,  
With their dead eyes half open'd.—  
And there be some, stuck through with bristling darts,  
Whose clenched hands have torn the pebbles up ;  
Whose gnashing teeth have ground the very sand.  
Nay, some I've seen among those bloody heaps,  
Defaced and 'rest e'en of the form of men,

Who

Who in convulsive motion yet retain  
Some shreds of life more horrible than death.' p. 271.

One of the most striking passages in the play, though altogether in a different taste, is the speech of Prince Edward, in his dark and solitary dungeon.

' *Ed.* Doth the bright sun from the high arch of heaven,  
In all his beauteous robes of flecker'd clouds,  
And ruddy vapours, and deep glowing flames,  
And softly varied shades, look gloriously ?  
Do the green woods dance to the wind ? the lakes  
Cast up their sparkling waters to the light ?  
Do the sweet hamlets in their bushy dells  
Send winding up to heaven their curling smoke  
On the soft morning air ?  
Do the flocks bleat, and the wild creatures bound  
In antic happiness ? and mazy birds  
Wing the mid air in lightly skimming bands ?  
Ay, all this is ; men do behold all this ;  
The poorest man. Even in this lonely vault,  
My dark and narrow world, oft do I hear  
The crowing of the cock so near my walls,  
And sadly think how small a space divides me  
From all this fair creation.' p. 286.

There is considerable energy in the following soliloquy of the distracted tyrant.

' *Ethw.* And does the fearful night still lie before me  
In all its hideous length ? (*rising up with emotion.*)  
O ye successive terms of gloomy quiet !  
Over my mind ye pass, like rolling waves  
Of dense oppression ; whilst deep underneath  
Lye all its noble powers and faculties  
O'erwhelm'd. If such dark shades must henceforth cross  
My checker'd life with still returning horrors,  
O let me rest in the foul reptile's hole,  
And take from me the being of a man !' p. 349. 350.

The introduction of the watch-dog in the same scene, as the only guardian in whom his suspicious nature could now confide, is like one of the striking incidents in a fairy tale, and would probably be very ludicrous in the representation.

Before taking our leave of this drama, we may observe, that besides several smaller errors in prosody and strict construction, Miss Bailey appears to have adopted a very vicious pronunciation of the words, 'support, pursuit, success,' &c. which she



has evidently accented on the first syllable, in the following and other examples :

————— ‘ This thickest grove  
Has stopped the *pursuit* : here we are secure. ’

‘ Unto the fortunes of their Royal Chief  
Their *success* owe. ’

————— ‘ Fame reports  
That ye return with fullest *success* crown’d. ’

‘ I should have known the *support* of thy state, ’ &c.

There are very few, even among our Scottish versifiers, who would now indulge themselves with so much of their national prosody.

The last play in this volume, is entitled, ‘ The Second Marriage, a comedy on Ambition ; ’ and we are sensible that we do not speak at all equivocally of its merits, when we say, that it is by far the worst of Miss Baillie’s dramatic performances. A more puerile or insipid performance, indeed, is not to be found in M. Berquin’s *Childrens Friend* ; and as its morality is unexceptionable, we are not without expectation of seeing it included in the next edition of that useful collection. The story is that of a man, who marries a narrow-minded woman of quality, in the hopes of making his fortune, and is nearly ruined by being made the dupe of a crazy projector. The interest of the piece consists in the discontent of the children with their step-mother ; and the most brilliant incident, is that of a ghost dressed up by the old cook, and the gardener and old butler, for the purpose of frightening their new lady in her chamber. There are some love scenes among the masters and misses, that are very innocent and edifying ; and enough of *natural affection*, to soothe to profound sleep, any polite audience that could be induced to listen to it. There are some touches of pleasantry, and some discrimination of character, in spite of all this ; and we cannot help feeling a considerable degree of admiration for the talents of the writer, even in that production in which they have been most injudiciously exerted.

Upon the whole, we think there is no want of genius in this book, although there are many errors of judgement ; and are persuaded, that Miss Baillie will relinquish her plan of producing twin dramas on each of the passions, and consent to write tragedies without any deeper design than that of interesting her readers, we shall soon have the satisfaction of addressing her with more unqualified praise, than we have yet bestowed upon any poetical adventurer.

ART. II. *Tableau des Etats Danois.* Par Jean Pierre Catteau.  
3 tomes. 1802. à Paris.

THE object of this book is to exhibit a picture of the kingdom of Denmark, under all its social relations, of politics, statistics, science, morals, manners, and every thing which can influence its character and importance, as a free and independent collection of human beings.

This book is, upon the whole, executed with great diligence, and good sense. Some subjects of importance are passed over, indeed, with too much haste; but if the publication had exceeded its present magnitude, it would soon have degenerated into a mere book of reference, impossible to be read, and fit only, like a dictionary, for the purposes of occasional appeal: It would not have been a picture presenting us with an interesting epitome of the whole; but a topographical plan, detailing, with minute and fatiguing precision, every trifling circumstance, and every subordinate feature. We should be far from objecting to a much more extended and elaborate performance than the present; because those who read, and those who write, are now so numerous, that there is room enough for varieties and modifications of the same subject: but information of this nature, conveyed in a form, and in a size, adapted to continuous reading, gains in surface what it loses in depth,—and gives general notions to many, though it cannot afford all the knowledge which a few have it in their power to acquire from the habits of more patient labour, and more profound research.

This work, though written at a period when enthusiasm or disgust had thrown most mens minds off their balance, is remarkable, upon the whole, for sobriety and moderation. The observations, though seldom either strikingly ingenious or profound, are just, temperate, and always benevolent. We are so far from perceiving any thing like extravagance in Mr Catteau, that we are inclined to think he is occasionally too cautious for the interests of truth; that he manages the Court of Denmark with too much delicacy; and exposes, by distant and scarcely perceptible touches, that which it was his duty to have brought out boldly, and strongly. The most disagreeable circumstance in the style of the book is, the author's compliance with that irresistible avidity of his countrymen to declaim upon common-place subjects. He goes on, mingling bucolic details, and sentimental effusions, melting, and measuring, crying, and calculating, in a manner which is very bad if it is poetry, and worse if it is prose. In speaking of the mode of cultivating potatoes, he cannot avoid calling the potato *a modest vegetable*; and when he comes to the

exportation of horses from the dutchy of Holstein, we learn that 'these animals are dragged from the bosom of their peaceable and modest country, to hear, in foreign regions, the sound of the warlike trumpet; to carry the combatant amid the hostile ranks; to increase the eclat of some pompous procession; or drag, in a gilded car, some favourite of fortune.'

We are sorry to be compelled to notice these untimely effusions, especially as they may lead to a suspicion of the fidelity of the work; of which fidelity, from actual examination of many of the authorities referred to, we have not the most remote doubt. Mr Catteau is to be depended upon, as securely as any writer, going over such various and extensive ground, can ever be depended upon. He is occasionally guilty of some trifling inaccuracies; but, what he advances, is commonly derived from the most indisputable authorities: and he has condensed together, a mass of information, which will render his book the most accessible and valuable road of knowledge, to those who are desirous of making any researches respecting the kingdom of Denmark.

Denmark, since the days of piracy, has hardly been heard of out of the Baltic. Margaret, by the union of Calmar, laid the foundation of a monarchy, which (could it have been preserved by hands as strong as those which created it) would have exercised a powerful influence upon the destinies of Europe, and have strangled, perhaps, in the cradle, the infant force of Russia. Denmark, reduced to her ancient bounds by the patriotism and talents of Gustavus Vasa, has never since been able to emerge into notice by her own natural resources, or the genius of her ministers and her monarchs. During that period, Sweden has more than once threatened to give laws to Europe; and, headed by Charles and Gustavus, has broken out into chivalrous enterprizes, with an heroic valour, which merited wiser objects, and greater ultimate success. The spirit of the Danish nation has, for the last two or three centuries, been as little carried to literature or to science, as to war. They have written as little as they have done. With the exception of Tycho Brahe, and a volume of shells, there is hardly a Danish book, or a Danish writer, known five miles from the Great Belt. It is not sufficient to say, that there are many authors read and admired in Denmark: there are none that have passed the Sound; none that have had energy enough to force themselves into the circulation of Europe, to extort universal admiration, and live without the aid of municipal praise, and local approbation. From the period, however, of the first of the Bernstorffs, Denmark has made a great spring, and has advanced more within the last twenty or thirty years, than for the three

three preceding centuries. The peasants are now emancipated; the laws of commerce, foreign and interior, are simplified, and expanded; the transport of corn and cattle is made free; a considerable degree of liberty is granted to the press; and slavery is to cease this very year in their West Indian possessions. If Ernest Bernstorff was the author of some less commendable measures, they are to be attributed more to the times, than to the defects of his understanding, or of his heart. To this great minister succeeded the favourite Struensee, and to him Ove Guldberg: the first with views of improvement, not destitute of liberality or genius, but little guided by judgement, or marked by moderation; the latter, devoid of that energy and firmness which were necessary to execute the good he intended. In 1788, when the King became incapable of business, and the Crown prince assumed the government, Count Andrew Bernstorff, nephew of Ernest, was called to the ministry; and, while some nations were shrinking from the very name of innovation, and others overturning every establishment, and violating every principle, Bernstorff steadily pursued, and ultimately effected, the gradual, and bloodless amelioration of his country. His name will ever form a splendid epoch in the history of Denmark. The spirit of œconomical research and improvement which emanated from him, still remains; while the personal character of the Prince of Denmark, and the zeal with which he seconded the projects of his favourite minister, seem to afford a guarantee for the continuation of the same system of administration.

In his analysis of the present state of Denmark, Mr Catteau, after a slight historical sketch of that country, divides his subject into sixteen sections.

1. Geographical and physical qualities of the Danish territory:
2. Form of government:
3. Administration:
4. Institutions relative to government and administration:
5. Civil and criminal laws, and judiciary institutions:
6. Military system, land army, and marine:
7. Finance:
8. Population:
9. Productive industry, comprehending agriculture, the fisheries, and the extraction of mineral substances:
10. Manufacturing industry:
11. Commerce, interior and exterior, including the state of the great roads, the canals of navigation, the maritime insurances, the bank, &c. &c.:
12. Establishments of charity and public utility:
13. Religion:
14. Education:
15. Language, character, manners, and customs:
16. Sciences, and arts.—This division we shall follow.

From the southern limits of Holstein to the southern extremity of Norway, the Danish dominions extend to 300 miles \* in

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length,

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\* The mile alluded to here, and through the whole of the book, is the

length, and are, upon an average, from about 50 to 60 in breadth : the whole forms an area of about 8000 square miles. The western coast of Jutland, from Riba to Lemvig, is principally alluvial, and presents much greater advantages to the cultivator than he has yet drawn from it. The eastern coast is also extremely favourable to vegetation. A sandy and barren ridge stretching from north to south, between the two coasts, is unfavourable to every species of culture, and hardly capable of supporting the wild and stunted shrubs, which languish upon its surface. Towards the north, where the Jutland peninsula terminates in the Baltic, every thing assumes an aspect of barrenness and desolation. It is Arabia, without its sun or its verdant islands; but not without its tempests of sand, which sometimes overwhelm what little feeble agriculture they may encounter, and convert the habitual wretchedness of the Jutlander into severe and cruel misfortune. The Danish Government has attempted to remedy this evil, in some measure, by encouraging the cultivation of those kinds of shrubs which grow on the sea-shore, and by their roots give tenacity and aggregation to the sand. The *Elymus Arenaria*, though found to be the most useful for that purpose, is still inadequate to the prevention of the calamity. †

The Danish Isles—are of a green and pleasant aspect. The hills are turf'd up to the top, or covered with trees; the valleys animated by the passage of clear streams; and the whole strikingly contrasted with the savage sterility, or imposing grandeur, of the scenes on the opposite coast of Jutland. All the seas of Denmark are well stored with fish; and a vast number of deep friths and inlets, afford a cheap and valuable communication with the interior of the country.

The Danish rivers are neither numerous nor considerable. The climate, generally speaking, is moist, and subject to thick fogs, which almost obscure the horizon. Upon a mean of twenty-six years, it has rained for a hundred and thirty days every year, and thundered for thirteen. Their summer begins with June, and ends with September. A calm serene sky, and an atmosphere  
free

the Danish mile, 15 to a degree, or 4000 toises in round numbers: The ancient mile of Norway is much more considerable.—It may be as well to mention here, that the Danes reckon their money by rixdollars, marks, and schellings. A rixdollar contains 6 marks, and a mark 16 schellings. 20 schellings are equal to 1 livre; consequently, the pound Sterling is equal to 4 r. 4 m. 14 sch. or nearly 5 rixdollars.

† There is a Danish work, by Professor Viborg, upon those plants which grow in sand. It has been very actively distributed in Jutland by the Danish Administration, and might be of considerable service in Norfolk, and other parts of Great Britain.

free from vapours, is very rarely the lot of the inhabitants of Denmark: but the humidity with which the air is impregnated is highly favourable to vegetation; and all kinds of corn and grafs are cultivated there with great fuccels. To the fouth of Denmark, are the countries of Slefwick and Holftain. Nature has divided thefe countries into two parts; the one of which is called *Geeftland*, the other *Marfchland*. Geeftland is the elevated ground, fituated along the Baltic. The foil refembles that of Denmark. The divifion of Marfchland forms a band or ftripe, which extends from the Elbe to the frontiers of Jutland, an *alluvium* gained and preferved from the fea, by a labour, which, though vigilant and fevere, is repaid by the moft ample profits. The fea, however, in all thefe alluvial countries, feldom forgets his original rights. Marfchland, in the midft of all its tranquillity, fat, and filence, was invaded by this element in the year 1634, with the lofs of whole villages, many thoufands of horned cattle, and 1500 human beings.

Nature is as grand and wild in Norway, as ſhe is productive in Marfchland. Cataracts amid the dark pines; the eternal ſnow of the mountains; ſeas that bid adieu to the land, and ftretch out to the end of the world; an endlefs fucceſſion of the great and the terrible, leave the eye and the mind without refofe. The climate of Norway is extremely favourable to the longevity of the human race, and fufficiently fo to the life of many animals domefticated by man. The horſes are of a good breed; the horned cattle excellent, though ſmall. Crops of grain are extremely precarious, and often perith before they come to maturity. \*

In 1660, the very year in which this happier country was laying the foundations of rational liberty, by the wife reſtrictions impoſed upon its returning Monarch, the people of Denmark, by a ſolemn aft, ſurrendered their natural rights into the hands of their Sovereign, endowed him with abſolute power, and, in expreſs words, declared him, for all his political afts, accountable only to Him, to whom all kings and governors are accountable. This revolution, ſimilar to that effected by the king and people at Stockholm in 1772, was not a change from liberty, to ſlavery; but from a worſe ſort of ſlavery to a better; from the controul of an insolent and venal ſenate, to that of one man: it was a change, which ſimplified their degradation, and, by leſſening the number of their tyrants, put

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\* We ſhall take little notice of Iceland in this review, from the attention we mean to pay to that ſubject in the review of ' *Voyage en Iceland, fait par ordre de ſa Majeſté Danoïſe,* ' 5 vol. 1802.

their servitude more out of sight. There ceased immediately to be an arbitrary Monarch in every parish, and the distance of the oppressor, either operated as a diminution of the oppression, or was thought to do so. The same spirit, to be sure, which urged them to a victory over one evil, might have led them on a little farther to the subjugation of both; and they might have limited the King, by the same powers which enabled them to dissolve the senate. But Europe, at that period, knew no more of liberty, than of Galvanism; and the peasants of Denmark no more dreamt of becoming free, than the inhabitants of Paris do at this moment.

At present, Denmark is in theory one of the most arbitrary governments on the face of the earth. It has remained to ever since the revolution to which we have just alluded; in all which period, the Danes have not, by any important act of rebellion, evinced an impatience of their yoke, or any sense, that the enormous power delegated to their Monarchs, has been improperly exercised. In fact, the Danish government enjoys great reputation for its forbearance and mildness; and sanctifies, in a certain degree, its execrable constitution, by the moderation with which it is administered. We regret extremely, that Mr Catteau has given us, upon this curious subject of the Danish government, such a timid, and sterile dissertation. Many governments are despotic by law, which are not despotic in fact; not because they are restrained by their own moderation, but because, in spite of their theoretical omnipotence, they are compelled, in many important points, to respect either public opinion, or the opinion of other balancing powers, which, without the express recognition of law, have gradually sprung up in the state. Russia, and imperial Rome, had its prætorian guards. Turkey has its ulema. Public opinion almost always makes some exceptions to its blind and slavish submission; and, in bowing its neck to the foot of a Sultan, stipulates how hard he shall tread. The very fact of enjoying a mild government for a century and a half, must, in their own estimation, have given the Danes a sort of right to a mild government. Ancient possession is a good title in all cases; and the king of Denmark may have completely lost the power of doing many just and many unjust actions, from never having exercised it in particular instances. What he has not done for so long a period, he may not dare to do now; and he may in vain produce constitutional parchments, abrogated by the general feelings of those whom they were intended to controul. Instead of any information of this kind, the author of the *Tableau* has given us at full length the constitutional act of 1660, and has afforded us no other knowledge, than we could procure from the most vulgar histories; as if state pa-  
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pers were the best place to look for constitutions, and as if the rights of king and people were really adjusted, by the form and solemnity of covenants, and pacts; by oaths of allegiance, or oaths of coronation.

The King has his privy council, to which he names whom he pleases, with the exception of the heir apparent, and the princes of the blood, who sit there of right. It is customary also, that the heads of colleges should sit there. These colleges are the offices in which the various business of the State is carried on. The chancery of Denmark interprets all laws, which concern privileges in litigation, and the different degrees of authority belonging to various public bodies. It watches over the interests of church, and poor; issues patents, edicts, grants, letters of naturalization, legitimacy, and nobility. The archives of the State are also under its custody. The German chancery has the same powers and privileges in Sleswig and Holstein, which are fiefs of the empire. There is a college for foreign affairs; two colleges of finance; and a college of economy and commerce; which, divided into four parts, directs its attention to four objects: 1. Manufacturing industry: 2. Commerce. 3. Productions: 4. Possessions in the East Indies. All projects and speculations, relative to any of these objects, are referred to this college; and every encouragement given to the prosecution of such as it may chance to approve. There are two other colleges, which respectively manage the army and navy. The total number is nine.

The Court of Denmark is on a footing of great simplicity. The pomp introduced by Christian IV., who modelled his establishments after those of Louis XIV., has been laid aside, and a degree of economy adopted, much more congenial to the manners of the people, and the resources of the country. The hereditary nobility of Denmark may be divided into those of the ancient, those of the modern fiefs, and the personal nobility. The first class are only distinguished from the second, by the more extensive privileges annexed to their fiefs; as it has been the policy of the Court of Denmark, in later times, not to grant such immunities to the possessors of noble lands, as had been accorded to them at earlier periods. Both of these classes, however, derive their nobility from their estates, which are inalienable, and descend according to the laws of primogeniture. In the third class, nobility derives from the person, and not from the estate. To prevent the female noblesse from marrying beneath their rank, and to preserve the dignity of their order, nine or ten Protestant nunneries have been from time to time endowed, in each of which about twelve noble women are accommodated,



dated, who, not bound by any vow, find in these societies an economical and elegant retirement. The nobility of Norway have no fiefs. The nobility of Holstein and Sleswig derive their nobility from their fiefs, and are possessed of very extensive privileges. Every thing which concerns their common interests, is discussed in a convention held periodically in the town of Keil: during the vacancies of the convention, there is a permanent deputation resident in the same town. Interests so well watched by the nobles themselves, are necessarily respected by the Court of Denmark. The same institution of free nunneries for the female nobility, prevails in these provinces. Societies of this sort might perhaps be extended to other classes, and to other countries, with some utility. The only objection to a nunnery is, that those who change their mind, cannot change their situation. That a number of unmarried females should collect together into one mass, and subject themselves to some few rules of convenience, is a system which might afford great resources and accommodation to a number of helpless individuals, without proving injurious to the community; unless, indeed, any very timid statesman shall be alarmed at the progress of celibacy, and imagine that the increase and multiplication of the human race may become a mere antiquated habit.

The lowest courts in Denmark are composed of a judge, and a secretary, both chosen by the landed proprietors within the jurisdiction, but confirmed by the King, in whose name all their proceedings are carried on. These courts have their sessions once a week in Denmark, and are attended by four or five burgesses, or farmers, in the capacity of assessors, who occasionally give their advice upon subjects, of which their particular experience may entitle them to judge. From this jurisdiction there is appeal to a higher court, held every month in different places in Denmark, by judges paid by the Crown. The last appeal for Norway and Denmark is to the *Højeste Rett*, or supreme court fixed at Copenhagen, which is occupied for nine months in the year, and composed, half of noble, half of plebeian judges. This is the only tribunal in which the advocates plead *viva voce*; in all the others, litigation is carried on by writing. The King takes no cognizance of pecuniary suits determined by this court, but reserves to himself a revision of all its sentences which affect the life or honour of the subject. It has always been the policy of the court of Denmark, to render justice as cheap as possible. We should have been glad to have learnt from Mr Catteau, whether or not the cheapness of justice operates as an encouragement to litigation; and whether (which we believe is most commonly

monly the case), the quality of Danish justice is not in the ratio of the price. But this gentleman, as we have before remarked, is so taken up by the formal part of institutions, that he has neither leisure, nor inclination, to say much of their spirit. The Tribunal of Conciliation, established since 1795, is composed of the most intelligent and respectable men in the vicinage; and its sessions are private. It is competent to determine upon a great number of civil questions; and if both parties agree to the arrangement proposed by the court, its decree is registered, and has legal authority. If the parties cannot be brought to agreement by the amicable interference of the mediators, they are at full liberty to prosecute their suit in a court of justice. All the proceedings of the Tribunal of Conciliation are upon unstamped paper, and they cannot be protracted longer than fifteen days in the country, and eight days in the towns, unless both parties consent to a longer delay. The expences, which do not exceed three shillings, are not payable, but in case of reconciliation. During the three years preceding this institution, there came before the courts of law, 25,521 causes; and, for the three years following, 9,653, *making the astonishing difference of fifteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-three lawsuits.* The idea of this court was taken from the Dutch, among whom it likewise produced the most happy effects. And when we consider what an important point it is, that there should be time for disputants to cool; the strong probability there is, that four or five impartial men from the vicinage will take a right view of the case, and the reluctance that any man must feel to embark his reputation and property in opposition to their opinion, we cannot entertain a doubt of the beauty, and importance of the invention. It is hardly possible, that should be bad justice which satisfies both parties; and this species of mediation has no validity, but upon such condition. It is curious, too, to remark, how much the progress of rancour obstructs the natural sense of justice; it appears that plaintiff and defendant were *both* satisfied, in 15,868 causes: If all these causes had come on to a regular hearing, and the parties been inflamed, by the expence and publicity of the quarrel, we doubt if there would have been one single man out of the whole number who would have acknowledged that his cause was justly given against him. There are some provisions in the criminal law of Denmark, for the personal liberty of the subject, which cannot be of much importance, so long as the dispensing power is vested in the Crown: however, though they are not much, they are better than nothing; and have probably some effect in offences merely criminal, where the passions and interests of the governors do not interfere. Mr Catteau con-

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siders the law which admits the accused to bail, upon finding proper security, to be unjust, because the poor cannot avail themselves of it. But this is bad reasoning; for every country has a right to impose such restrictions and liens upon the accused, that they shall be forthcoming for trial; at the same time, those restrictions are not to be more severe than the necessity of the case requires. The primary and most obvious method of security is imprisonment. Whoever can point out any other mode of effecting the same object, less oppressive to himself, and as satisfactory to the justice of the country, has a right to require that it be adopted; whoever cannot, must remain in prison. It is a principle that should never be lost sight of, that an accused person is presumed to be innocent; and that no other vexation should be imposed upon him, than what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of future investigation. The imprisonment of a poor man, because he cannot find bail, is not a gratuitous vexation, but a necessary severity; justified only, because no other, nor milder mode of security can, in that particular instance, be produced.

Inquisitorial and penal torture is, in some instances, allowed by the laws of Denmark: The former, after having been abolished, was re-established in 1771. The corporations have been gradually and covertly attacked in Denmark, as they have been in Great Britain. The peasants, who had before been attached to the soil, were gradually enfranchised between 1788 and 1800; so that, on the first day of the latter year, there did not remain a single slave in the Danish dominions; or, to speak more correctly, slavery was equalized among all ranks of people. We need not descant on the immense importance of this revolution; and if Mr Catteau had been of the same opinion, we should have been spared two pages of very bad declamation; beginning, in the true French style, with 'oh toi,' and going on with what might be expected to follow such a beginning. The great mass of territorial proprietors in Denmark, are the signiors, possessing fiefs with very extensive privileges, and valuable exemptions from taxes. Many persons hold lands under these proprietors, with interests in the land of very different descriptions. There are some cultivators who possess freeholds; but the number of these is very inconsiderable. The greater number of farmers are what the French call *Metayers*, put in by the landlord, furnished with stock at his expence, and repaying him in product, labour, or any other manner agreed on in the contract. This is the first, or lowest stage of tenantry, and is the surest sign of a poor country. The feudal system never took root very  
deeply

deeply in Norway: the greater part of the lands are freehold, and cultivated by their owners. Those which are held under the few privileged fiefs, which still exist in Norway, are subjected to less galling conditions than farms of a similar tenure in Denmark.—Marriage is a mere civil contract among the privileged orders: The presence of a priest is necessary for its celebration among the lower orders. In every large town, there are two public tutors appointed, who, in conjunction with the Magistrates, watch over the interests of wards, at the same time that they occupy themselves with the care of the education of children within the limits of their jurisdiction.—Natural children are perhaps more favoured in Denmark, than in any other kingdom of Europe: They have half the portion which the law allots to legitimate children, and the whole, if there are no legitimate.—A very curious circumstance took place in the kingdom of Denmark, in the middle of the last century, relative to the infliction of capital punishments upon malefactors. They were attended from the prison to the place of execution, by priests, accompanied by a very numerous procession, singing psalms, &c. &c.: which ended, a long discourse was addressed by the priest to the culprit, who was hung as soon as he had heard it. This spectacle, and all the pious cares bestowed upon the criminals, so far seduced the imaginations of the common people, that many of them committed murder purposely to enjoy such inestimable advantages; and the government was positively obliged to make hanging dull, as well as deadly, before it ceased to be an object of popular ambition.

In 1796, the Danish land forces amounted to 74,654, of which 50,880 \* were militia. Amongst the troops on the Norway establishment, is a regiment of skaters. The pay of a Colonel in the Danish service, is about 1740 rixdollars *per annum*, with some perquisites; that of a private, 6 schellings a day. The entry into the Danish states from the German side, is naturally strong. The passage between Lubeck and Hamburgh, is only eight miles; and the country intersected by marshes, rivers, and lakes. The straits of the Baltic afford considerable security to the Danish isles; and there are very few points in which an army could penetrate through the Norway mountains to overrun that country. The principal fortresses of Denmark, are Copenhagen, Rendsbourg, Gluchstadt, and Frederickshall. In 1801, the Danish

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\* The militia is not embodied in regiments by itself, but divided among the various regiments of the line.

nish navy consisted of 3 ships of 80 guns, 12 of 74, 2 of 70, 3 of 64, and 2 of 60; 4 frigates of 40, 3 of 36, 3 of 24, and a number of small vessels; in all, 22 of the line, and 10 frigates. \*

The revenues of Denmark are derived from the interest of a capital formed by the sale of Crown lands; from a share in the tithes; from the rights of fishing and hunting let to farm; from licenses granted to the farmers to distil their own spirits; from the mint, post, turnpikes, lotteries, and the passage of the Sound. About the year 1750, the number of vessels which passed the Sound both ways, was annually from 4 to 5000: in 1752, the number of 6000 was considered as very extraordinary. They have increased since, in the following ratio:

1770	—	7,736
1777	—	9,047
1783	—	11,166
1790	—	9,734
1796	—	12,113
1800	—	9,048

In 1770, the Sound duties amounted to 459,890 rixdollars; and they have probably been increased since that period to about half a million. To these sources of revenue are to be added, a capitation-tax, a land-tax, a tax on rank, a tax on places, pensions, and the clergy. The stamps, customs, and excise, constituting a revenue of 7,270,172 rixdollars. † The following is a table of the expences of the Danish government:

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\* In 1791, the Swedish army amounted to 47,000 men, regulars and militia; their navy to not more than 16 ships of the line: Before the war, it was about equal to the Danish navy. The author of *Voyage de deux Français*, places the regular troops of Russia at 250,000 men, exclusive of guards and garrisons; and her navy, as it existed in 1791, at 30 frigates, and 50 sail of the line, of which 8 were of 110 guns. This is a brief picture of the forces of the Baltic powers.

† Upon the subject of the Danish revenues, see Toze's Introduction to Statistics, edited and improved by Heinze, 1799, tom. 11. From this work Mr Catteau has taken his information concerning the Danish revenues.—See also the 19th cap. vol. ii. of *Voyage de deux Français*, which is admirable for extent, and precision of information. In general, indeed, this work cannot be too much attended to by those who wish to become acquainted with the statistics of the north of Europe.

The court	-	-	-	R. 250,000
The minor branches of the Royal family				180,000
Civil servants	-	-	-	707,500
Secret-service money and pensions			-	231,000
Army	-	-	-	2,080,000
Navy	-	-	-	1,200,000
East Indian colonies		-	-	180,000
Bounties to commerce and manufactures				300,000
Annuities	-	-	-	27,000
Buildings and repairs		-	-	120,000
Interest of the public debt			-	1,100,000
Sinking fund	-	-	-	150,000
Total				R. 6,525,500

The state of the Danish debt does not appear to be well ascertained. *Voyage des deux Français* makes it amount to R. 13,654,046. Catteau seems to think it must have been above R. 20,000,000 at that period. The Danish government has had recourse to the usual expedient of issuing paper money. So easy a method of getting rich, has of course been abused; and the paper was, in the year 1790, at a discount of eight, nine, and ten *per cent.* There is, in general, a great want of specie in Denmark; for, though all the Sound duties are paid in gold and silver, the government is forced to export a considerable quantity of the precious metals, for the payment of its foreign debts and agents; and, in spite of the rigid prohibitions to the contrary, the Jews, who swarm at Copenhagen, export Danish ducats to a large value. The court of Denmark has no great credit out of its own dominions, and has always experienced a considerable difficulty in raising its loans in Switzerland, Genoa, and Holland, the usual markets it has resorted to for that purpose.

In the census taken in 1769, the return was as follows :

In Denmark	-	-	-	785,690
Norway	-	-	-	723,141
Iceland	-	-	-	46,201
Ferro Isles	-		-	4,754
Sleswig	-	-	-	243,605
Holstein	-	-	-	134,665
Oldenbourg and Delmenhurst			-	79,071
				2,017,127

This census was taken during the summer, a season in which great numbers of sailors are absent from their families; and as

it does not include the army, the total ought, perhaps, to be raised to 2,225,000. The present population of the Danish states, calculating from the tables of life and death, should be about two millions and a half; the census lately taken, has not yet been published. From registers kept for a number of years, it appears, that the number of marriages, were to the whole population, as 1 to 125; and the number of births to the whole population, were as 1 to 32 or 33; of deaths, as 1 to 38. In 1797, in the diocese of Vibourg, out of 8600 children, 80 were bastards: In the diocese of Fionia, 280 out of 1146. Out of 1356 dead in the first of these dioceses, 100 had attained the age of 80, and one of 100. In 1769, the population of the towns was 144,105; in 1787, it was 142,880: In the first of these years, the population of the country was 641,485; and in the latter, 667,165. The population of Copenhagen consisted, in the year 1799, of 42,142 males, and 41,476 females. The deaths exceed the births, says Mr Catteau; and, to prove it, he exhibits a table of deaths and births for six years. Upon calculating this table, however, it appears, that the sum of the births at Copenhagen, during that period, exceeds the sum of the deaths, by 491, or nearly 82 *per annum*; about  $\frac{1}{1660}$  of the whole population of the city. The whole kingdom increases  $\frac{1}{116}$ , or nearly  $\frac{1}{107}$  in a year\*. There is no city in Denmark Proper, except Copenhagen, which has a population of more than 5000 souls. The density of population, in Denmark Proper, is about 1300 to the square mile†. The proportion of births and deaths in the dutchies, is the same as in Denmark; that of marriages as 1 to 115. Altona, the second city in the Danish Dominions, has a population of 20,000. The density of population in Marschland is 6000 per square mile. The paucity of inhabitants in Norway, is not merely referable to the difficulties of subsistence, but to the administrative system established there, and to the bad state of its civil and economical laws. It has been more than once exposed to the horrors of famine, by the monopoly of the commerce of grain established there, from which, however, it has at length been delivered. The proportion of births to the living, is as 1 to 35; that of deaths to the living as 1 to 49‡. So that

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\* The average time in which old countries double their population, is stated by Adam Smith to be about 500 years.

† The same rule is used here as in p. 290.

‡ This proportion is a very remarkable proof of the longevity of the Norwegians.

that the whole Danish dominions increase, every year, by about  $\frac{1}{105}$ ; and Norway, which has the worst climate and soil, by about  $\frac{1}{11}$ ; exceeding the common increase, by nearly  $\frac{1}{108}$  of the whole population. Out of 26,197 persons who died in Denmark in 1799, there were 165 between 80 and 100; and out of 18,354 who died in Norway the same year, there were 208 individuals of the same advanced age. The country population is to the town population in the ratio of 13 to 137. In some parts of Nordland and Finmarken, the population is as low as 15 to the square mile.

Within the last twenty, or thirty years, the Danes have done a great deal for the improvement of their country. The peasants, as we have before mentioned, are freed from the soil. The greater part of the clerical, and much of the lay tithes are redeemed, and the *corvées* and other servile tenures begin to be commuted for money. A bank of credit is established at Copenhagen, for the loan of money to persons engaged in speculations of agriculture, and mining. The interest is 4 per cent., and the money is repaid by instalments in the course of from 21 to 28 years. In the course of 12 years, the bank has lent about three millions of rixdollars. The external, and domestic commerce of grain, is now placed upon the most liberal footing. The culture of potatoes (*ce fruit modeste*) has at length found its way into Denmark, after meeting with the same objections which it experienced, at its first introduction, from every nation in Europe. Hops are a good deal attended to in Fionia, though enough are not yet grown for the supply of the country. Tobacco is cultivated in the environs of Fredericia in Jutland, by the industrious descendants of a French colony planted there by Frederic IV. Very little hemp and flax is grown in the Danish dominions. They had veterinary schools, previous to the present establishment of them in Great Britain. Indeed, there was a greater necessity for them in Denmark; as no country in Europe has suffered so severely from diseases among its animals. The decay of the woods begins to be very perceptible; and great quantities, both for fuel and construction, are annually imported from the other countries bordering the Baltic. They have pit-coal; but, either from its inferior quality, or their little skill in working it, they are forced to purchase to a considerable amount from England. The Danes have been almost driven out of the herring market by the Swedes. Their principal export of this kind, is dried fish; though, at Altona, their fisheries are carried on with more appearance of enterprize than elsewhere. The districts of Hedemarken, Hodeland, Toten, and Romerige, are the parts of Norway most celebrated for the cultivation of grain, which



principally consists of oats. The distress in Norway is sometimes so great, that the inhabitants are compelled to make bread of various sorts of lichens, mingled with their grain. It has lately been discovered, that the *lichen rangiferus*, or rein-deers moss, is extremely well calculated for that purpose. The Norway fisheries bring to the amount of a million and a half of rixdollars annually into the country. The most remarkable mines in Norway are, the gold mines of Edsvold, the silver mines of Konigsberg, the copper mines of Ræraas, and the iron mines of Arendal and Kragerø, the cobalt mines of Fossun, and the black-lead mines of Englidal. The Court of Denmark is not yet cured of the folly of entering into commercial speculations on its own account. From the year 1769 to 1792, 78,000 rixdollars *per annum* have been lost on the Royal mines alone. Norway produces marble of different colours, very beautiful granites, mill, and whet-stones, and alum.

The principal manufactures of Denmark, are those of cloth, cotton printing, sugar refining, and porcelain; of which latter manufactures, carried on by the Crown, the patient proprietors hope that the profits may at some future period equal the expences. The manufactories for large and small arms are at Frederickwaerk and Elsinør; and, at the gates of Copenhagen, there has lately been erected a cotton spinning mill, upon the construction so well known in England. At Tondern, in Sleswig, there is a manufacture of lace; and very considerable glass manufactories in several parts of Norway. All the manufacturing arts have evidently travelled from Lubeck and Hamburgh: the greater part of the manufacturers are of German parentage; and vast numbers of manufacturing Germans are to be met with, not only in Denmark, but throughout Sweden and Russia.

The Holstein Canal, uniting the Baltic and the North Sea, is extremely favourable to the interior commerce of Denmark, by rendering unnecessary the long and dangerous voyage round the peninsula of Jutland. In the year 1785, there passed through this canal, 409 Danish, and 44 foreign ships. In the year 1798, 1086 Danish, and 1164 foreign. This canal is so advantageous, and the passage round Jutland so very bad, that goods, before the creation of the canal, were very often sent by land from Lubeck to Hamburgh. The amount of cargoes despatched from Copenhagen for Iceland, between the years 1764 and 1784, was 2,560,000 R.; that of the returns, 4,665,000 R. The commerce with the isles of Fœroe is quite inconsiderable. The exports from Greenland, in the year 1787, amounted to 168,475 R. its imports to 74,427. None of these possessions are suffered to trade with foreign nations, but through the intervention of the  
mother

mother country. The cargoes despatched to the Danish West Indies, consist of all sorts of provisions, of iron, of copper, of various Danish manufactures, and of some East India goods. The returns are made in sugar, rum, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and coffee. There are about 75 vessels employed in this commerce, from the burthen of 40 to 200 tons.

If the slave trade, in pursuance of the laws to that effect, ceases in the Danish colonies, the establishments on the coast of Africa will become rather a burthen than a profit. What measures have been taken to ensure the abolition, and whether or not the philanthropy of the mother country is likely to be defeated by the interested views of the colonists, are delicate points, which Mr Catteau, who often seems to think more of himself than of his reader, passes over with his usual timidity, and caution. The present year is the period at which all farther importation of negroes ought to cease; and, if this wise and noble law be really carried into execution, the Danes will enjoy the glory of having been the first to erase this foulest blot in the morality of Europe, and to abolish a wicked and absurd traffic, which purchases its luxuries at the price of impending massacre, and present oppression. Deferred revenge is always put out to compound interest, and exacts its dues with more than judaical rigour. The Africans have begun with the French:

—*Jam proximus ardet*  
*Ucalegn.*

Tea, rhubarb, and porcelain, are the principal articles brought from China. The factories in the East Indies, send home cotton cloths, silk, sugar, rice, pepper, ginger, indigo, opium, and arrack. Their most important East Indian settlement is Fredericksnager.\* Denmark, after having been long overshadowed by the active industry of the Hanseatic Towns, and embarrassed by its ignorance of the true principles of commerce, has at length established important commercial connexions with all the nations of Europe, and has regulated those connexions by very liberal and enlightened principles. The regulations for the Customs, published in 1791, are a very remarkable proof of this assertion. Every thing is there arranged upon the most just and simple

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principles;

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\* We should very willingly have gone through every branch of the Danish commerce, if we had not been apprehensive of extending this article too far. Mr Catteau gives no general tables of the Danish exports and imports. A German work places them, for the year 1768, as follows: Exports, 3,067,051 rixdollars; imports, 3,215,085. *Uf. Konden, per Gaispari.*

principles; and the whole code evinces the striking progress of mercantile knowledge in that country. In looking over the particulars of the Danish commerce, we were struck with the immense increase of their freightage during the wars of this country; a circumstance, which should certainly have rendered them rather less disposed to complain of the vexations imposed upon the neutral powers during such periods.\* In the first six months of the year 1796, 5032 lasts of Danish shipping were taken up by strangers, for American voyages only. The commercial tonnage of Denmark is put at about 85,000 lasts.

There appears to exist in the kingdom of Denmark, according to the account of Mr Catteau, a laudable spirit of religious toleration; such as, in some instances, we might copy, with great advantage, in this island. It is not, for instance, necessary in Denmark, that a man should be a Lutheran, before he can be the Mayor of a town; and, incredible as it may seem to some people, there are many officers and magistrates, who are found capable of civil trusts, though they do not take the Sacraments exactly in the forms prescribed by the established Church. There is no doubt, however, of the existence of this very extraordinary fact; and, if Mr Catteau's authority is called in question, we are ready to corroborate it by the testimony of more than one dozen German statistes. The Danish Church consists of 13 bishops, 227 archpriests, and 2462 priests. The principal part of the benefices are, in Norway, in the gift of the Crown. In some parts of Denmark, the proprietors of the privileged lands are the patrons; in other parts, the parishes. The revenues of the clergy, are from the same sources as our own clergy. The sum of the Church revenues is computed to be 1,391,895 rixdollars; which is little more than 500 for each clergyman. † The Court of Denmark is so liberal upon the subject of sectaries, that the whole Royal Family and the Bishop of Seland assisted at the worship of the Calvinists in 1789, when they celebrated, in the most public manner, the centenary of the foundation of their church. In spite of this tolerant spirit, it is computed that there are not more than 1800 Calvinists in the whole Danish dominions. At Christiansfeld, on the frontiers of Sleswig and Jutland, there is a colony of northern Quakers, or Hernhutes, of which Mr Catteau has given a very agreeable account. They appear to be characterised by the same neatness, order, industry, and absurdity, as their brethren in this country; taking

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\* To say nothing of the increased sale of Norway timber, out of 86,000 lasts exported from Norway, 1799, 76,000 came to Great Britain.

† The Jews, however, are still prohibited from entering the kingdom of Norway.

taking the utmost care of the sick and destitute, and thoroughly persuaded, that, by these good deeds, aided by long pockets, and slouched hats, they are acting up to the true spirit of the Gospel. The Greenlanders were converted to Christianity by a Norwegian priest, named John Egede. He was so eminently successful in the object of his mission, and contrived to make himself so very much beloved, that his memory is still held among them in the highest veneration; and they actually date their chronology from the year of his arrival, as we do ours from the birth of our Saviour.

There are, in the University of Copenhagen, seven professors of Theology, two of Civil law, two of Mathematics, one of Latin and Rhetoric, one of Greek, one of Oriental languages, one of History, five of Medicine, one of Agriculture, and one of Statistics. They enjoy a salary of from 1000 to 1500 rixdollars, and are well lodged in the University. The University of Copenhagen is extremely rich, and enjoys an income of 3,000,000 rixdollars. Even Mr Catteau admits that it has need of reform. In fact, the reputation of universities is almost always short-lived, or else it survives their merit. If they are endowed, professors become fat-witted, and never imagine that the arts and sciences are any thing else but incomes. If universities, slenderly endowed, are rendered famous, by the accidental concurrence of a few great teachers, the number of scholars attracted there by the reputation of the place, makes the situation of a professor worth intriguing for. The learned pate is not fond of ducking to the golden fool. He who has the best talents for getting the office, has most commonly the least for filling it; and men are made moral and mathematical teachers, by the same trick and filthiness, that they are made tidewaiters, and clerks of the kitchen.

The number of students in the University of Copenhagen is about 700: They come not only from Denmark; but from Norway and Iceland: The latter are distinguished as well for the regularity of their manners, as for the intensity of their application; the instruments of which application are furnished to them by a library, containing 60,000 volumes. The Danes have primary schools established in the towns; but which have need of much reform, before they can answer all the beneficial ends of such an institution. We should have been happy to have learned from Mr Catteau, the degree of information diffused among the lower orders in the Danish dominions; but upon this subject he is silent. In the University of Keil there is an institution for the instruction of schoolmasters; and, in the list of students in the same University, we were a good deal amused to find only one student dedicating himself to *Belles Lettres*.

The people of Holstein and Sleswick, are Dutch, in their manners, character, and appearance. Their language is in general the Low German; though the better sort of people in the towns begin to speak High German.\* In Jutland, and the Isles, the Danish language is spoken: within half a century this language has been cultivated with some attention: before that period, the Danish writers preferred to make use of the Latin or the German language. It is in the island of Fionia, that it is spoken with the greatest purity. The Danish character is not agreeable. It is marked by silence, phlegm, and reserve. A Dane is the excess and extravagance of a Dutchman; more breech'd, more ponderous, and more saturnine. He is not often a bad member of society, in the great points of morals; and seldom a good one, in the lighter requisites of manners. His understanding is alive only to the useful and the profitable: he never lives for what is merely gracious, courteous, and ornamental. His faculties seem to be drenched and slackened by the eternal fogs in which he resides: he is never alert, elastic, nor serene. His state of animal spirits is so low, that what in other countries would be deemed dejection; proceeding from casual misfortune, is the habitual tenor, and complexion of his mind. In all the operations of his understanding, he must have time. He is capable of undertaking great journies; but he travels only a foot pace, and never leaps nor runs. He loves arithmetic, better than lyric poetry; and affects Cocker, rather than Pindar. He is slow to speak of fountains, and amorous maidens; but can take a spell at porisms, as well as another; and will make profound and extensive combinations of thought, if you pay him for it, and do not insist that he shall either be brisk, or brief. There is something, on the contrary, extremely pleasing in the Norwegian style of character. The Norwegian expresses firmness and elevation, in all that he says and does. In comparison with the Danes, he has always been a free man; and you read his history in his looks. He is not apt, to be sure, to forgive his enemies; but he does not deserve any; for he is hospitable in the extreme, and prevents the needy in their wants. It is not possible for a writer of this country to speak ill of the Norwegians; for, of all strangers, the people of Norway love and admire the British the most. In reading Mr Catteau's account of the congealed and blighted Laplanders, we were struck with the infinite delight they must have in dying; the only circumstance in which they can enjoy any superiority over the rest of mankind;

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\* Mr Catteau's description of Helgoland is entertaining. In an island, containing a population of 2000, there is neither horse, cart, nor plough. We could not have imagined the possibility of such a fact in any part of Europe.

or which tends, in their instance, to verify the theory of the equality of human condition.

If we pass over Tycho Brahe, and the well known history of the Scaldes, of the chronicles of Isleif, Sæmundur, Hiinfrode, Snorro Sturleson, and other Icelandic worthies, the list of Danish literati will best prove that they have no literati at all. Are there twenty persons in Great Britain who have ever heard of Longomontanus, Nicholas Stenonis, Sperling, Laurenberg, Huitfeild, Grann, Holberg, Langebeck, Carstens, Suhm, Kofod Anger? or of the living Wad, Fabricius, Hanch, Tode, and Zæga? We do not deny merit to these various personages: many of them may be much admired by those who are more conversant in Danish literature than we can pretend to be: but they are certainly not names on which the learned fame of any country can be built very high. They have no classical celebrity and diffusion: they are not an universal language: they have not enlarged their original dominion, and become the authors of Europe, instead of the authors of Denmark. It would be loss of time to speak of the fine arts in Denmark: They hardly exist.

We have been compelled to pass over many parts of Mr Catteau's book, more precipitately than we could have wished; but we hope we have said, and exhibited enough of it, to satisfy the public that it is, upon the whole, a very valuable publication. The two great requisites for his undertaking, moderation and industry, we are convinced this gentleman possesses in an eminent degree. He represents every thing without prejudice; and he represents every thing authentically. The same cool and judicious disposition, which clears him from the spirit of party, makes him perhaps cautious in excess. We are convinced that every thing he says is true; but we have been sometimes induced to suspect, that we do not see the whole truth. After all, perhaps, he has told as much truth as he could do, compatibly with the opportunity of telling any. A person more disposed to touch upon critical and offensive subjects, might not have submitted as diligently to the investigation of truth, with which passion was not concerned. How few writers are, at the same time, laborious, impartial, and intrepid!

We cannot conclude this article, without expressing the high sense we entertain of the importance of such researches as those in which Mr Catteau has been engaged. They must form the basis of all interior regulations; and ought principally to influence the conduct of every country, in its relations towards foreign powers. As they contain the best estimate of the wealth and happiness of a people, they bring theory to the strictest test; and measure, better than all reasoning, the wisdom with which laws are made, and the

mildness with which they are administered. If such judicious, and elaborate surveys of the state of this, and other countries in Europe, had been made from time to time for the last two centuries, they would have quickened and matured the progress of knowledge in the art of governing, by throwing light on the spirit and tendency of laws; they would have checked the spirit of officious interference in legislation; have softened persecution, and expanded narrow conceptions of national policy. The happiness of a nation would have been proclaimed by the fulness of its garner, and the multitudes of its sheep and oxen; and rulers might sometimes have sacrificed their schemes of ambition, or their unfeeling splendour, at the detail of silent fields, empty harbours, and famished peasants,

ART. III. HOMERI CARMINA, cum brevi annotatione, accedunt variae Lectiones et Observationes veterum Grammaticorum, cum nostrae ætatis Critica, curante C. G. HEYNE. Lipsiæ, in Libraria Weidmannia: Londini, apud J. Payne et Mackinlay. 1802. Eight volumes in octavo. pp, 5900.

THE Iliad of Homer, one of the longest poems in existence, is here presented to the world with so ponderous a mass of commentary and criticism, that if the verses of the poet were uniformly distributed through the whole work, the quantity which each page would contain, would not greatly exceed two lines and a half.\* Considering how much the industry of verbal critics and grammarians is impaired in this age of frivolity, we were almost disposed to believe, that the intestines of Professor Heyné are not composed of ordinary materials, but of the same solid and weighty substance which was supposed to constitute those of his illustrious predecessor, Didymus of Alexandria, surnamed *Χαλκίντρος*. The labour in which he has been employed for near twenty years, although extremely useful to the literary world, and honourable to himself in its completion, is attended by so much fatigue in its progress, that we are inclined to censure Joseph Scaliger, who ought to have been better instructed, for considering lexicography as the lowest abyss of literary misery. We rejoiced, therefore, at being informed, that much of the drudgery of collating and compiling was removed from a man of real talents and learning, and sustained by persons whom nature had sent into the world with the qualities which are requisite for exploring the charnel-houses

\* The number of verses in the Iliad is 15,683; but a considerable deduction must be made on account of the frequent repetitions.

houses of Grecian literature; for wading through the muddy deposit of Alexandrian grammarians; and for perusing, with patience and attention, the numberless absurdities of the ancient philosophers and sophists, who, in compliance with fashion and vulgar prejudice, endeavour to fortify the doctrines of their respective schools, by the authority of the father of poetry, ethics, and theology.

Before we proceed to give an account of the work, we must deprecate the indignation of such of our readers as are not completely initiated into the mysteries of philology, and are not prepared to bestow the appellations of *most famous* and *most wise* on men whose names they have never heard, and who do not appear to have possessed any of the faculties of the mind, except memory, in an extraordinary degree of perfection. We request them to consider, that the individuals of a species derive their claims to excellence from a comparison with each other, and not with beings of a higher order. It is not our intention to compare the *immortal* Ruhnkenius with Bacon, or with Newton. We readily acknowledge him to have been an animal of an inferior class to that in which those eminent men were placed. But we must be permitted to maintain, that there exist human beings more despicable than even Ruhnkenius. When he is compared with Barnes and Vauvilliers, he becomes a hero; and we doubt whether ten professors can be found in the thirty-eight universities of Germany, who possess a larger share of good sense, a better taste in general literature, a deeper insight into the secrets of the moral and physical world, and a more profound and varied erudition. For these reasons, we hope that we shall be allowed to persist in conferring immortality on uncouth names with Latin terminations, with as little resistance as if they appertained to tragic poets or major-generals.

If we were at present disposed to support the expiring cause of classical erudition, we might probably be led to examine, whether there be not some very curious and entertaining branches of science, which have been much cultivated and improved within our own memory, and are greatly admired by fine gentlemen and ladies, as well as by grave professors, but which appear to depend as little on the exercise of our reasoning faculties, as disquisitions on the *form of Thericlean cups*, or the *value of Sicilian talents*. But our present business is with Homer and Professor Heyné.

After a very concise dedication to the tutelary genius of the university of Göttingen, whom we suppose to be the first Lord of the Hanoverian Treasury, the Professor relates the history, and explains the nature of his undertaking, in a preface of fifty pages, an abstract of which we shall present to our readers.

Besides



Besides the usual ingredients which compose, or ought to compose, every good edition of a classic author, the principal object of Professor Heyn  was to collect, digest, and exhibit, the substance of every thing valuable which has been written respecting Homer, from the remotest antiquity, until our own age. Those persons only are capable of estimating the quantity of labour necessary for the collection of the materials, and the judgment requisite to the proper selection and discrimination of them, who are aware how intimately the poetry of Homer is interwoven with every branch of Greek literature, and how small a portion of the criticism of the ancients deserves to be remembered and recorded. The Professor was perfectly sensible, that his own unassisted powers were inadequate to so great an undertaking, and that it was absolutely necessary to devolve a part of the labour on proper assistants. Before the year 1781, he had been invited by Reich, a bookseller of Leipzig, whom he styles *vir honestus* (for the etiquette of criticism never bestows a superlative on a bookseller) to superintend the republication of Clarke's edition improved by Ernesti, which had originally appeared twenty years years before, and was then become rare. Sensible of the defects of that edition, and of his own want of leisure to remedy them in a manner suitable to the improvements which had been made in Greek literature since the first publication of it, he declined the proposal which was made to him. However, the bookseller did not desist; and at length, by dint of arguments, promises, and entreaties, prevailed on him to submit to his will. In consequence of this arrangement, which took place in the year 1781, he engaged, in the capacity of an assistant, Samuel Frederick Nathaniel Morus, who was then Professor of the Greek and Latin languages in the University of Leipzig, and is probably known to some of our readers as the publisher of an edition of Xenophon's Hellenics. Professor Heyn  had hardly settled the terms of the compact, and agreed on a division of the labour, when his coadjutor was removed to the Professorship of Divinity. In consequence of this event, the scheme was relinquished entirely, until the year 1783, when the indefatigable midwife of the Muses engaged Beck, the editor of Euripides, to supply the place of Morus as the Professor's assistant.

After labouring nine years in the agreeable employment of collecting various readings, transcribing scholia, and hunting for quotations, Beck found that he could exert his industry to greater advantage in other pursuits; and, in the year 1792, Professor Heyn  was left to carry on the work by himself.

In this distressing situation, he was fully sensible of the justice of Virgil's complaint. *The descent into a printing-house, says the poet,*

poet, \* *is easy and inviting. The abode of sable fiends stands wide open, both day and night. But to return to the ordinary occupations of life, after finishing eight thick volumes in octavo, that is the labour and the difficulty.* Professor Heyné would gladly have resigned the Elysian prospects of fame and profit which were before his eyes, if he could have released himself from the solemn treaty which he had formed with the inexorable bookseller. However, although this was forbidden by the Fates, some circumstances had occurred, which preserved him from despair. Reich, the aforesaid bookseller, had procured from Breslaw the collation of six manuscripts, and had purchased some other *subsidia* from Matthæi, who had resided long at Moscow. In the year 1788, Villoison acquired *immortal glory* by publishing the Venetian manuscript of Homer, which is illustrated with ample and important scholia, the cream of Alexandrian erudition, and is adorned with all the diacritical marks of asterisks and obelisks, and *doubles nodding inwards and nodding outwards.* At the sight of these comfortable characters, the drooping spirits of the Professor were revived. He returned to his labour with new ardour, and began to look round him for ways and means of bringing the work to a conclusion.

By the interposition of Mr Burgess, and the authority of the Bishop of Durham, he had obtained the use of Bentley's copy of Homer, in which that sagacious critic had restored with his pen the long lost digamma. He received this invaluable treasure from Cambridge, in the month of February 1790. To this instance of munificence, '*most worthy of the generous souls of Britons,*' he ascribes the principal merit of his edition; and he declares, that as long as Homer is read and valued, so long will the '*singular generosity*' of the University of Cambridge, in permitting him to inspect the aforesaid printed copy of Homer, scribbled in the margin, be held up to the admiration of mankind.

One of the most ancient and valuable manuscripts of Homer which exist, is in the possession of our countryman Mr Townley. The Professor, aware of the usual spirit of collectors in this and most other countries, modestly applied for some information respecting it, and was agreeably surprised at receiving from the liberal proprietor the loan of the precious original.

We will not fatigue our readers by enumerating the other *subsidia* of this kind which the gratitude of Professor Heyné induces him to commemorate; nor will we endeavour to rescue from oblivion the names of those unhappy persons by whom the most laborious part of the work was executed. We regret that one of these

these subaltern artists was not employed at the conclusion of the work, in preparing an Index. The utility of the edition is very much diminished by the want of it. The Professor excuses himself, on account of impatience which he felt to appear before the tribunal of the public.

The quotations from Homer which are found in the ancient writers, afforded much fewer various readings of consequence, than some persons would suspect. From the time when Homer was garbled by the Alexandrian critics, the readings do not differ materially from those of our present copies. The most important varieties are preserved traditionally by the grammarians and scholiasts, and were unknown to the generality of readers. It is probable, that, in many instances, where the citations differed from the common readings, the transcribers have carefully obliterated the distinction.

At the time when the Professor first applied himself to the study of Homer, little attention was paid to that poet in Germany; and a writer of the highest importance to a man of taste and a philosopher, was regarded chiefly as a repository for obsolete words, and inexplicable anomalies of dialect. The edition of Clarke, with the improvements of Ernesti, was supposed to have attained the summit of perfection. It is not our intention to speak with disrespect of one of the most eminent of our countrymen; but we must be permitted to say, that Clarke wanted some of the requisites for the task, which he undertook (like his edition of Cæsar) as a piece of courtly servility; and that Barnes, although absurd and injudicious, has deserved much more of Homer than any editor, except him whose labours are now before us. The edition of Clarke, however, had the merit of appearing in an agreeable form; and the study of Homer was much promoted by it, both in England and in Germany. In the latter country, editions were gradually multiplied. The keen and scrutinizing spirit of inquiry, which had invaded the slumbers of sacred criticism with so much temerity and success, found an additional object in the most ancient of profane writers; and, from the comparison of these venerable sources of Christian and Heathen theology, the knowledge of each was cultivated and improved.

Among the circumstances which contributed to render Homer an object of attention to the learned men of Germany, the Professor enumerates the publication of Wood's Essay on Homer, which appeared in the year 1770, and of the histories of Greece by Gillies and Mitford. The business of exploring the manners of the uncivilized nations of the world, in which our own country has laboured with such eminent success, had also a considerable effect in turning the eyes of the philosopher towards the most circumstantial

cumstantial and genuine picture of savage manners which antiquity has transmitted to us.

The materials for the edition being thus collected, by the industry of inferior artists, it remains to examine what part of the labour was devolved on the master workman. The object of the Professor was, as we have already mentioned, to explain every passage which required, and was capable of receiving explanation, and to present to the reader, at one view, an account of all that former critics, both ancient and modern, had delivered worthy of being recorded, together with his own observations on their opinions. Much information, which had appeared new and curious twenty years before, was now become trite and vulgar. Nevertheless, he did not conceive himself justified, in omitting observations which could be of use to any reader; and although conciseness was his object, he was unwilling to refer to other books for instruction, on points more immediately connected with the object of his labours. For this reason, whatever he found in the former editions, worthy of notice, he transferred, in as few words as possible, into his own edition.

On the other hand, he conceived it to be unnecessary to adduce a cumbrous load of authorities, in support of truths, which no one doubts; to enumerate, with scrupulous accuracy, the authors and supporters of every petty correction or explanation, or to produce a laborious refutation of every improbable cavil or objection. He was not desirous of displaying an accumulation of superfluous erudition; nor is Homer, like Charito, a writer of such little importance, as to be made the sunk foundation of a heavy pile, which is intended to exhibit the whole of the editor's acquired knowledge, in the form of a verbose and tedious commentary.

The experience of the Professor, as a public teacher, had convinced him that learners are in general satisfied with understanding the general sense of a passage, in a language which they are not desirous of speaking or writing, and that they have seldom sufficient activity of mind to investigate thoroughly the order and connexion of the numbers of a sentence, and the meaning of each word separately. We will give the first example which occurs. In the second line of the Iliad, the epithet ὀλομένη is applied to the anger of Achilles, which forms the subject of the poem. ὀλομένη is a participle of the verb ὀλοῦμαι, which means, *to destroy*; and as the distinction of active and passive verbs is not quite so clearly marked in Greek, as in Latin, both teachers and learners are in general satisfied to translate this word *pernicious*, or *destroying*, which is a very proper epithet for the substantive to which it is joined. It requires, however, no extraordinary skill in Greek to know that ὀλίσθαι never means, *to destroy*, but always,

ways, to be destroyed. Consequently, *δαμνέει* cannot possibly mean, *that which destroys*. A little acquaintance with the practice of authors would show, that it means, *that which ought to be destroyed*, or, in one word, *caused*; and that it is frequently applied to objects of displeasure of every kind. Attentive to these considerations, the Professor has entered very minutely into the grammatical construction of all the difficult passages. He observes, with great truth, that the use of Latin versions is, of all causes, that which most favours the imperfect mode of understanding Greek, which generally prevails. The labour which he has bestowed on this point, forms a very prominent feature of his edition. Yet, on turning over Professor Heyne's Latin version, we were surprised at finding that it agrees very faithfully with that of Clarke and Ernesti; and even in his notes, we think that he sometimes receives the interpretations of Eustathius, and the other commentators, with more deference than they are entitled to. In the second book, Ulysses is despatched by Agamemnon, in order to induce the Greeks to relinquish the intention which they had lately formed of abandoning the siege, and returning to their own country. Homér, ever attentive to the discrimination of manners, describes the mode in which Ulysses accosted the different orders of men whom he met. When he found a man of rank and eminence, he addressed him civilly, with a compliment:

Δαίμονι, οὐ σὶ φοίκε, κακὸν ὥς, δειδίσσασθαι. v. 190.

Which line the Professor translates, *Vir optime, non te decet, timidum uti trepidare*. Now, we apprehend, that *δειδίσσασθαι* (in common Greek, *δειδιόσθαι*) means exactly the contrary to *trepidare*. It signifies, *to frighten, to cause fear in others*. Those who recollect the style of argument which Ulysses uses, a few lines afterwards, to the lower orders, will perhaps agree with us, in rendering this verse, *It does not become me to threaten a man of your rank, like a fellow of no consequence*.

In settling the text of his author, the Professor has followed the mode which is dictated by common sense, as well as by the 'immortal' Ernesti, and has estimated the authority of readings, not by the number, but by the value of the copies which support them. The library of the University of Göttingen is rich in editions, and the public and private character of the Professor opened to him the door of every other collection. Modern manuscripts he properly rejected, unless, on examination, he found them to be transcribed from ancient and valuable copies. We shall not enlarge on this part of his work, as his plan does not differ materially from that which is adopted by the generality of enlightened editors. The various readings which are found in the margin, or at the conclusion of the editions previous to that

of Barnes, are all taken from printed copies. Three manuscripts were collated by Barnes; and nothing of much consequence has been done since, until the present edition. For the labours of Aristarchus and Aristophanes, Professor Heyné appears to entertain a proper contempt; but, as it is probable that the writings of Homer were never critically edited in the flourishing days of Greece, all to which a modern editor can aspire, is to restore them to the same state in which they were exhibited in the School of Alexandria. Whatever alterations he has made in the text, which in general is copied from the first of Wolf's editions, are conspicuously noted in the margin.

The introduction of the Digamma was a matter of considerable uncertainty. To have replaced it in the text, would have been too bold an innovation, and would have demanded the restoration of the ancient orthography in all its parts. Moreover, it is far from certain to what words it ought to be annexed; and there are many verses where it is required, which cannot be induced to admit it by any means which modest and prudent critics think themselves justified in employing. The conjunction *ἰδὲ*, *and*, although it is omitted in the Professor's catalogue, and sometimes obliterated in his text \*, is a digammated word; and the remark is of some importance to an etymologist, as it proves that *ἰδὲ* is connected with the verb *εἶδεν*, originally written ΕΦΙΔΟΝ, and not with the synonymous conjunction *καὶ*. Yet, if we are to write *ΦΙΔΕ*, how are we to correct verses like the following?

Μισσηγὺς Σιμόντος ἰδὲ Ζάνθοιο ῥαῶν. Ζ. 4. †

If we are to read ΦΟΙ ΕΝΙ ΦΟΙΚΟΙ, what becomes of Hesiod's

Ἐτρέφετ' ἀττάλλων μέγα νήπιος ὃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ? ν. 131.

These instances (and some hundreds of similar passages may be found), do not subvert the general doctrine of the use of the Digamma; but they sufficiently prove, that the text of these ancient poets is too much corrupted and interpolated, to admit of an edition much more perfect than that which is now before us. We approve of the Professor's plan in this respect: he inserts the digammated words in their proper dress, in the space between the text and the short notes. In the execution of this design he is not quite so diligent and consistent as we should have expected. In v. 1. of the first book, he very properly writes, ΠΗΛΗΦΙΑΔΕΩ. The same principle should have induced him to write ΑΤΡΕΦΙΔΗΣ,

\* K. 573. *κνήμας* τι ἰδὲ λόφος. Prof. Heyné reads *κνήμας* τ' ἡδὲ λόφος.

† Professor Heyné's note offers two or three substitutes for this verse, one of which seems to have very good authority in its favour:

Μισσηγὺς ποτάμοιο Σπαμάνδρου (i. e. Καμάνδρου) καὶ Σιμόντος.

ΔΗΣ, vv. 7. 12. 15. ΒΑΣΙΛΗΕΙ, v. 9. ΝΗΦΑΣ, v. 12. etc. He writes αἰνεχόμεν, v. 598. instead of the Attic αἰνεχόμεν, and in the margin gives ΦΟΙΝΟΧΟΕΙ: yet he has suffered ἡνδαν, v. 24, to remain unaltered; and instead of ΠΑΝΔΑΝΕ, writes ΦΗΝΔΑΝΕ in the margin, as if the augment could affect a vowel intrenched behind the Digamma.

Under the text are inserted short notes, which appear to form a kind of paraphrase, or very diffuse argument. Two volumes are occupied by this part of the work. The third contains a Latin version, preceded by a catalogue of manuscripts and editions; and the remaining five comprehend the honey which the Professor and his working bees have extracted from the flowers of all the libraries in Europe. Notes of inordinate length are taken out of their places, and inserted at the end of the commentary on each book, under the appellation of *Excursus*.

The Professor concludes his preface by apologizing for errors and imperfections, which his constant employment, and the distance at which he lives from the place where the book was printed, rendered him unable to avoid. He is sensible that the edition can be valuable to those only who are desirous of studying Homer with more than usual attention; for which reason he meditates a smaller edition, with a selection of those notes which are best adapted to the use of ordinary readers. The title-page, as our readers have probably perceived, promises the whole works of Homer: but we have not observed any mention of the Professor's intentions respecting the *Odyssey*.

Our readers will possibly feel some curiosity respecting the Professor's opinions of the history and nature of the work which he has elucidated with so much labour and success. The five last *excursus*, which occupy eighty pages, and which may be entitled, not improperly, *the conclusion, in which nothing is concluded*, exhibit the substance of his investigation of this interesting and difficult subject.

Of the author or authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, nothing has been transmitted to us from high antiquity, although copious and circumstantial lives of Homer have been manufactured, in later times, by the ingenuity of sophists and grammarians. The authentic history of Homer contains nothing, except a very imperfect account of the fate of his writings. If we penetrate as far as we are able into the clouds of Grecian antiquity, we find them in the possession of the rhapsodists, a class of men which exists in every semi-barbarous nation, and whose profession consisted in reciting them for hire in public or private assemblies; from which circumstance they derived the name of ῥαψωδισταί. The rhapsodists were nearly superseded by the establishment of a regular drama,

drama, an institution much better calculated for the amusement of the populace. But, while they existed, it was obviously their interest to prevent the circulation of written copies of poems, the recital of which constituted the means of their support. The first mention of Homer which the Professor finds, is in Pindar; but he has neglected to observe two fragments of Simonides, the contemporary and rival of Pindar, one of which is quoted in the Anthology of Stobæus (p. 407. *ed. Grotii*), and the other by Athenæus, (p. 172. E.). In the former of these passages, Homer is called *Χῖος ἀνὴρ*, probably on the authority of the Hymn to Apollo, which is ascribed to him. It is in the same passage that his blindness is originally mentioned, (v. 172). Homer is adduced as historical evidence by Herodotus and Thucydides; and at the era of the Peloponnesian war, we find his writings as familiar to the Athenians, as Shakespeare is to ourselves. Before the birth of criticism, it appears that almost every ancient poem in which the fabulous history of Greece was commemorated, circulated with the stamp of Homer impressed upon it. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, probably more from their intrinsic merit than from any other evidence, either internal or external, at length overcame all opposition. The apocryphal books were rejected from the orthodox canon; and, after slumbering for some time on the shelves of antiquaries, were quietly consigned to oblivion. Yet the *Margites*, a work to which our *Hudibras* may be compared, maintained its reputation longer than most of its spurious brethren, and is quoted as genuine by Aristotle.

As we have not undertaken to write an essay on Homer, we shall content ourselves with presenting to our readers the opinions of Professor Heyné, some of which do not appear to us to be incontrovertible. He cannot persuade himself, that in an age in which writing was probably confined to incision on wooden planks, or blocks of stone, it was possible for one man to produce, from the stores of his own imagination, a poem so long and so perfectly well arranged as the *Iliad*. At whatever period the rhapsodies or separate members of the poem were composed, he is persuaded, and his opinion is by no means unsupported by traditional evidence, that the union and arrangement of them is the work of a later age. As the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are distinctly mentioned by Herodotus, that event must have taken place before the time of the Persian invasion. A very faint and obscure tradition ascribes to Lycurgus, whose history is almost as much involved in darkness as the subject of our present inquiries, the introduction of some of Homer's writings into Greece from Ionia, which is commonly supposed to have been their native country. Time, which always renders falsehood more circum-



stantial, improved this story so far, that Plutarch informs us, in the life of that lawgiver, that ‘happening to find a complete copy of the poet’s works at Samos, in the possession of the descendants of a man who had been his intimate friend, he transcribed it with great avidity, and sent it to Sparta, where, it seems, Homer was very little known; and imperfect copies of his writings were confined to a small number of possessors.’

Some centuries after Lycurgus, a practice was instituted at Athens by the tyrant Pisistratus, or by one of his sons, which tended to render the writings of Homer more familiar to the inhabitants of that city. At the festival called Panathenaea, at which the whole body of the Athenians was assembled, rhapsodists were appointed to recite them to the people, with the usual accompaniment of gesture and vociferation. As the lungs of a single person would have been inadequate to the task, a plurality of declaimers succeeded each other by turns, and possibly went through the whole. It is extremely probable that this institution was imitated from the practice of some neighbouring state. Be that as it may, Professor Heyn  is of opinion, that this story is the only foundation for the confident assertions of later writers, who ascribe the collection and arrangement of the *disiecta membra* of the Iliad to the tyrant Pisistratus. The Professor justly remarks, that a paucity of certain information, respecting any fact, is extremely favourable to the conjectural spirit of ingenious men. In whatever age or country Homer may have existed, he has bequeathed to posterity a collection of thirty thousand verses, and it does not require all the fancy of a Blackwell to extract from a mass so ample, as full and accurate an account of the author, as if his executors had prefixed his life to the subscription edition of his works. From this task the Professor withdraws himself with becoming diffidence; and as it is our duty to follow him, after a few observations we shall take leave of this part of the subject.

If we restrain ourselves from an unlimited use of conjecture, Professor Heyn  contends (in our opinion, with success), that there is no circumstance which can enable us to form any probable opinion respecting the age and country of Homer. Homer may have been a Boeotian, like Hesiod; or a Carian, like Herodotus. Nothing can be inferred from the use of a particular dialect by writers who are compelled, by custom or caprice, to lay aside the use of their native language, and compose in a foreign idiom. Homer has no claim to the title of an inventor. The songs of his * oioi*, of Phemius and Demodocus, exactly resemble his own epic; and the numberless allusions to almost every part of the heroic history of Greece, which his writings exhibit, sufficiently show that the Theban war, the achievements of Her-  
cules,

cules, and the domestic history of the Pelopidæ, were the subjects of poems which were popular at the time when he wrote. This circumstance may perhaps incline us to diminish his antiquity as much as we can, without bringing him too near to the later literature of Greece. In one of the fragments of Simonides, which we have already mentioned, he is joined to the lyric poet Stesichorus, \* in a manner from which the champions of his high antiquity must receive as much offence, as is afforded to the vehement supporters of the Papal supremacy, by the first law of Justinian's code, in which the haughty Damasus is exhibited arm in arm with Peter Bishop of Alexandria, '*a man of apostolical sanctity.*' Professor Heyn  is almost disposed to agree with Theopompus and Dodwell, in making Homer contemporary with Archilochus, who lived in the reign of Gyges, King of Lydia, between the twentieth and thirtieth Olympiads. On this point, we can say nothing. The Ionic of Archilochus, as far as we can judge from a few fragments, is very different in its texture from that of Homer, and contains no vestiges of the digamma. It is true, that the digamma was used about the time of Archilochus, by all the Dorian Greeks; certainly by Alcman, the oldest of their poets; and was retained long afterwards by the  olians of Lesbos. If the discovery were possible, it would be proper to inquire, at what period it was laid aside by the more polished Ionians. The natives of this part of Great Britain pronounce the *w* of *write*, and the *gh* of *right*, which, in London, have probably been confounded with *rite* for several centuries. The digamma is not used, as far as we know, by any Ionic writers, except Homer and Hesiod, and the impostors who assume their names. The use of the digamma proves the antiquity of those impositions. The authenticity of the more ancient Delphian oracles may be tried by this test.

We cannot forbear expressing a wish, that Professor Heyn  had presented us, in some part of his work, with an abstract of the authentic knowledge, which may be procured from the ancients respecting the history of Epic poetry in general. The Νόστροι, the  πὶ γονοι, the Κ πρια  π , the little Iliad of Lesches, are all the remote offspring of Homer; and an account of them would not be misplaced in so bulky an edition of his works. We are, however, persuaded, that he has abstained from this investigation, and from several others more immediately connected with Homer, on account of the ample discussions which have been produced respecting them, by that spirit of inquisitive scepticism, which is

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almost

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\* The age of Stesichorus is very uncertain; but, by every computation, he was considerably younger than Archilochus.

almost exclusively confined to the last hundred years, and prevails in Germany to an extent which it has not yet reached in this country.

The remaining *excursus* are for the most part employed in discussing questions of Homeric grammar, and do not appear to us to contain any thing particularly new or curious. We observe, that Professor Heyne is a member of that school, which supposes the variety of tenses which are exhibited in the grammar, and only in the grammar, to be the remains of different forms of the same verb. \* On this point, we differ from him in the most decided manner. We are persuaded, that forms which cannot be found, except in the works of etymologists, never existed. If we were disposed to indulge in conjecture respecting the primitive language of Greece, we might perhaps adduce the example of Hebrew and Arabic, in confirmation of an opinion which we have sometimes been tempted to entertain—that the modern second aorist is the original foundation on which the superstructure of many verbs has been erected. Whoever has examined this subject with any degree of attention, must have been struck by the great number of aorists, which have no corresponding present, and consequently are connected in common use with presents of a different form. Such are, ἔδικον (βείβω), ἔπορον (διδωμι), ἔτετμον (εὕρισκω), ἔφαγον (ἐσθίω), εἶλον (αἰρώ), εἶπον (λέγω, for ἐνέπω is of a family perfectly different), ἐπριάμην (ἀνοῦμαι), ἐπέφρον (κτείνω), with its passive ἐπεφάμην, which is commonly mistaken for a perfect, † and many others. In those verbs in which this  
primitive

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\* This spirit has proceeded to so great a length, that Professor Heyne in his note on ἔκμενον οὖρον (A. 479.) finds it necessary to suppose, that there originally existed such a form as ἔκμι. We recollect that Mr Abraham Adams expresses great contempt for such persons as are unable to conjugate verbs in μι. We doubt whether that profound Grecian, even with the assistance of his eldest son, would be able to decline ἔκμι.

† The reader must not suppose that this assertion is made without due consideration, because he finds πείραται and πείρανται in our present copies of Homer. As the aorist is frequently used instead of the perfect, not only by Homer, but also by the Attic poets, who lived in an age when the difference of the tenses was more accurately defined, the grammarians were induced to convert the *το* of these words into *ται*, by which alteration they not only improved the sense, as they imagined, but frequently avoided the necessity of lengthening a short syllable by poetic license. Accordingly, we find that other editors have followed their example. In the Persians of Æschylus (v. 930.), the present reading is ἐξίφθιται; which we will venture to change into ἐξίφθιτο. If there really existed such a perfect as ἐφθιμαι, the augment would be retained

primitive form of aorist appears to resemble the present, as λαμβάνω, ἔλαβον; πείθω, ἔπειθον; βαίω, ἔβην; it is generally more easy and natural to deduce the present from the aorist, than the aorist from the present. The common rules of etymology, which teach us to deduce complex forms from simple, should lead us to derive μανθάνω from ἔμαθον, rather than ἔμαθον from μανθάνω, or both from an imaginary form μῆθω. It would greatly facilitate the study of the Greek language, if these imaginary (the grammatical expression is *obsolete*) themes of verbs, and imaginary tenses of verbs which really exist, were entirely laid aside. Why is not the Greek verb, like the Latin, presented to school-boys in the form which the ancients used, freed from the needless perplexities of the Alexandrian grammarians?

The most curious, as well as the longest of the Professor's excursions, is that respecting the use of the digamma (Vol. VII. 708-772), in which he gives a list of the words in which he thinks that the fugitive F ought to be replaced. We have already said, that there is a much smaller portion of philosophical, historical, and antiquarian research in these volumes, than we should have expected from Professor Heyné. He seems to avoid the question respecting the existence of Troy, which has lately been debated with more acrimony than we think the subject deserves; and we suspect that he regards the classical remains which are said to exist in the Troad, with the same degree of conviction which an incredulous English traveller would extend to the fabulous topography of our Saviour's life and sufferings, which is so accurately delineated on the spot, by the Greek, Latin, and Armenian monks of Palestine.

We shall devote the remainder of this article to an abstract of Professor Heyné's Commentary on the First Book of the Iliad. We are afraid that many of our readers peruse our quarterly effusions 'principally for their amusement,' as Mr Smeat observes in the Critic. If we were disposed to encourage such unworthy

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practices,

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tained in the oblique modes, and the participle; of which there occurs no instance. We observe that Professor Heyné is not exempt from this error. In v. 448. of the second book, he has preferred the reading of Aristarchus, ἡρέθονται, to ἡρέθοντο, which is the common, and we have no doubt, the correct reading. An examination of the above passage, and of many others which resemble it, will tend to convince the reader that the aorist may be used for almost any tense, and that the grammarians of Alexandria were extremely unwilling to suppose that the Greek language had ever differed considerably from the dialect which was familiar to themselves. Our limits will not allow us to explain the criteria by which we think these obsolete aorists may be distinguished.

practices, perhaps we could cull entertainment for them out of a work which promises as little as that which we are now considering. Daniel Whitby, the antagonist of Mill, collected a very laughable miscellany, to which he gave the name '*De Interpretatione SS. Scriptura secundum Patres*.' The labours of Professor Heyné would enable us to compile a similar work, '*De interpretatione Homeri secundum Grammaticos Alexandrinos*.' But as it is by no means our object to amuse our readers, but rather, in imitation of Socrates, to make them wiser and better, we shall confine ourselves, as much as possible, to the consideration of adverbs and particles, beginning, as Aristotle says, from the beginning.

A. 1. ἀίδι. Protagoras the philosopher was very angry with Homer for unpolitely addressing a deity, particularly a female one, in the imperative mode. Such of our readers as have occasion to converse with the muses in Greek, will be careful to use the optative.

Ib. Ἀχιλλῆος. Professor Heyné is of opinion (we think justly), that the original orthography of this word, and others of the same kind (as Ὀδυσσεύς), was with one Α, and that the double letter was originally a poetical license. The poetical form of words has frequently, although not always, superseded the other, even in prose. If the parish register of Troy had not been destroyed, it would probably appear that the son of Anchises was baptized by the name of Αἰνίας; but as a short syllable cannot enter into an hexameter verse between two long ones, the poets changed his name to Αἰνείας, which the Romans have imitated in Aeneās. In Greek, however, the original form is retained where it can be employed. Clergymen who are curious in pronunciation ought to read Αἰνέας in the Acts of the Apostles.

2. ἄλγεα ἔηκε. So the Professor wishes to read, and so he has altered the common text in a great many places. See vv. 5. 15. 57. 162. 199. 251. 446. 464. 487. He prefers the omission of the augment to the elision of the last letter of the preceding word. We prefer the elision in general, and we have no doubt that anciently both words were written entire, as in Latin.

4. He writes δὲ ἐλάτεια, i. e. ΓΕΛΩΠΙΑ; and he remarks, that ἐλαγ is not derived from ἐλεῖν, *to take*, which is not digamated, but from εἰλεῖν, anciently FEIAEEN, *to roll*.

6. διαστήτην ἱρίσαντε. Some read διὰ στήτην ἱρίσαντο, *quarrelled about a woman*, στήτα being, it seems, a Doric word for γυνή.

8. ξυνίηκε. We wonder that Professor Heyné has not expelled ξὺν from Homer. It is so perfectly lawful to produce the last syllable of ἱρίδι before a simple Σ, that we think it needless to resort to such expedients as multiplying forms without necessity.

11. τὸν Χρύσην. Professor Heyné would be happy to correct all passages in which ὁ, ἡ, τὸ occurs in Homer, in any other sense than that of the demonstrative οὗτος, or the relative ὅς.

14. στίμματα ἔχον. The Professor reads στίμμα τ' ἔχον.

15. We observe a curious mistake, οἱ Δῶρες, instead of Δωριεῖς or Δωριεῖς.

20. The Professor writes λῦσαι τε and δεχισθαι in the infinitive, which is frequently used for the imperative by Homer, as well as by other writers. Τὰς διαπέρσαι, &c. Δ. 53.

26. κοιλῆσιν. The Ionic dative plural ought to be written without the subscribed I. The probable foundation for the common orthography, is the opinion of the grammarians who suppose it to be deflected from the common form, whereas the common form, which is much more modern, is manifestly derived from it. The dative of this form appears to have been retained in Attic prose longer than is generally supposed. Τῷς ταμίαις is twice found in an imperfect Attic inscription, engraved in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, (vol. ii. p. 15.) which is older than the Archonship of Euclides, Ol. XCIV. 2., as the double letters and long vowels are not used in it. This form was also used by the later Attics as a local adverb, as, Αθήνῃσι, Πλαταιῶσιν, Ὀλυμπιάσιν, Ἀλωπεκῆσι. These words, which occur often in inscriptions, are never written with the diphthong. Professor Heyné has not paid much attention to these *minutiae*, as we observe that he writes κρήνον, ἔξα, &c. We must, however, observe, in justice to the practice of the moderns, that some inscriptions are to be found, which demonstrate, if they are authentic, and correctly delineated, that in the purest ages of Greek literature, the same confusion prevailed on this point of orthography, which appears in the manuscripts of the tenth century. Our readers will recollect the famous inscription which commemorates the names of those who fell in the Cyprian war, which concluded the life of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, and in some other engagements which took place the same year. The history is succinctly related by Thucydides, (b. i. c. 104.). A specimen of the inscription, which is now preserved at Paris, may be seen in the Palæography of Montfaucon (p. 134.), and the names are copied at length by Maffei, in his *Gallie Antiquitates Schææ*, (p. 84.). The beginning is as follows: ΗΟΙΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΟΝ. ΕΝ ΚΥΠΡΟΙ. ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΙ. ΕΝ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΙ. ΕΝ ΑΛΙΕΥΣΙΝ. ΕΝ ΑΙΓΙΝΕΙ. ΜΕΓΑΡΟΣ. (Probably ΜΕΓΑΡΟΙ, the adverb, *at Megara*). ΕΝ ΤΟ ΑΙΤΟ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟ. If these last words be correctly represented, it is sufficiently clear, that the I of the dative singular was sometimes omitted, even before the æra of the Peloponnesian war. Could we, by any art, evade the ΕΝ, we might conceive the other words to be in the genitive case, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. With respect to the dative plural, we will lay before our readers another inscription, which may be found, in a very illegible state, in the collection of Chandler, (p. 54.). The inscription consists of forty-four lines. Each line contains eleven letters. For the convenience of such of our readers as are not conversant in these matters, we shall exhibit it in common characters, with spaces between the words. Each of our lines contains four lines of the original. The first sixty-seven letters we shall leave to the sagacity of abler antiquaries; and in the remainder, we have indulged some license of conjectural emendation.



the collation of manuscripts, and the opinion of ancient grammarians, can have no weight in deciding the dispute. He reads ἔτεσι, 150. 211; ἄλλοις, 295; ἡπάλησιν, 388; πρῆτε, 481; ἔθει, 483; εὔρον, 498; ὀφίλωσι, 510.

85. A scholiast remarks, "οἶσθα γωρεῖ τοῦ Σ," which the Professor does not seem to understand. The scholiast alludes to οἶσθας, which is not an unfrequent barbarism.

91. ἀριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ. For ἐνὶ στρατῷ Professor Heyné substitutes Ἀρχαίων in the text, which has the authority of Aristarchus, Aristophanes, Sositheus, and Zenodotus.

103. φρεν is the diaphragm, and ἑντος the liver. It is curious to observe how perfectly material an uncultivated language is.

ib. ἀμφιμέλαινα. Professor Heyné reads ἀμφὶ μέλαινα.

117. Although an example occurs five lines before, of the suppression of μάλλον before or after βούλουαι, none of the ancient critics were able to divine the meaning of this line; and Zenodotus boldly rejects it as spurious. Agamemnon declares, in a style very proper for a commander in chief, that 'he would rather the army should be saved than perish.' This patriotic sentiment is not unfrequently translated, 'I do not care whether the army be preserved or destroyed.'

129. Δῶσι or δῶσι? We prefer δῶσι, from the analogy of the second person: τίθης, τίθησι; λήγης, λήγισι.

133. ἢ ἐθέλεις. Most of the ancient editions read ἢ θέλεις, which last is not an Homeric word. See ver. 273.

149. ἀναιδείην. This word, and all others which resemble it in form, we believe to be barbarous, and that the proper orthography is ἀναιδῆν, ἀληθῆν, in which the penult is made long from necessity, as is frequently done in ἀεργῆν, and many similar words, which have no pretension to be written with the diphthong. (See ver. 205.) We do not hence infer that the Attic mode of forming substantives in -εια from adjectives in -ης, was known to Homer; and if it were, he would have written, as they did, ἀναιδείαν, with the last syllable short. Neither poet, however, nor the Ionic dialect, converts a short α in the end of a word into η. Μῆν, which is frequently found in our present editions of Herodotus, ought to be altered to μῆα. It is exactly such an Ionism as χειρῶν το γυναικῶν are Dorisms. Professor Heyné has not attended to this consideration.

153. Αἴτιος in Homer is ὑπὸ αἰτίαν κείμενος.

159. Τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι is τιμωρίαν εἰσπραττόμενοι.

164. Professor Heyné prefers εἰ ναιόμενοι to εὐναιόμενον, on which subject he has an *Excursus*. We differ from him, although not confidently, and we think that the participle has a tendency to combinations of this kind, even where the verb rejects them, as, εὐκτιμένος, δακρυχέων, καρηκομόωντες, νουνηχόντως.

168. ἐπὴν κακάμω and ἔπει κακάμω are both Greek; but we are surprised that Professor Heyné does not stigmatize ἐπὴν κακάμω as a gross barbarism.

170, 171. οὐδὲ σ' οἶω, &c. This desperate passage does not receive much new light from the Professor's animadversions. Whether we suppose  
ἀφύξειν



ἄριζεν to relate to Agamemnon or to Achilles, it is impossible to force the words into order, without violating the common laws of construction. The most probable solution of the difficulty is to read τ' for σ'. Compare δ' ὅρααι ἀνδρᾶ χολώσμεν, ver. 78. which the Professor persists in translating *puto virum iratum fore*, instead of *I think that I shall exasperate*, &c. We cannot allow σ' to stand for σοι.

171. ἀφένος. Is the Professor serious, when he records the etymology of this word, ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ, *the fruit of one year*?

187. ἴσον ἔμοι φασθαι. The Professor's interpretation is φάσθαι ἱκανὲν εἶναι ἴσον ἔμοι. If he, or any one else, supposes that φάσθαι is more capable of bearing this sense than φᾶναι, they are mistaken, as the two forms are perfectly synonymous.

191. For ἐναρξίζοι the Professor substitutes ἐναρίζοι, for good reasons, and on good authority.

193. On occasion of the interposition of Minerva to prevent Achilles from laying violent hands on Agamemnon, Professor Heyné remarks: 'Semel monendum est: quod nunc inter vulgo nota habetur, ante xx annos non æque: quicquid homines cogitant, suscipiunt, peragunt, ita ut concilii suscepti causa aut obvia non sit, aut ratio quomodo res gesta sit, vulgo non occurrat; id ad numen referri, quod id aut clam moneat, aut homines ad id impellat aut eos afflet, aut clam adjuvet rebusque agendis ipsum interfit.' We entreat the reader to observe the wonderful progress of philosophy within the last twenty years.

203. ἢ ἴα ὕβριν ἴδης. The Professor reads ἴδη, but the reading of Eustathius, ἴδη (for ἴδηαι), is certainly the best; and, as a general rule, we would always restore the uncontracted forms in Homer when it is possible. We would read μινατρέπει 160. ἀφαιρίεται 182. Πατρόκλης 336. ἔπει 504.

204. The Professor reads τελίσθαι instead of τετελίσθαι; and observes, that the readings of Aristarchus, Zenodotus, and the other grammarians, are in general nothing more than conjectural emendations, and consequently have no more authority than those of Bentley or himself. We acquiesce most perfectly in this opinion.

216. Professor Heyné observes, that Apollonius Rhodius uses σφωίτις, which is properly a dual, for σφέτερος. We consider the Ionisms (*rectius* Iasms) of Apollonius, and the Atticisms of Lucian, as far inferior in authority to the Latinity of Bembo or Erasmus.

244. This verse is considered as spurious by Bentley and Professor Heyné. One great part of the criticism of the ancients on Homer consisted in rejecting passages which they did not understand, or which did not suit their ideas of the poet or the poem. The boldest of these men seems to have been Zenodotus. In our account of the Professor's notes, we have taken no notice of their opinions, because we do not think that in general they deserve the smallest regard. One critic conceives it to be unsuitable to the gravity of Agamemnon to tell Chryses that he loves his daughter better than Clytæmnestra, his κορυιδὴ ἄλοχος. Another wishes to reject the scolding scene between the two heroes. A third does not approve of Minerva pulling Achilles by the hair. Professor

fessor Heyné has in general exhibited the sentiments of these ingenious critics very faithfully.

230. *ἔπει*. Professor Heyné reads *ἔπη*.

258. *περί—βουλήν*. The Professor has judiciously restored the accusative for the dative, on the authority of the Venetian manuscript. He compares N, 621. Od. A, 66. Σ, 247.

265. *Ἐπεία τ' Αἰγείδην*. This verse is wanting in some of the best manuscripts, and was probably interpolated by the vanity of the Athenians. As to the quantity of the last syllable, which Clarke suspects to be long, we must observe, that there is a perfect analogy between the genitive and accusative. Homer does not use *βασιλῆως*, consequently he did not use *βασιλεῖα*. In Attic prose, the long form only ought to be used: in verse, both are employed.

273. *ξύιον*. The Professor reads *ξύιειν*, for *ξύιέσαν*, which is the common form.

277. *μηδὲ σὺ, Πηλεΐδῃ, θέλ'*. As *θέλω* does not occur in Homer except in this line, wonderful pains have been taken to get rid of it. Professor Heyné cuts the knot, and reads *θέλ'* with the apostrophus.

278. The Professor suspects *ἔμμορε* to be an aorist: we believe it to be a perfect, for a very simple reason, which is, that *ε* or *ει* does not become *ο* in the aorist. If it were an aorist, it would probably be written *ἔμμαρε*.

283. *λίσσασθ'* *Ἀχιλλῆϊ*, &c. None of the ancients have commented on this verse, except Eustathius, whose explanation is received by Professor Heyné: *λιτανεύει τὸν βασιλῆα παύσασθαι τοῦ χόλου τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ*.

291. *προβίονσι*. We know not what to make of this word, but we cannot allow it to stand for *προτιβιάσι*.

294. *εἰ δὴ σοι πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι ὅττι κεν εἴποις*. 'In the first place,' says Bentley, 'Homer never says *ἔργον εἰπῆν*, but always *ἔπος εἰπῆν*. Secondly, *εἰκω* requires the digamma. Correct, therefore, *τι ἔπος ὑπείξομαι*.' Professor Heyné properly substitutes *εἴπῃς* for *εἴποις*, but declines giving an opinion on the other points.

296. *Σύμαιν', οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι σοι πείσασθαι οἶω*. This verse is rejected by Longinus, Bentley, and Professor Heyné, in his notes, who all put a stop after *μη γὰρ ἔμοιγος* in the preceding line.

298. *οὔτι*. Professor reads *οὔτοι*.

301. *ἀνελών*. The Professor reads *ἂν ἐλών*.

344. *μαχείοντο Ἀχαιοί*. In order to avoid this ugly *hiatus*, Barnes and Bentley both read *μαχείοντα*, with the approbation of Professor Heyné. We have no doubt that the real reading is *μαχείονταί* in the future. There is hardly any ancient form of speech which the transcribers have so diligently laboured to extirpate, as *ὅπως* followed by a future.

361. *ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ονόμαζι*. One of the ancients translates this phrase, which occurs so often, *Spoke verbs and nouns*. *ἔπος* is the same as *ῥῆμα*, a verb.

423. *ἔπ' Ὀκικάν*. The Professor reads *ἐς Ὀκικάν*.

424. *μυτὰ δαῖτα*. The Professor inserts *κατὰ δαῖτα* in his text, on what appears to us to be insufficient authority.

428. ἀπίβησται. We prefer the other form ἀπίβησται, and also ἐδύσται.

444. ἔφζ' ἱλασόμεσθα ἄνακτα. This reading, which admits the digamma, is at last received into the text, not only on the authority of Dawes and Bentley, but also on that of most of the manuscripts.

483. κέλευθα. The Professor reads κέλευθον.

489. Πηλῖος υἱός. We are surprised that Professor Heyné chooses to make a cæsus of the two last syllables of Πηλῖος, not having the fear of the digamma before his eyes, rather than to adopt Barnes's reading Πηλῆος, which requires the first syllable of υἱός to be shortened: a license, for which it is unnecessary to produce other authority than Δρύαντος υἱός. Z. 130.

491. The Professor observes that φθινύθω is synonymous both with φθείρω and φθείρομαι. Φθινύθω is the same as φθινω, which, in an active sense, has the future φθισω, and the aorist ἔφθισα. The passive future and aorist are φθισομαι and ἔφθιμην. We mention this circumstance, because learners who find a verb used indiscriminately in one of its tenses, sometimes suppose that it may be confounded in all of them. The verb καθίζω is used in the same manner by Attic writers.

513. Instead of ἤρπτε, which is an Attic form, the Professor restores εἶρπτε.

522. μή σε νοήσῃ. The Professor reads μή τι νοήσῃ.

533. Ζεὺς δὲ ἰὼν πρὸς δῆμα. The digammated form of ἰὼς was, as Professor Heyné remarks, ΕΦΟΣ rather than ΓΕΟΣ. Many words which appear to have had a digamma after the initial E, sometimes lose the E, in the same manner as ΕΦΟΣ becomes ΦΟΣ. Such are ΕΦΕΙΚΟΣΙ, ΕΦΕΡΓΩ, ΕΦΕΔΝΩ, ΕΦΕΛΔΩΡ, ΕΦΙΣΟΣ. In the present verse, he thinks that ΖΕΥΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝ is allowable. Perhaps, on the same principle, we may venture to correct ver. 18. Ἐκπέρσαι Περίμου πόλιν, εὖ δὲ ΦΟΙΚΑΔ' ἱκέσθαι. Bentley reads καὶ for εὖ δ', which is too violent an alteration. Professor Heyné wishes to substitute Ἀργος for οἱ καδ'.

543. νοήσεις. The Professor reads νοήσῃς.

549. Professor Heyné justly suspects ἔγων to be, in every part of Homer, an invention of the grammarians.

555. μή σε παρείπῃ. As παρείπῃ requires the digamma, Bentley boldly substitutes παρείλθῃ. Professor Heyné is of opinion, nobis reclamantibus, that, in compound words, the digamma may be dropped at pleasure.

566. μή νύ τοι οὐ χρεισμεσιν ὅσαι θεοὶ εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
ἄσπον ἰόνθ', ὅτε κέν τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἔφειν.

Professor Heyné remarks, that ἄσπον ἰέναι means to attack, and that consequently ἰόνθ' must be the accusative applied to Jupiter, and governed by χρεισμεσιν, which form he illustrates by γ, 296. οὐκ αὐτῷ χρεισμεσιν ὄλιθρον.

585. ἐν χειρί. The Professor reads ἐν χειρί.

608. ποίησιν ἰδυῖναι. Professor Heyné has restored the true reading for ποίησιν εἰδυῖναι, which does not admit the digamma. He also reads πάντα ἰδυῖναι γ. 366.

We shall not continue our researches any farther, as we presume our readers are sufficiently convinced how little advantage is to be derived, in an edition of Homer, from the most accurate and attentive examination of all the documents which at present exist. The great obstacle which stands in the way of the critic, in his attempts to restore these venerable remains to their original purity, is the absolute impossibility of distinguishing the parts which are interpolated from those which are genuine. We have already mentioned, that the criticisms of the Alexandrian grammarians, are much better calculated to mislead those who confide in them, or to amuse those who despise them, than to elucidate obscurities, or to detect impositions. In a lower and more humble style of criticism, much may be done, and much of what was possible has been executed by Professor Heyné. His work will, in a great measure, preclude the necessity of farther collations, from which nothing of consequence can be expected; and when the Greek language is better understood than it is at present, it will be resorted to as a rich repository of philological information.

We had almost forgotten to mention, that this book is printed on three different papers. The two best have the recommendation of being extremely dear, and of containing a great number of head and tail pieces, similar to those which adorn the Professor's edition of Virgil.

We shall now take our leave of this useful and valuable publication. Professor Heyné is, we believe, *septuagenario major*; but we do not despair of being called upon, in a short time, to give our opinion of his edition of the *Odyssey*. So much of the labour which is common to both poems, is anticipated in the *Iliad*, that the publication of the *Odyssey* will be attended by very little trouble. We regret that the situation in which Professor Heyné is placed, does not permit him to devote the whole of his time to pursuits for which he possesses so many qualifications. Literature, in Germany, is a trade, and a liberal education is considered as unnecessary to youths whose circumstances enable them to subsist without the exercise of a profession. For this reason, instances of men of learning, whose time is not occupied by the duty of public instruction, are much rarer in Germany than in England. In England, we have not derived from the labours of such persons, the advantages which we might have expected. Mental indolence is the faithful companion of wealth; and, in our own country, as well as in every other, the most meritorious exertions in literature have been made by those who were unable to devote to their favourite pursuits more than a few irregular hours stolen from the performance of duties on which their subsistence depended.

ART. IV. *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Syria, &c. and into Egypt.* By William Wittman, M. D. 1803. London. Phillips.

DR WITTMAN was sent abroad with the military mission to Turkey, towards the spring of 1799, and remained attached to it during its residence in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, its march through the desert, and its short operations in Egypt. The military mission, consisting of General Koehler, and some officers, and privates of the artillery and engineers, amounting in the whole to seventy, were assembled at Constantinople, June 1799, which they left in the same month of the following year, joined the Grand Vizier at Jaffa in July, and entered Egypt with the Turks in April 1801. After the military operations were concluded there, Dr Wittman returned home by Constantinople, Vienna, &c.

The travels are written in the shape of a journal, which begins, and concludes, with the events which we have just mentioned. It is obvious, that the route described by Dr Wittman is not new: He could make no cursory, and superficial observations upon the people whom he saw, or the countries through which he passed, with which the public are not already familiar. If his travels were to possess any merit at all, they were to derive that merit from accurate physical researches, from copious information on the state of medicine, surgery, and disease in Turkey; and, above all, perhaps from gratifying the rational curiosity which all inquiring minds must feel upon the nature of the plague, and the indication of cure. Dr Wittman, too, was passing over the same ground trodden by Bonaparte in his Syrian expedition, and had an ample opportunity of inquiring its probable object, and the probable success which (but for the heroic defence of Acre) might have attended it: he was on the theatre of Bonaparte's imputed crimes, as well as his notorious defeat; and might have brought us back, not an idle conjecture, but sound evidence, of events which must determine his character, who may determine our fate. We should have been happy also to have found in the travels of Dr Wittman, a full account of the tactics and manœuvres of the Turkish army; and this, it would not have been difficult to have obtained through the medium of his military companions. Such appear to us to be the subjects, from an able discussion of which, Dr Wittman might have derived considerable reputation, by gratifying the ardour of temporary curiosity, and adding to the stock of permanent knowledge.

Upon opening Dr Wittman's book, we turned, with a considerable degree of interest, to the subject of Jaffa; and, to do justice

justice to the Doctor, we shall quote all that he has said upon the subject of Bonaparte's conduct at this place.

' After a breach had been effected, the French troops stormed, and carried the place. It was probably owing to the obstinate defence made by the Turks, that the French Commander in Chief was induced to give orders for the horrid massacre which succeeded. Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants, who had surrendered, and who had, in vain, implored the mercy of their conquerors, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arish (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred) dragged out in cold blood, *four days after the French had obtained possession of Jaffa*, to the sand hills, about a league distant, in the way to Gaza, and there most inhumanly put to death. I have seen the skeletons of these unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the hills; a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilized. It would give pleasure to the author of this work, as well as to every liberal mind, to hear these facts contradicted on substantial evidence. Indeed, I am sorry to add, that the charge of cruelty against the French general does not rest here. It having been reported that, previously to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their Commander in Chief had ordered all the French sick at Jaffa to be poisoned. I was led to make the inquiry to which every one who should have visited the spot would naturally have been directed, respecting an act of such singular, and, it should seem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to state, not only that such a circumstance was positively asserted to have happened; but that, while in Egypt, an individual was pointed out to us, as having been the executioner of these diabolical commands.' p. 128.

Now, in this passage, Dr Wittman offers no other evidence whatever of the massacre, than that he had seen the skeletons scattered over the hills, and that the fact was universally believed. But how does Dr Wittman know what skeletons those were which he saw? An oriental camp, affected by the plague, leaves as many skeletons behind it as a massacre. And though the Turks bury their dead, the Doctor complains of the very little depth at which they are interred: so that jackals, high winds, and a sandy soil, might, with great facility, undo the work of Turkish sextons. Let any one read Dr Wittman's account of the camp near Jaffa, where the Turks remained so long in company with the military mission, and he will immediately perceive that a year after their departure, it might have been mistaken, with great ease, for the scene of a massacre. The spot which Dr Wittman saw, might have been the spot where a battle had been fought. In the turbulent state of Syria, and amidst the variety of its barbarous inhabitants, can it be imagined that every bloody battle, with its precise limits and circumscription, is accurately

ately committed to tradition, and faithfully reported to inquirers? Besides, why scattered among hills? If 5000 men were marched out to a convenient spot and massacred, their remains would be heaped up in a small space, a mountain of the murdered, a vast ridge of bones and rottenness: As the Doctor has described the bone scenery, it has much more the appearance of a battle and pursuit, than of a massacre. After all, this gentleman lay eight months under the walls of Jaffa; whence comes it he has given us no better evidence? Were 5000 men murdered in cold blood, by a division of the French army, a year before, and did no man remain in Jaffa, who said, I saw it done—I was present when they were marched out—I went the next day, and saw the scarcely dead bodies of the victims? If Dr Wittman received any such evidence, why did he not bring it forward? If he never inquired for such evidence, how is he qualified to write upon the subject? If he inquired for it, and could not find it, how is the fact credible?

This author cannot make the same excuse as Sir Robert Wilson, for the suppression of his evidence; as there could be no probability that Bonaparte would wreak his vengeance upon Soliman Aga, Mustapha Cawn, Sidi Mahomet, or any given Turks, upon whose positive evidence Dr Wittman might have rested his accusation. Two such wicked acts, as the poisoning and the massacre, have not been committed within the memory of man;—within the same memory, no such extraordinary person has appeared, as he who is said to have committed them; and yet, though their commission must have been public, no one has yet said, *Vidi ego*. The accusation still rests upon hearsay.

At the same time, widely disseminated as this accusation has been over Europe, it is extraordinary that it has not been contradicted in print; and though Sir Robert Wilson's book must have been read in France, that no officer of the division of Bon, has come forward in vindication of a criminal who could repay sedulity so well. General Andreossi, who was with the First Consul in Syria, treats the accusations as contemptible falsehoods. But though we are convinced he is a man of character, his evidence has certainly less weight, as he may have been speaking in the mask of diplomacy. As to the general circulation of the report, he must think much higher of the sagacity of multitudes than we do, who would convert this into a reason of belief. Whoever thinks it so easy to get at truth in the midst of passion, should read the various histories of the recent rebellion in Ireland; or he may, if he chooses, believe, with thousands of worthy Frenchmen, that the *infernale* was planned by Mr Pitt and

and Lord Melville. As for us, we will state what appears to us to be the truth, should it even chance to justify a man, in whose lifetime Europe can know neither happiness nor peace.

The story of the poisoning is given by Dr Wittman precisely in the same desultory manner as that of the massacre. 'An individual was pointed out to us as the executioner of these diabolical commands.' By how many persons was he pointed out as the executioner? by persons of what authority? and of what credibility? Was it asserted from personal knowledge, or merely from rumour? Whence comes it that such an agent, after the flight of his employer, was not driven away by the general indignation of the army? If Dr Wittman had combined this species of information with his stories, his conduct would have been more just, and his accusations would have carried greater weight. At present, when he who had the opportunity of telling us so much, has told us so little, we are rather less inclined to believe, than we were before. We do not say, these accusations are not true, but that Dr Wittman has not proved them to be true.

Dr Wittman did not see more than two cases of plague: he has given both of them at full length. The symptoms were, thirst, headache, vertigo, pains in the limbs, bilious vomitings, and painful tumors in the groins. The means of cure adopted were, to evacuate the primæ viæ; to give diluting and refreshing drinks; to expel the redundant bile by emetics; and to assuage the pain in the groin by fomentations and anodynes: Both cases proved fatal. In one of the cases, the friction with warm oil was tried in vain; but it was thought useful in the prevention of plague: The immediate effect produced was, to throw the person rubbed into a very copious perspiration. A patient in typhus, who was given over, recovered after this discipline was administered.

The boldness and enterprize of medical men, is quite as striking as the courage displayed in battle; and evinces how much the power of encountering danger depends upon habit. Many a military veteran would tremble to feed upon *pus*; to sleep in sheets running with water; or to draw up the breath of feverish patients. Dr White might not, perhaps, have marched up to a battery with great alacrity; but Dr White, in the year 1801, inoculated himself in the arms, with recent matter taken from the bubo of a pestiferous patient, and rubbed the same matter upon different parts of his body. With somewhat less of courage, and more of injustice, he wrapt his Arab servant in the bed of a person just dead of the plague. The Doctor died; and the Doctor's man (perhaps to prove his master's theory, that the plague was not contagious) ran away.—The bravery of our naval officers never produced any thing superior to this therapeutic heroism of the Doctor's.



Dr Wittman has a chapter, which he calls '*An Historical Journal of the Plague*;' but the information which it contains amounts to nothing at all. He confesses, that he has had no experience in the complaint; that he has no remedy to offer for its cure, and no theory for its cause. \* The treatment of the minor plague of Egypt, Ophthalmia, was precisely the method common in this country; and was generally attended with success, where the remedies were applied in time.

Nothing can be conceived more dreadful, than was the situation of the military mission in the Turkish camp; exposed to a mutinous Turkish soldiery, to infection, famine, and a scene of the most abominable filth and putrefaction; and this they endured, for a year and a half, with the patience of apostles of peace, rather than war. Their occupation was to teach diseased barbarians, who despised them; and thought it no small favour that they should be permitted to exist in their neighbourhood. They had to witness the cruelties of despotism, and the passions of armed and ignorant multitudes; and all this embellished with the fair probability of being swept off, in some grand engagement, by the superior tactics and activity of the enemy to whom the Turks were opposed. To the filth, irregularity, and tumult of a Turkish camp, as it appeared to the British officers in 1800, it is curious to oppose the picture of one drawn by Busbequius in the middle of the sixteenth century: '*Turcæ in proximis campis tendebant; cum vero in eo loco tribus mensibus vixerim, fuit mihi facultas videndorum ipsorum castrorum, et cognoscendæ aliqua ex parte disciplinæ: qua de re nisi pauca attingam, habeas fortasse quod me accuses. Sumpto habitu Christianis hominibus in illis locis usitato, cum uno aut altero comite quacunque vagabar ignotus: primum videbam summo ordine cujusque corporis milites suis locis distributos, et, quod vix credat, qui nostratis militiæ consuetudinem novit, summum erat ubique silentium, summa quies, rixa nulla, nullum cujusquam insolens factum: sed ne vox quidem aut vitulatio per lasciviam aut ebrietatem emissâ. Ad hæc summa mundities, nulla sterquilinia, nulla purgamenta, nihil quod oculos aut nares offenderet. Quicquid est hujusmodi, aut defodiunt Turcæ, aut procul à conspectu submovent. Sed nec ullas computationes aut convivia, nullum aleæ genus, magnum nostratis militiæ flagitium, videre erat: nulla lusoriarum chartarum, neque tesserarum damna norunt Turcæ.'* *Augeri Busbequii, Epist. 3. p. 187. Hanoviae 1622.* There is at present, in the Turkish army, a curious mixture of the severest despotism in the commander, and the most rebellious

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\* One fact, mentioned by Dr Wittman, appears to be curious;—that Constantinople was nearly free from plague during the interruption of its communication with Egypt.

rebellious insolence in the soldier. When the soldier misbehaves, the Vizier cuts his head off, and places it under his arm. When the soldier is dissatisfied with the Vizier, he fires ball through his tent, and admonishes him, by these messengers, to a more pleasant exercise of his authority. That such severe punishments should not confer a more powerful authority, and give birth to a better discipline, is less extraordinary, if we reflect, that we hear only that the punishments are severe, not that they are steady, and that they are just; for, if the Turkish soldiers were always punished with the same severity when they were in fault, and never but then, it is not in human nature to suppose, that the Turkish army would long remain in as contemptible a state as it now is. But the governed soon learn to distinguish between systematic energy, and the excesses of casual and capricious cruelty: the one awes them into submission, the other rouses them to revenge.

Dr Wittman, in his chapter on the Turkish army, attributes much of its degradation to the altered state of the corps of Janissaries; the original constitution of which corps was certainly both curious, and wise. The children of Christians, made prisoners in the predatory incursions of the Turks, or procured in any other manner, were exposed in the public markets of Constantinople. Any farmer or artificer was at liberty to take one into his service, contracting with government to produce him again when he should be wanted; and, in the mean time, to feed and clothe him, and to educate him to such works of labour as are calculated to strengthen the body. As the Janissaries were killed off, the government drew upon this stock of hardy orphans for its levies; who, instead of hanging upon weeping parents at their departure, came eagerly to the camp, as the situation which they had always been taught to look upon as the theatre of their future glory, and towards which, all their passions and affections had been bent, from their earliest years. Arrived at the camp, they received, at first, low pay, and performed menial offices for the little division of Janissaries to which they were attached: *‘Ad Gianizaros rescriptus, primo meret menstruo stipendio, paulo plus minus, unius ducati cum dimidio. Id enim militi novitio, et rudi satis esse censent. Sed tamen ne quid victus necessitati desit, cum ea decuria, in cujus contubernium adscitus est, gratis cibum capit, ea conditione, ut in culina reliquoque ministerio ei decuriæ serviat: usum armorum adeptus tyro, necdum tamen suis contubernalibus honore neque stipendio par, unam in sola virtute, se illis æquandi, spem habet: utpote si militiæ quæ prima se obtulerit, tale specimen sui dederit, ut dignus judicetur, qui tyrocinio exemptus, honoris gradu et stipendii magnitudine, reliquis Gianizaris par habeatur. Qua qui-*  
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dem spe plerique tyrones impulsî, multa præclare audent, et fortitudine cum veteranis certant.' *Busbequius De Re Mil. cont. Turc. Instit. Consilium.* \* The same author observes, that there was no rank or dignity in the Turkish army, to which a common Janissary might not arrive, by his courage or his capacity. This last is a most powerful motive to exertion, and is, perhaps, one leading cause of the superiority of the French arms. Antient governments promote, from numberless causes, which ought to have no concern with promotion: Revolutionary governments, and military despotisms, can make generals of persons who are fit for generals: to enable them to be unjust in all other instances, they are forced to be just in this. What, in fact, are the Sultan and Pachas of Paris, but Janissaries raised from the ranks? At present, the Janissaries are procured from the lowest of the people, and the spirit of the corps is evaporated. The low state of their armies is in some degree imputable to this; but the principal reason why the Turks are no longer as powerful as they were, is, that they are no longer enthusiasts, and that war is now become more a business of science, than of personal courage.

The person of the greatest abilities in the Turkish empire, is the Capitan Pacha; he has disciplined some ships and regiments in the European fashion, and would, if he were well seconded, bring about some important reforms in the Turkish empire. But what is become of all the reforms of the famous Gazi Hassan? The blaze of partial talents is soon extinguished. Never was there so great a prospect of improvement as that afforded by the exertions of this celebrated man, who, in spite of the ridicule thrown upon him by Baron de Tott, was such a man as the Turks cannot expect to see again, once in a century. He had the whole power of the Turkish empire at his disposal for fifteen years; and after repeated efforts to improve the army, abandoned the scheme, as totally impracticable. The celebrated Bonneval, in his time, and De Tott since, made the same attempt with the same success. They are not to be taught; and six months after his death, every thing the present Captain Pacha has done, will be immediately pulled to pieces. The present Grand Vizir is a man of no ability. There are some very entertaining instances of his gross ignorance cited in the 133d page of the travels. Upon the news being communicated to him, that the earth was round, he observed, that this could not be the case; for the people and the objects on the other side would, in that case, fall off: and

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\* This is a very spirited appeal to his countrymen on the tremendous power of the Turks; and, with the substitution of France for Turkey, is so applicable to the present times, that it might be spoken as a speech in Parliament with great effect.

and that the earth could not move round the sun; for, if so, a ship bound from Jaffa to Constantinople, instead of proceeding to the capital, would be carried to London, or elsewhere. We cannot end this article, without confessing, with great pleasure, the entertainment we have received from the work which occasions it. It is an excellent lounging book, full of pleasant details, never wearying by prolixity, or offending by presumption, and is apparently the production of a respectable, worthy man: So far we can conscientiously recommend it to the public; for any thing else,

*Non cuius homini contingit adire, &c. &c. &c.*

ART. V. *A Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Systems of Geology.* In Answer to the Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, by Professor Playfair. Edinburgh & London. 1802.

PROFESSOR PLAYFAIR'S book naturally called for an answer from some of the disciples of Werner. 'A comparative view' of the two theories, however, is by no means a proper title for this publication: it contains a violent attack upon the doctrines of Dr Hutton, and a very partial and zealous defence of the aqueous solution of minerals. As we have not yet had the good fortune of being converted to either system, we may boast at least of perfect impartiality in considering this controversy, though we are afraid that neither of the belligerent parties will be very ready to acknowledge the merit of our neutrality.

After a slight sketch of the leading characters of the two rival theories, the author proposes to compare them to each other: *First*, As to the probability of the general principles upon which they depend: And, *secondly*, As to the support which they derive respectively from the visible structure of the globe, and from the appearances which minerals actually exhibit. We do not propose to give a complete analysis of this investigation; and having, on a former occasion, delivered our sentiments at considerable length as to the theory of Dr Hutton, we shall here confine ourselves, in a good measure, to the positions of his antagonists—to the detection of those false reasonings in the work before us, that are made the basis either of unjust objections to that theory, or of unjust encomiums on the other.

We may begin, therefore, with remarking, that, in contrasting the Huttonian and Neptunian theories, it appears to us not to be quite fair to urge any objection against the former, that does not apply strictly to the hypothesis of the igneous fusion and consolidation of minerals. The advocates of that theory have, indeed, ~~taken~~ a much wider range; and have advanced many very que-

tionable positions, as to the constant agency of their internal heat, and the great and eternal circle of destruction and renovation in which they have supposed the materials of the universe to revolve. But with the errors or defects that may be found in this part of the system, the Neptunist, we conceive, is not entitled to reproach them, since his own theory gives no explanation whatever of those difficulties, which they have at least attempted to resolve. The Neptunist professes to explain the present condition of the world, by the supposition of a previous dissolution in water; but he neither tells us what was its state before this great dissolution was accomplished, nor ventures to provide for the reparation of its apparent decay: his theory reaches neither to the past, nor the future; it accounts for present appearances only; and therefore cannot enter at all into competition, or comparison, with any system that carries its conjectures beyond the beginning and the end of the world. The Neptunian theory alleges, merely, that all the solid materials of the world have been formerly dissolved in water. The Huttonian alleges, that they have been melted, or softened by heat. This is their proper point of contrast, and of comparison: for, as the one goes no farther, it cannot be compared with what is beyond it in the other. The Huttonian may be wrong in all his ideas of the reproduction of continents, and the succession of strata; and he may yet be right in his hypothesis of the igneous origin of all existing minerals. It is upon that hypothesis alone, however, that the Neptunist has any right to contend with him; and, in estimating the comparative merits of this theory, we would lay every thing out of view, to which no counterpart could be found in the other. A good deal of the argument in this volume might have been spared, by attending to this distinction.

The author's first great attack, however, is directed against the supposition of a constant internal heat, of such intensity as to effect all the wonders we behold. This supposition, he contends, is not only extremely improbable and extravagant, but actually involves such contradictions and absurdities, as 'to afford a direct demonstration of the falsity of the Huttonian hypothesis.' In support of this very decided language, we have a formidable enumeration of the common objections, as to the possibility of maintaining a constant heat in such a situation; and some terrifying calculations, as to the enormous intensity of it, that would be required to concoct such a world as we inhabit. The demonstrative part of the argument, however, comes afterwards; it is but fair to the author, to lay it before our readers in his own words.

'It is an invariable and essential property of heat, to diffuse itself over space till an equilibrium of temperature is established; and where there

is any solid matter, as the medium of diffusion, its distribution is more rapid. If an intense heat has always existed at the central parts of the globe, this heat must diffuse itself towards the circumference, and the diffusion of it must continue till the whole arrive at a common temperature. The arrangement, therefore, contrived in the Huttonian system for the successive renewal of the habitable part of the globe, and repairing the waste to which it is subjected, is inherently defective. It is always becoming less fit to produce its effects, as the heat at the centre must always be diminishing; and it must come at length to be subverted, by the temperature being rendered uniform over the whole.' p. 50, 51.

And afterwards—

'Heat, it is sufficiently known, is propagated through dense bodies with considerable celerity. If a central fire, therefore, of the greatest intensity, exist, the heat must be propagated through the substance of the earth towards its surface; and this propagation ought to be such, that, even in that period of time of which we have authentic records, its effects ought to have been apparent. Yet we have no reason to believe, that there is any change in the medium temperature of the globe. The climate of particular countries may be altered, from cultivation, or other local circumstances; but no important general alteration appears to have taken place: if it had, its effects must have been conspicuous, by symptoms, too well marked, not to indicate their cause. Nay, no change of this kind appears to have happened for a much longer period than that which man has ascertained. It may be affirmed, that the temperature which at present prevails, is that necessary for vegetation, animal life, and, in general, for all the operations of nature; nor could a habitable world like ours, have existed with a medium temperature many degrees inferior to that which now prevails. The heat at the surface, therefore, must have always been nearly the same; and, though a central heat has been existing, according to the Huttonian theory, for that immense succession of time, during which our world, and others preceding it, have existed, there has been no propagation of it through the substance of the earth. If we can rely on any deduction whatever from the knowledge we possess, we may rest assured, that a system involving such a supposition is false; nor would it be easy even to imagine any process of reasoning, by which its fallacy could be more clearly demonstrated.' p. 53. 54.

From these views, the author of the Comparative View is led to conclude, that

—'there is an accumulation of proof, which prejudice itself, we should be tempted to believe, could not resist; and which is more than sufficient to establish the conclusion, that whatever praise may be due to the Huttonian system as a splendid hypothesis, it has no claim to the more exalted rank of a just theory.' p. 57.

Now, the whole force of this argument depends, as it appears to us, upon assuming that as a part of the Huttonian hypothesis, which the Huttonians will never admit, viz. that there is, in the subterranean region, only a limited quantity of heat, which is cut off from the possibility of receiving any increment or supply. Upon this supposition, indeed, the intensity of the heat must be in a state of perpetual diminution; and it must necessarily come in time to be diffused pretty equally throughout the whole surrounding mass. But the Huttonians, we conceive, have never limited themselves to such a certain hoard or deposit of heat. They have proceeded upon the supposition of a perpetual fountain or source of it; and have invented a variety of hypotheses, which, though not very probable, are not 'demonstrably false,' to account for the phenomenon of its constant production in that particular situation. Now, we apprehend, that the demonstrative argument derived from the tendency of caloric to diffuse itself, loses much of its cogency when applied to this view of the case.

If quantities of heat be generated successively at a great depth under the surface, all the conditions of the Huttonian hypothesis will be fulfilled, without any of the absurd consequences that the author of the Comparative View has declared to be inseparable from it. If the heat, so generated, be enclosed among bodies through which heat is but slowly transmitted, it may plainly preserve its expansive activity for a very long time, without increasing the temperature of the surface of the earth. The heat of a pretty large furnace, raised to 200° of Wedgewood, is scarcely perceptible through two or three feet of ordinary masonry; and the surface of lava may often be walked upon with impunity, while the fluid matter is only covered with a crust a few inches in thickness. Still, however, it is no doubt true, that the enclosed heat will transpire, however slowly, and that the process will end by reducing the whole mass to the same temperature. But then it ought to be recollected, that the mass, here, is not the globe of the earth only, but the whole material universe; and the equalization of temperature is retarded indefinitely, partly by the immense extent of the sphere itself, and partly by the fact, that it contains within it various springs and sources of heat, in the neighbourhood of which the temperature must always be incomparably higher than in a more remote situation. From a central fountain, which is always full and overflowing, heat penetrates slowly, and in small quantities, towards the surface of the earth. In its diffusion over this increasing circumference, it must be gradually diminished in intensity; and what reaches the surface, is partly taken off by the atmosphere, and partly radiated towards the other

ther planetary bodies around it. There are two errors, then, in the argument of the author before us; since there is, according to the Huttonians, not a store or magazine only, but a spring and source of heat at the centre; and since the diffusion of this heat is not limited or stopped by the solid surface of the earth, but continues onwards, and is propagated to the air, and the remoter bodies in the heavens.

These considerations, however, one of which is assumed as a necessary condition of the theory, and the other is irresistibly suggested by fact and observation, seem to leave but little weight in the 'direct demonstration' which our author has announced in terms of such unlimited confidence. Heat, slowly permeating the substance of the earth, and oozing with difficulty through a mass of substances extremely ill adapted for its transmission, may be kept at an equable temperature at the surface, by a very moderate allowance for its dispersion into the space around it; and if this slow waste be supplied at the centre, from the same fountains that originally produced what has thus been expended, it is evident that the heat there will retain all its original intensity and activity, and be adequate to the accomplishment of all that such a principle can perform. Although the Huttonian hypothesis of heat, therefore, be liable to very weighty objections, we are not of opinion that this author has given 'a complete demonstration of its falsity, from the known laws of caloric.'

In such a science as geology, however, confidence is more excusable in the opponents, than in the advocates of a system; and in stating the evidence of the Neptunian theory, the author of the Comparative View has laid himself still more open to censure, than in attacking the principle of the Huttonians. It is the sum of the former theory, that all the mineral substances which this earth presents to us, have been formerly held in solution by water. To the great and obvious objection, that many of these substances are soluble so sparingly in that fluid, that it would require much more water than the whole globe could contain, to dissolve but a little part of them, the author of this volume has attempted to answer, first, by borrowing a large quantity of heat from his opponents, by the help of which, he says, the chaotic fluid *might* acquire qualities, 'the effects of which it is impossible to calculate;' and then by observing, that as all the substances with which we are now acquainted, and probably many more, were present in this imaginary fluid,

—'each substance would exert an attraction more or less efficacious to every other present, or, at least, according to the old chemical notion, it would exert attractions to many of them; and the effect which would result from these complicated attractions, it is impossible to estimate.

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The number of simple substances found in nature, and which must of course have been all present in this fluid, exceeds forty. Suppose the half of these to be in such small quantities as to be imperceptible in their action, still, from the numerous attractions of the others, *any imaginable effect might arise.* p. 78.

Of a theory that is founded upon such vague and extravagant assumptions, it seems unnecessary to propose any formal confutation: Yet nothing certainly was ever more remote from a scientific analogy, than that which is made the basis of the preceding argument. Though the solvent powers of water may, no doubt, be increased, by holding one or two particular substances in solution, yet it is certain that the addition of a foreign body to such a compound mixture, will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, occasion the *precipitation* of some of the substances that were previously held in solution. By the addition of an acid, for instance, water may become capable of dissolving the metals; but if we add an alkali to the solution, the metal will be immediately deposited. To suppose that all the mineral substances in the world will mutually act as solvents to each other, and exert their respective affinities, with such a nicely adjusted proportion of force, as to retain the whole in a state of complete solution, without the precipitation of a single particle, must be allowed to involve as much apparent absurdity and improbability, as ever exposed philosophy to the derision of the ignorant. In this primary operation of the liquefaction of mineral substances, we cannot help thinking, therefore, that the Huttonian theorists have somewhat the advantage of their antagonists. Give them heat enough, and they will undoubtedly be able to melt all the bodies in question: but the Neptunists, with a whole globe full of water, will never be able to dissolve the same substances, without the aid of the most gratuitous and improbable suppositions. Admitting, therefore, that the heat and the water were equally difficult to be met with, it is plain, that the one accomplishes its work much more easily and simply than the other. It may fairly be demanded of the Neptunist, also, in what way he accounts for the ultimate deposition and crystallization of the substances thus harmoniously dissolved in the water. As their affinities were so exactly balanced, they ought clearly to continue in solution for ever; and if he is obliged to recur to Divine interference on the occasion, it is just as allowable to suppose that the Creator formed the world originally, as we find it at this day, with all those equivocal and delusive marks of aqueous or igneous agency, by which our theorists have since been confounded. The Huttonian, however, has no occasion to extricate himself in this manner. From the first moment of creation, his two great processes would be set agoing: the winds

winds and the waters would crumble down the lofty places of the globe from without; and the central fire would consolidate and elevate the strata from within.

Upon the subject of *stratified* bodies, it might have been expected that the two theories would have agreed, since even the Huttonian admits, that they have received this peculiar arrangement by deposition from water. The Neptunians, however, will not accept of these terms of accommodation; for all the primary and highly inclined *strata*, they allege, have been separated from the water, not by deposition, but by crystallization; and the materials of all the rest have been consolidated, without the interposition of heat. Both these assertions, it appears to us, are attended with a good deal of difficulty. Regular stratification seems much more clearly to indicate a mechanical deposit, than any species of crystallization; and the vertical, or inclined position of the strata, to which the origin is ascribed, is by no means sufficiently explained by the latter supposition. The great extent and continuity of the strata of primary *schistus*, for instance, the simple curvature which they affect, and that parallelism of their layers, which, in all their bendings, is so accurately preserved, are phenomena that do not belong to any species of crystallization that we happen to have heard of; and certainly favour the idea of a mechanical deposit from water, originally horizontal in all its extent, and inflected afterwards by the application of some external force. The vertical position of those strata, too, is but ill explained by the theory of crystallization. Crystals will attach themselves indiscriminately to all the sides of the solid containing the fluid of solution; and if these were among the first substances that were separated from the chaotic fluid, they should have been arranged along the bottom of the primæval basin, rather than piled up in fantastic pyramids in the middle of it; at any rate, their position ought to have been more varied and irregular.

The explanation of the Neptunist, however, is still more unsatisfactory with regard to those secondary strata that indicate but little of a crystalline structure in their interior, and yet are frequently found in a position very highly inclined to the horizon. This position has been assumed by them, according to the author of the Comparative View, from the combination of a certain tendency to crystallization, with the power of gravitation, which would have deposited them horizontally. Now, this appears, to us, to be in every point of view a most unscientific explanation. In the first place, there is no room for presuming, that a perfect crystallization could assume a laminated structure, and vertical position, rather than any other; and, in the second place,

place, it seems evident, that where the crystallization was in any degree incomplete, the position of the whole mass could never be affected in such a manner, as to produce a kind of compromise between that which would have been assumed by the perfect crystal, and that which gravitation would have given to any other piece of matter. The one or the other of these principles must predominate, and dispose absolutely of the whole mass. The crystals will either attach themselves to the sides of the containing solid, according to the laws of their formation, in which case the uncrystallized part will be separated from them entirely; or the whole mass will assume the position imposed upon it by the laws of gravity, while its tendency to crystallize will be indicated by its internal structure alone. No diagonal will ever be formed between the horizontal line of gravitation, and the imaginary perpendicular, which seems to be made the characteristic of crystallization in this theory. The author himself, indeed, does not appear very well satisfied with this explanation; for, immediately afterwards, he supposes that some of the inclined strata may have sunk unequally, or even may have been lifted up, in some few instances, by the expansive force of a subterranean heat. A few more concessions, of this magnitude, would bring the rival theories pretty near to each other. The *consolidation* of the secondary strata, by the mere apposition of their particles, does also appear to us to be a very improbable supposition; while the preservation of the stratified form in these substances, which, according to the Huttonian hypothesis, have been subjected to the action of a violent heat, may be accounted for, in a great degree, by the great and equable pressure to which they were subjected, and the tenacity and viscosity which most of them may be supposed to have retained.

Upon the subject of *unstratified* bodies, our author is not a little embarrassed with those granitic veins which the Huttonians have quoted in support of their hypothesis. Granite, according to the Neptunists, is the oldest of all mineral bodies; and veins, they acknowledge, are always posterior in formation to the strata in which they are included. From the dilemma which veins of this substance occasion, our author endeavours to escape, by supposing the granite in the veins to be of a different formation from that in the mass, and to have been deposited by infiltration and crystallization from water. It seems almost impossible, however, to receive this explanation; when it is considered, 1<sup>st</sup>, that these veins are most frequently connected with vast masses of original granite, and evidently appear to be a continuation of the same substance; and, 2<sup>d</sup>, that they frequently proceed from the main body of the granite, *upwards*, into the adjoining strata, so that

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the process of infiltration could not possibly have taken place. In this division of the work, upon unstratified bodies, we have met with many strong and ingenious objections to the Huttonian theory, founded principally upon the *alternations* of the strata, and their absolute *gradation* into each other; which we have no longer room to consider.

Upon the subject of *metallic veins*, the author of the Comparative View adopts the Neptunian theory in its fullest extent, and holds, that their contents have been undoubtedly consolidated from the water that continued to cover the original rocks in which the fissures had been made. That they are not stratified horizontally, he thinks, is occasioned by the crystalline form of the substances they contain, which would preferably attach themselves to the sides. If this were the case, however, we should certainly expect to find the superior surface of the rocks, in which these veins are found, covered with crystallizations of the same nature, and forming a continuous mass, of which the veins would appear like elongations. There are many of the metals, however, that are scarcely ever found, except in veins; and the veins, we believe, are never observed to proceed from any large or continuous mass of the same materials. The fragments of foreign substances, that are frequently found in veins, afford also some presumption against the Neptunian hypothesis.

In the concluding chapter, the author proposes to estimate the comparative merit of the two theories, by their correspondence with the appearances of particular minerals. The instances of *agates*, and of *metallic* bodies, are those in which he is reduced to the greatest straits, in supporting the Neptunian doctrines. Agates, he says, (p. 188.) are formed by water, holding jasper, chalcedony, &c. in solution, infiltrating slowly into cavities which have been left by the extrication of air from the mass of whin, or trap, &c. before it was perfectly consolidated. Now, there are many obvious objections to this account of their formation. In the first place, whin, and the other substances in which agates are usually imbedded, are, for the most part, unstratified bodies, and have consequently been formed, according to the Neptunian theory, by crystallization chiefly. If this was the case, however, they could at no time be soft enough to admit of the extrication of air, or the subsequent formation of cavities. In the second place, it may be demanded, how it happened that the water of solution, percolating through a great thickness of rock, should have deposited none of the substances with which it was charged in the conduits through which it passed. Thirdly, it may be asked, how this water contrived to deposit an encrustation of equal thickness on the upper and the under sides of this cavity; how,

after this was accomplished, it found means to escape through the impenetrable crust in which it had enclosed itself; and how a succeeding portion was enabled to pass through it a second time, so as to fill up, with a new deposit, the cavity that had been left by the former. We believe the fact to be indisputable, that many agates are altogether impermeable by water. Finally, it may be asked, how the Neptunist sets this extraordinary current in motion, by which the water of solution is carried so industriously to and from the nidus of the agate. The operation is supposed to take place under the level of the ocean, and among bodies that must be completely saturated with moisture, as they were formed in the midst of it.

With regard to the *metals*, again, our author admits, that

—‘ the state in which they are found, appears to afford a strong argument in favour of the Huttonian hypothesis; for the fluidity, from which they have consolidated, may have been produced by fusion; but we scarcely can point out by what solvent it could have been effected.’

From the specimens, however, that have been found, where the precious metals appear shooting in minute ramifications through masses of quartz and other refractory substances, he concludes, that their consolidation could not have taken place from a state of simple fusion, since the metal must have remained fluid long after the quartz had concreted. This argument, however, which is urged with great confidence, appears to us to apply only to those cases (hitherto, we believe, unobserved), in which the metal shall be found impressing the quartz with its own particular form of crystallization; for, if a quantity of gold and silver was involved in a mass of fluid quartz, it appears to us by no means impossible, that the quartz, upon concreting, should intersect and retain the *fluid* gold in all those capricious entanglements, and ramifications, which it is afterwards found to occupy, when both substances are completely cooled. At all events, it seems to be admitted, that the Neptunist cannot point out, even by conjecture, any way in which these substances should have been consolidated, in their metallic state, from a solution in water.

Among a great number of strong and formidable objections, which the author brings forward in this chapter against the Huttonian hypothesis, the most striking and original is founded upon the presence of pyrites in specimens of coal almost entirely deprived of its bitumen.

‘ Mr Kibben relates, that the Kilkenny coal, which is of all others the most completely destitute of bituminous matter, contains pyrites; and Dr Hutton himself mentions a specimen being in his possession of plumbago, (which he considers as the last of the series, or as coal completely deprived

deprived of bitumen) studded with pyrites. The explanation of these appearances, according to the Huttonian system, involves a direct contradiction in terms. To account for the formation of this species of coal, it is said to have been fused with an entire absence of pressure, so that all its bituminous matter has escaped. Pyrites, again, is a substance said to be formed by fusion, but under a strong pressure, by which its sulphur, a substance at least as volatile as bitumen, is kept in combination with the iron. It would therefore, according to this theory, be impossible that coal of this kind and pyrites should exist together; the circumstance supposed necessary for the formation of the one, being that which must inevitably have destroyed the other. p. 217-18.

An argument of great apparent force is also founded on the appearance of some granites, where crystals of felspar and quartz are found mutually to impress each other. As these substances are fusible at very different temperatures, our author concludes, that it could not be from a state of simple fusion that they were thus simultaneously consolidated; because, the quartz must have assumed its own form long before the felspar had lost its fluidity. The difficulty, however, is scarcely less upon the Neptunian hypothesis of crystallization from an aqueous solution, as there are no two substances, we believe, in nature, that can be supposed to crystallize at the same moment, from the same solvent. Nay, the Huttonians have proposed an explanation of the phenomenon, that goes far to remove the objection which it affords to their theory. It has been found by experiment, that felspar and quartz, reduced to powder, and put into the furnace together, in the proportions that usually occur in granite, run into fusion at a temperature very little higher than is necessary for the fusion of felspar alone. Felspar, therefore, is proved to act as a flux to quartz; or, in other words, melted felspar at a certain temperature, becomes capable of dissolving quartz, just as water dissolves any of the ordinary salts. The quartz so dissolved, however, may probably be kept in a state of fluidity as long as the solvent itself continues fluid; and as it will necessarily be separated at that moment, there seems to be no great difficulty in explaining the phenomenon of their simultaneous consolidation. This explanation, which is certainly extremely ingenious, was suggested by Sir James Hall, in a paper in the *Edinburgh Transactions*.

The author does not controvert the fact, of the remarkable analogy that is found to subsist between whinstone and lava; but he accounts for it by supposing that whinstone rocks have been common in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, and that lava is whinstone that has been fused by their heat. Though this unquestionably *may* have been the case, the presumption is certainly *the other way*. A substance compacted from solution in water,

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can scarcely be supposed to have that very grain, structure, and appearance, which is found to result from the actual fusion of the same materials. There is proof that it may be formed in one way; there is nothing but conjecture for its being formed in the other.

Upon the whole, we have perused this volume without any abatement of our scepticism, and are inclined to think that it will not even shake the faith of any well-grounded Huttonian. The book is very respectably written; and though the style is not uncommonly elegant, the composition is always very laudably perspicuous and concise. Logical inaccuracies, however, are always most glaring and offensive in a writer who expresses himself distinctly, and seems to think clearly. The strange reasonings that are introduced in support of the first principles of the Neptunian theory, excite a species of surprise by no means akin to admiration; and, among all the wonders that Geology presents to our view, we think the most unaccountable is, the zeal and the confidence of the theorists.

ART. VI. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful Knowledge.* Vol. V. Philadelphia. Dobson. 1802.

THIS volume, one of the very few that ever issue from the American press, will not, we apprehend, repay the labour of him who may be induced to wade through it. It contains a few insulated facts of little importance, and some very unsuccessful attempts at theory. The six first papers are communicated by Dr Priestley, and are distinguished, if possible, by a more eminent want of scientific precision, than even his periodical volumes of chemical experiments. They are apparently the scourings of his old diaries, eked out with some desultory and inconsistent remarks; a few notices of the present state of his ever-varying opinions; and several attacks, very temperate indeed, but proportionably feeble, upon those discoveries, which his total want of genius for philosophizing has obliged him to leave to men who did little more, in the way of practice, than repeat his experiments. Upon these six articles we shall content ourselves with offering a few very general criticisms.

In the first place, the experiments, where they are at all uncommon, have evidently been made with impure substances. We should exceed all bounds, were we to quote examples of results which are obviously owing to the presence of extraneous matters, although they are ascribed by Dr Priestley to the exhibition

bition of certain simple and homogeneous substances. All his assertions, in those cases, should evidently have been made with respect to the impurities, not the bodies, which he pretended to use. Secondly, The language of these tracts is full of discordant theory. It is indeed a most uncouth and motley assemblage of terms, taken both from the old and new nomenclature. Lastly, We must be excused for suspecting very great inaccuracy in some of the facts; or, at least, in the conduct of the experiments which are related. This may, in some of these instances, be accounted for, partly by the first, and partly by the second remark, which we have just made. But the statement in p. 3. that caustic fixed alkali was sent in a state of vapour through a tube containing iron, and gave an *acidulous* liquor in the receiver, is to us utterly incredible, and inexplicable, upon any supposition, but that of the grossest inaccuracy, either in making or describing the experiment. It is scarcely necessary to add, that these papers defy all attempts to analyse them, even if there was any inducement to undertake the task. The same remark may be applied to the greater number of the articles contained in this volume. We shall therefore only notice the few exceptions to this observation, which we have been fortunate enough to meet with; and at present we shall begin with what we consider as the most interesting communication that the present publication has to boast of—the short and distinct statement, given by Mr Strickland, of the uses to which the thermometer may be applied in Navigation.

This very valuable communication consists of two well kept and concise journals, with a letter, sketching the inferences that may be drawn from the observations, and a chart of the Atlantic, on which the voyages that gave rise to the observations, and the greater part of the observations themselves, are clearly traced. Mr Strickland performed these two voyages across the Atlantic, in the years 1794 and 1795. The first object of his experiments was, to ascertain the existence of a current, which he suspected to flow as a branch of the gulf stream, in a northerly or northeasterly direction. The observations recorded in the outward-bound journal appear fully to verify this conjecture, and they prove also the regularity with which the temperature of the sea varies, according to the proximity of soundings. We shall enable our readers to judge for themselves upon these points, by giving a summary of the most important and conclusive trials.

The temperature of the water near the Lewes islands was about 56° of Fahrenheit. From thence to the longitude of 11° 15' west, it gradually increased; and for eleven days, during which the vessel passed through nineteen degrees of longi-



tude, the temperature remained at  $58^{\circ}$ , which is supposed by our author to be the ordinary heat of the Atlantic, above the latitude of  $50^{\circ}$  in autumn. In longitude  $30^{\circ} 43'$  west, the temperature suddenly rose  $30^{\circ}$ , and continued to rise while the vessel passed through eight degrees of longitude, when the temperature had increased no less than  $10^{\circ}$ . Again, the temperature fell in longitude  $41^{\circ}$  west, and continued fluctuating between 64 and 62 of Fahrenheit. But when the vessel had made a little farther progress, the temperature rose to a still higher degree than before; and after remaining for some time at  $72^{\circ}$ , it again fell, and continued falling, until, in longitude  $48^{\circ}$ , the thermometer stood at  $52^{\circ}$ , and the vessel was found to be on the great bank east of Newfoundland.

The subsequent observations, both in the outward and homeward bound voyages, concur to shew, that at the longitudes above-mentioned, the temperature of the sea rises and falls in the manner now described; and that on the approach of the vessel to soundings, it uniformly falls. There is a difference of no less than  $20^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, between the temperature near the great bank, and the temperature on the edge of the gulf stream.

It appears, farther, that in that part of the vessel's course where the great rise was experienced, vast quantities of gulf weed were observed floating, and great shoals of flying fish. This circumstance greatly strengthens the first conclusion which the thermometrical observations so plainly suggest, viz. that so high as latitude  $50^{\circ}$  north, a branch of the gulf stream is to be found, sent off in a northerly direction from the main body, which moves in an easterly course. But in the middle of this stream it would appear that there is some interruption; for the temperature suddenly falls, continues low for a considerable breadth, and then rises to its former height. The journal, too, makes no mention of any gulf-weed or flying fishes in this part of the course. Our author accounts for this very singular intermission of the northern branch, by supposing some colder current to flow in from the north-west. But we cannot easily conceive such a phenomenon; and are inclined to suspect Mr Strickland of considerable inaccuracy in his ideas upon this matter. How can a stream of water be interrupted by a cross stream, or cut by such a stream at any angle? If two currents meet in an oblique angle, part of the water will be thrown back, and part will move off in a diagonal path. But surely the continuity of a stream can never be interrupted by a new stream, and then resume its former course. We can imagine the gulf stream to be divided by one flowing from the same quarter, in the very same

same direction: But why should this middle stream be colder than the other?—It is, on the other hand, scarcely possible to figure two streams meeting in the same line, without forming an indissoluble union. Yet some phenomenon of this nature appears to be indicated by the observations, if the thermometrical experiments of our author can be relied on. Or, perhaps, a large bank, or island, divides the gulf-stream into two, protecting a large portion of the ocean in the middle of those currents. Such a supposition, indeed, appears to us the most probable of any which can be made, to account for the observations.

Before leaving Mr Strickland's very interesting paper, we must gratify our readers with relating a fact equally honourable to both of the parties concerned in it. Mr Strickland conceived, that the thermometer might be applied to the important purposes of indicating the approach of land, and settling the courses of the great currents. For accomplishing the latter object, he proposes the equipment of a vessel, which may be devoted to the employment of making various runs across the Atlantic, at different latitudes, with persons qualified to conduct thermometrical experiments, in the manner pointed out by the present paper. But he communicated the other part of his plan to the captain of the vessel in which he sailed; and although this gentleman very naturally entertained, at first, the strongest prepossession against all such ideas, he was soon prevailed upon, by examining the results of Mr Strickland's observations, to give them no small degree of confidence.

'He was at last,' says our author, 'so much pleased with the accuracy of the thermometer, and with the security in which he had sailed in consequence of it, and so clearly perceived the advantage to be derived from it in many instances, that he declared, he would never more go to sea without one.' p. 92. 93.

This circumstance reflects great honour upon Captain Allyn, a member of that profession, which, of all others, tends most to form habits of bigotry and indiscriminate prejudice against every innovation. But, at least equal praise is due to Mr Strickland, who could succeed in convincing an old seaman, that the chart and the compass are in some cases less faithful guides than the thermometer.

The nineteenth article, appears, to us, deserving of some attention. It contains a very brief statement of a most singular fact, a fact which, if well authenticated, opens a new and curious analogy between the habitudes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Colonel Bull, of Virginia, a gentleman, we are told, of information and veracity, relates, that in digging through a rich bottom of low ground, well covered with

oak and other trees, his workmen discovered, at the depth of between five and six feet, a blossom, not in full bloom, of a lilac colour, growing from a root. This proved, upon examination, to be the same kind of blue flower that grew on the surface. But the Colonel thinks, that it must have been all along under ground, as the soil was a loamy, solid clay, in which large trees flourished, and must have taken some centuries to form. If this unexpected phenomenon, should prove to have been accurately observed, we shall possess a case of vegetable torpor, similar to the case of animals supporting their existence in the heart of blocks and trees. Mr Bull's account is, however, extremely meagre and unsatisfactory.

The want of refinement in the arts and in *belles lettres*, is by no means the only circumstance that distinguishes our kinsmen in North America, from the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere. They appear to be proportionally deficient in scientific attainments. The volume now before us, contains the whole accumulation of American discovery and observation, during a course of peaceful years. It extends to 328 pages; of which 89 (including the valuable paper of our countryman Mr Strickland) are contributed by foreigners; 150 consist of journals kept by a person sent to make meteorological and astronomical observations, that is, notes of the weather, and of the geographical position of certain places in the territory of the United States; the remaining 89 pages, upon more general subjects, are, we believe, the work of Americans; and we will venture to say, that of all the academical trifles, which have ever been given to the world, these 89 pages are the most trivial and dull. Our readers will judge with what difficulty this mite has been collected, when we mention the subjects of several communications.

One article, is a demonstration of the figure of the earth, in answer to the hypothesis of St Pierre. Our readers will doubtless feel some indignation, at finding that a public scientific Body admits into its Transactions, any communication which can, for a moment, rescue the ridiculous effusions of the sentimentalist, now alluded to, from the contempt with which they were universally received all over Europe, by every man of the slightest pretensions to science.

Another paper, contains the description of some person's patent for improved fireplaces. It is exactly an ill-written newspaper advertisement. Two papers are inserted upon the culture and cure of peach trees; and, in order to eke out the natural deficiency of matter, an essay on Vegetables, Polypi, and Insects, by M. de Nemours, is admitted to occupy thirteen pages. After looking at the following extracts from this nauseous thing,

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our readers will probably agree with us in thinking, that no daily print, on this side of the Atlantic, would have inserted it, in the vacant space of a column, during the greatest scarcity of news. The following is the introduction :

‘ Il est très facile, et peut-être assez naturel, à un animal aussi ravageux que l’homme, de traiter avec peu de considération les plantes qui se laissent dévorer si paisiblement.

‘ Cependant je ne voudrais pas avoir offensé les Roses.

‘ Personne n’est plus disposé que moi à croire, avec les anciens, que tout arbre est l’azyle, ou la prison, d’une nymphe. ’ p. 104.

The following is the conclusion of this paper :

‘ Cet oxygène dont les fleurs sont si avides, et dont elles se pénètrent si rapidement, en si énorme quantité pour leur petit volume, est *Air vital* par excellence. Il les embrase, elles aiment, elles jouissent—sont-ce les amours de la plante qu’elles font ? sont-ce les leurs ? ce sont tous les deux. La mère ne peut être entièrement insensible au bonheur de ses enfans, d’enfans qui font partie de son propre corps.—La plante est devenue papillon ; ou pour mieux dire elle s’est couverte d’une foule de *papillons-plantes* de l’un et de l’autre sexe, qu’elle a tirés de son sein, et qui semblables presque en tout aux autres papillons, ont une vie très courte, la dépensent en voluptés sans songe à l’entretenir, exhalent leur tendresse en parfume, s’occupent avec délices et sans relâche de la génération ; et se fanent des qu’elle est consommée laissant . . . au fonds d’un *ovaire* . . . des *œufs* . . . fécondés et féconds.

‘ Trouvez vous la parité suffisamment exacte ? jugez vous encore que la distance soit incommensurable entre la nymphe, ou les nymphes d’une *nimèuse* et l’âme d’un ciron.

‘ Je ne décide rien. Je ne suis qu’un enfant curieux. Je vous apporte les fleurs que j’ai cueillies, et les papillons que j’ai pu attrapper. Savans professeurs, dites moi ce que c’est ? ’ p. 115. 116

Some of the American philosophers themselves seem to have adopted the language of the ludicrously sentimental class to which the author of this singular paper belongs, and to have thought it a good substitute for the eloquence and power of fine writing, which Providence has denied to their race. In p. 55, a naturalist discussing the causes of the poisonous qualities observed in some honeys, alludes to a species of *erica*, (we believe the *erica vulgaris*), by the name of ‘*blooming heather* ;’ and quotes Burns, in a foot note, as his authority. He afterwards talks of the bees ‘ quaffing of the nectar of the flowers :’ p. 57. He describes certain savannas, as ‘ finely painted with the flowers of the *kalmia angustifolia* :’ p. 59. Instead of ‘ *tame bees*,’ he is pleased to say ‘ *cultivated bees* :’ p. 65. This author (Dr Smith Barton) is a great quoter ; and, by the manner in which he cites,

but more especially by his remarks upon classical learning, we are inclined to suspect, that a man who reads the easier Latin poets may not be met with every day in North America.

‘ The ancients, who, in some respects at least, were equal to the moderns, appear to have paid much attention to this subject. Virgil and Columella have both told us what plants ought to grow about apiaries. It is unnecessary to repeat, in this place, what the two Roman writers have said on the subject. The *Georgics* of the Mantuan poet are in the hands of every man of taste; and the work of Columella *should* be read, wherever agriculture engages the attention of gentlemen.’  
p. 69.

We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the following passage from the same paper. The moralizing part of it is truly American; and the epithet applied to Virgil’s description of Galatea, is one of the most amusing that we have ever heard beyond the sound of Bow-Bell. It is only necessary to add, for the information of the American academics, that the quotation is nothing at all to the purpose, as there is no allusion to *honey* from the beginning to the end of it.

‘ To assist, and to direct the labours of these little insects, the knowledge and the hand of man are required. Let, then, this interested being be at least attentive to his own benefits and pleasures. Let him carefully remove from about the habitations of his bees every fetid or poisonous vegetable, however comely its colour or its form. In particular, let him be careful to remove those vegetables which are noxious to himself. In place of these, let him spread the ‘marjoram, and thyme,’ and other plants, ‘the love of bees,’ and his labours will be rewarded. He may, then, furnish his table with a honey not inferior to that of Mount Hermettus, or Athens; nor to that of Sicily, to which Virgil has so *handsomely* alluded in the seventh Eclogue:

*Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyble,  
Candidior cygnis, hedera formosior alla.*

L. 37, 38. p. 69. 7c.

Meanly as our readers may be disposed to think of the American scientific circles, they appear to be highly prized by their own members. The Society, whose labours we have been describing, attaches to itself the name of ‘Philosophical,’ with peculiar eagerness; and the meeting-house, where the transactions of its members are scraped together, and prepared for being inaccurately printed, is, in the genuine dialect of tradesmen, denominated ‘*Philosophical Hall*.’

We have dwelt longer upon this article than its merits justify; not so much for the sake of the work, as for the purpose of stating  
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and exemplifying a most curious and unaccountable fact—the scarcity of all but mercantile and agricultural talents in the New World.

ART. VII. *A Vindication of the Celts, from Ancient Authorities ; with Observations on Mr Pinkerton's Hypothesis, concerning the Origin of the European Nations, in his Modern Geography and Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths.* 8vo. pp. 172. London. Williams, Strand ; Longman & Rees.

ANTIQUARIAN researches are generally excessively insignificant, and form one of the most fatiguing and least amiable species of trifling, with which we are acquainted. Academies composed of grave and accomplished persons, are occupied in decyphering an useless inscription, or endeavouring to distinguish between a fabulous tyrant and his grandfather ; while individual sages, are quarrelling about the denomination of a defaced coin, or settling whether a rusty *fibula* has belonged to a horseman or a foot soldier. If there is any branch, however, of their study, that has pretensions to interest and dignity, it is certainly that which relates to the origin and destinies of nations, the filiation of distant races, and the affinities of remote establishments. Upon the confines, where history terminates, and theory begins, the antiquary takes his station ; and, combining the indications of language, manners, and appearance, with local traditions, and the scattered and incidental notices that occur in the earlier historians, he fabricates his hazardous system with more or less of solidity or beauty. The very magnitude of these questions gives them a degree of interest ; and we listen very patiently to dissertations on the connexion of the Egyptians and Hindus, or to the Celtic or Gothic genealogy of the European nations. The latter controversy, however, attracts the greatest share of attention in this quarter of the world ; and as it seems to be more capable than any other of being reduced to a few distinct points, we have taken the opportunity of this little publication, to lay a statement of it before our readers.

All antiquaries, we believe, are agreed, that the Celts formed part of the original inhabitants of Europe ; but they differ respecting the districts which are now occupied by their descendants. Mr Pinkerton, in his ‘ dissertation on the Scythians and Goths,’ first advanced the opinion, that these nations were identical, and that, 500 A. C., they drove and confined the conquered and half exterminated Celts to the western extremity of Gaul ; where, in the mountains of Wales and Scotland, and

in some districts of Ireland, the small remains of their posterity are still to be found. His opponents, who were more remarkable for the ardour of their zeal, and the unwarranted boldness of their assertions, than for their acuteness and learning, were dismayed by the laborious erudition and confident originality of this performance; while the impartial were, for the most part, too indifferent to verify their contradictory allegations.

The author now before us, in whose mind the detection of a few instances of authorities unfairly translated, had produced a general suspicion of Mr Pinkerton's fidelity, has undertaken, in the present work, to examine the foundation of his hypothesis, and to point out its weakness and insufficiency. He also adopts and supports the opinion, that the present inhabitants of many countries of Europe, and particularly of England, are of Celtic descent.

From what has been already said, it is evident, that till the weight and authenticity of the disputed authorities can be accurately adjusted, the early history of Europe must remain in the utmost obscurity. If the Goths and Celts, indeed, had differed only in the nature or degree of their savageness, the inquiry would be neither curious nor important. But, according to the testimony of all ancient historians, their persons, customs, religion, and language, differed in a striking and uncommon degree. Hence, the inquiry derives additional interest, and becomes intimately connected with the researches and speculations of the philosopher. It promises, in a particular manner, to dispel that obscurity, in which the history and philosophy of language have long been involved. The author of the '*Diversions of Purley*' has set an example of the ease and success with which the investigation of words in their rude and original form, may remove those difficulties, which metaphysical reasonings had at once attempted to explain, and tended to increase.

In forming our opinion as to the merits of this controversy, we have not confined our remarks to those authorities only which are cited by our author and by Mr Pinkerton; but have carefully consulted every ancient author who was likely to elucidate the subject in dispute; and flatter ourselves, that we have been enabled to produce several passages, hitherto unnoticed, even in the authors most generally quoted, which establish some important points, and remove some perplexing difficulties. Before we affixed an exact meaning to any passage, or set it down as an admissible authority, we endeavoured, by the comparison of different parts of the same author, to ascertain the sense in which he used words of the highest importance, and the general nature of his phraseology. In this way, we presume to hope, that the following observations will be found

found to contain, not merely an impartial account of the publication before us, but a succinct and accurate detail of all that is really known upon the subject. If our readers should be of the same opinion, we are persuaded that they will easily forgive our prolixity.

As Mr Pinkerton had affirmed, that, 500 A. C., the Celts were confined, by the conquests and pressure of the Scythians or Goths, to the western extremity of Gaul, it was necessary for him to ascertain the original habitation of the Scythians, and to prove that, at a very early period, their power and resources were equal to such an expedition. In support of this proposition, he refers to the authority of Justin, who says, that the Scythians conquered Asia in the time of Vexoris; and that Ninus, fifteen hundred years afterwards, freed it from their tribute<sup>1</sup>. Now, though little dependence can be placed on the authority of Justin, respecting an event so remote and obscure, the author before us certainly betrays great ignorance, inattention, or want of fidelity, when he would substitute *fifteen* years as the genuine reading. If this had been the fact, Justin would not have used the following expression—‘Vexoris lived in times more remote than Ninus:’ these words immediately precede the passage which our author translates, but these words he has omitted.

Mr Pinkerton next cites Herodotus and Diod. Siculus, to prove that the Scythians left their original settlement near the Araxes, and fixed themselves on the shores of the Euxine, about 2160 A. C.; he maintains, that this first passage of the Araxes has been uniformly confounded with another, or second, which they effected, 640 A. C.: but our author, by the production of Mr Pinkerton’s own authorities, renders it evident, that they expressly refer to the latter event only; and thence concludes, ‘that, as the Scythians, an inconsiderable tribe of wandering shepherds, crossed the Araxes, having left their original habitations, and are first mentioned in history only 640 A. C., the assertion of Mr Pinkerton, that they had extended their conquests to the western parts of Gaul, 500 A. C., is glaringly false, and ridiculously absurd<sup>2</sup>.’ If it necessarily followed from Mr Pinkerton’s inaccuracy in this particular, that the Scythians certainly were not sufficiently powerful or numerous to accomplish the subjugation of Gaul, 500 A. C., our author’s victory would have been complete, and his triumph

<sup>1</sup> Justin, lib. i. c. 1.; lib. ii. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In ascertaining the chronology of Herodotus, relative to the passage of the Araxes, our author allots to Sardyattes a reign of only six years; Herodotus expressly says, he reigned twelve. Herod. Clio, p. 7. edit. Steph. 1592.



umphant allowable. To convict Mr Pinkerton, however, of a single error, is not to overturn his hypothesis: and if our author had directed his researches rather towards the discovery of truth, than the detection of Mr Pinkerton's blunders, he would have found the clear and express testimony of Herodotus and Diod. Siculus, in proof of the very early movements, and extensive conquests of the Scythians.

We shall lay these passages, unaccountably overlooked by Mr Pinkerton, before our readers. 'The Scythians, few and despised, dwelt at first near the Araxes; and afterwards, increasing in numbers, conquered many countries beyond the Tanais, even as far as Thrace<sup>3</sup>.' It is impossible to conjecture the date of these conquests; they must, however, have been effected at a very remote period, since, according to the same author and Herodotus, Sesostris found, and attacked them in their settlements beyond the Tanais, and on the borders of Thrace<sup>4</sup>. Sesostris lived at so very early a period, that every attempt to ascertain his æra, would be fruitless. We have endeavoured, by the careful perusal of Herodotus, where he relates the names and successive order of the Egyptian kings, and sometimes particularizes the events and duration of their reigns, to approximate, by two modes of computation, to the æra of Sesostris; and we think ourselves justified in placing him at least 1400 A. C.: and if we reflect that the Scythians, according to the character which is given, and the actions recorded of them by all ancient historians, were restless and ambitious, inspiring terror into the neighbouring nations by their fierceness, and reducing them to subjection or flight by their successful invasions, and that their movements were almost uniformly from Asia to the west, we shall consider the opinion, independently of its direct evidence, that, 500 A. C., they had advanced to the western extremity of Gaul, as by no means absurd or improbable.

Both Mr Pinkerton and his opponent, however, have totally misunderstood Herodotus respecting the Scythian invasion, 640 A. C. This author is very particular and minute in his description of it; from which it appears, that upon that occasion, they went *from Europe into Asia*, in pursuit of the Cimmerians; entered by a long circuitous route near the foot of Mount Caucasus, into Media, which they conquered; and having received some provocation from Psammeticus, King of Egypt, directed their march towards that country, when they were induced, by the presents he sent them, to terminate this expedition in Syria<sup>5</sup>. This account entirely contradicts

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Siculus, hb. ii. p. 89. edit. Steph.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Siculus, lib. i. p. 35. Herod. Euterpe, p. 142—148.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. Clío, p. 49.

tradicts our author's opinion, that the Scythians passed the Araxes for the first time, 640 A. C., in their progress towards the west, and were then only a tribe of wandering shepherds.

We are convinced with our author, that the Sarmatæ were descended from the Scythians, and wonder at the negligence or effrontery of Mr Pinkerton, when he maintains that Herodotus carefully distinguishes between them: the words of Herodotus are, 'The Sarmatæ are the offspring of the Amazons and the Scythians<sup>6</sup>.' Mr Pinkerton next endeavours to prove, that *Getæ* and *Gothi* were names applied to the same people, in order that he may form a link to connect the Scythians and Goths. Although our author points out the futility of some of his arguments, and justly objects to the validity of some of his authorities, we are inclined to think, that Mr Pinkerton has produced evidence sufficiently strong to justify his assertion. Here our author again discovers his negligence; and, with many, will create a suspicion of his fidelity. He says, (p. 31.) 'We have in vain consulted Strabo and Pliny, to prove that the *Getæ* and Scythians were the same people.' Now Strabo, in the context of that passage which our author afterwards quotes, evidently considers the *Getæ* as a Scythian tribe<sup>7</sup>; and Pliny says, 'From the Borysthenes, over the whole adjoining country, *all are Scythian* nations, different tribes of whom dwell near its banks: in one part the *Getæ*, whom the Romans call *Daci*,' &c.<sup>8</sup> Our author can find no mention of Tanaus King of the *Getæ* in the 5th Book of Valer. Flaccus, to which Mr Pinkerton refers, to prove the identity of the *Getæ* and Scythians, as Justin calls him King of the latter. We have also searched the text of this author in vain; but imagine we have discovered, in the various readings given by N. Heinsius in his note on the following lines, the rough materials, of which Mr Pinkerton has fabricated his authority.

*Inde Genetæi rupem Jovis hinc Tibarenum  
Dant virides post terga lacus.*

Hinc Tibarenum.) HINC TYMAMUS, Carrionis liber, unde ille;  
INDE

<sup>6</sup> Herod. Melpomene, p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> On account of the length of this passage, we can only refer to it.—Strabo, lib. 7. p. 295. edit. Casauboni. Zamolxis is mentioned by Herodotus, Melp. p. 289.; and by Strabo, in the passage cited, as worshipped by the *Getæ*: and the authors of the *Etymol. Mag.* and *Suidas* (in voc. *Zamolxis*) understand the *Getæ* of Herodotus, whom they quote, to be Scythians.

<sup>8</sup> Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 12. p. 72. edit. Dalecamp.

INDE TYMAVOS; nullo autore: et tamen sic exprimendum curavit. PRO INDE GENETÆI, ut optimè Politianus, in primo Vaticano legitur, INDIGENA, ETÆ<sup>2</sup>.’ The word Timavos, the absurd conjecture of Carrio, presented some resemblance to the name in Justin; but we know not from what words Mr Pinkerton formed Geta, or Rex Getarum: Genetæi, or Indigena, etæ, indeed contain the letters of the former, and these seem to have been sufficient for Mr Pinkerton. It is fortunate for him that he is not in Germany or Scandinavia, ‘where, if an author were to quote falsely, he would go near to endure the character of a scoundrel and a liar<sup>3</sup>.’ His love of truth, and soundness of judgement, must have totally deserted him, when he could not resist so weak a temptation to commit a literary crime, in itself so unnecessary, and easy of detection; and which, according to his own judgement, ought to brand him with infamy<sup>2</sup>.

The Vindicator next undertakes to show, ‘that the very authorities Mr Pinkerton has adduced, to prove that the Celts were confined to the farthest west of Gaul, 500 A. C., are directly contrary to his hypothesis,’ (p. 41.) Herodotus is first examined; and our author convicts Mr Pinkerton of misunderstanding one passage, and translating another from the Latin version, as more suitable to his purpose than the Greek original, (p. 44.) But, if the testimony of Herodotus be compared with that of other authors, it is, in our opinion, clearly and strongly in favour of Mr Pinkerton, who, in this instance also, has injured his own cause by his inattention, rashness, or unfairness. The most important passage is the following: ‘The Ister takes its rise among the Celts, and near the city Pyrene<sup>3</sup>.’ Herodotus does not say ‘the Pyrenean mountains,’ as Mr Pinkerton alleges: but the following passage renders it highly probable that Herodotus meant a city in their neighbourhood, ‘And from Pyrene (this is a mountain towards the west, in the country of the Celts) flow the Ister and Tārtessus: the latter empties itself into the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules<sup>4</sup>.’ If this passage of Aristotle be compared with Herodotus’s  
account

<sup>2</sup> Valer. Flacc. Argonaut. lib. v. l. 148. edit. Heinsl. It may be proper to mention, that this is the edition specified by Mr Pinkerton in the list of editions used by him, prefixed to his Dissertation.

<sup>3</sup> Pinkerton’s Dissert. Pref. p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> ‘No literary crime is equal to false quotation; for public faith attends an author, and public infamy ought always to attend his abuse of it.’ Pref. to Dissert. p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. Euterp. p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Aristot. Meteor. lib. i. p. 545. edit. Duval.

account of the Tartessus<sup>5</sup>, it will be evident he meant a city near the Pyrenæan mountains.

There are, in different parts of Athenæus, some curious particulars relative to the customs of the Celts, which are not to be found in any other writer. He derives his descriptions principally from Possidonius, who (he says) was a Stoic philosopher, and exemplified in his history the fidelity and accuracy for which his sect were distinguished. From the account of this author, who lived at least a century before the Christian æra<sup>6</sup>, it appears that the Celts then inhabited that part of Gaul, which lies to the west of Marseilles. It is surprising that Mr Pinkerton should have overlooked this authority; but, by a strange perversion of intellect, and misapplication of labour, he has preferred authorities which are weak, and passages which are forged, to those which are strong and genuine.

The Vindicator has forgotten to examine three of the four passages which Mr Pinkerton has quoted from Aristotle; and has examined a passage little to the purpose, and not cited by his antagonist. It is rather unfortunate for our author, that the passages which he has *not* noticed, though they are not decisive, are much more in favour of Mr Pinkerton than the one which he has noticed. ‘In this sea are two very large islands, called the British, Albion and Ierne, greater than those we have already mentioned, lying beyond the Celts<sup>7</sup>.’ ‘It is said that there is a path, called the path of Hercules, from Italy, as far as the Celtic country, and the Iberians<sup>8</sup>.’ Our author’s assertion, that Aristotle meant a district near Colchis in Asia, called Iberia, is entirely unwarranted, and highly improbable. We have already examined what Aristotle says in his treatise *de Meteorol.* We can find no passage in Apollonius Rhodius, which even mentions the country of the Celts: our author particularises neither page nor book. Strabo proves only, that some Celtic tribes lived near the Adriatic in the time of Alexander<sup>9</sup>: and Arrian says, the Ister takes its rise among the Celts<sup>1</sup>: whence it is probable that he had the same

<sup>5</sup> Herod. Clio, p. 74. See also Strabo, lib. 3. p. 148. and Dionys. Periegr. v. 288.

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon proves, that Possidonius lived before the destruction of the Roman republic, and renders it very probable, that he is the same person who wrote a continuation of the History of Polybius. Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 151 & 152.; et Casaub. in loc.

<sup>7</sup> Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3. p. 604.

<sup>8</sup> Aristot. de Mirab. Aufcult. p. 1157.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, lib. vii. p. 361.

<sup>1</sup> Arriani Exped. Alex. lib. i. p. 8. edit. Gronov.

same mistaken opinion respecting the source of this river, which Herodotus and Aristotle had; and that the Celts, whom he here mentions, lived near the Pyrenees. Mr Pinkerton admits, that small tribes of the Celts existed in different parts of Europe at this period: his grand position is, that the Goths had swept the main body of them as far as Gaul.

We did not expect, after the humorous and severe, but just and critical remarks of the author of '*Hermes Unmask'd*',<sup>2</sup> that Dr Vincent's hypothesis respecting the Greek verb, would have been brought forward as satisfactory and well founded. Our author, however, not only considers it as decisively proved, but is inclined to believe in the identity of the Greek and Welch languages, because the tenses of the verbs in each, are formed from the auxiliaries *Ew*, and *Au*, *to go*. We shall afterwards examine 'the few instances of twenty thousand Welch words similar to the Greek, given in the Appendix,' (p. 57.) He challenges Mr Pinkerton to adduce as many Gothic words similar to the Greek: this challenge discovers him to be ignorant that the only Gothic book extant, is a version of the Gospels, very imperfect.

In opposition to Mr Pinkerton's assertion, that war-chariots were not known among the Celts, he says, 'They were so common among the Celts in Gaul, that Pompon. Mela (art. *Britt.*) distinguishes those in use among the Britons, by the name of *Covini Gallice armati*.' We shall not at present inquire into the meaning affixed by the Latin authors, to the words *Gallia*, *Galli*, &c.; it is unnecessary. The passage in Pomponius Mela, is *not* as he cites it: in justification of this charge, we shall quote it. '*Dimicant non equitatu modò aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus, Gallice armati. Covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur*.'<sup>3</sup> It is evident that the *men*, and not the chariots, are here said to be equipped like the Gauls. Livy mentions, indeed, that the Gauls with whom the Romans fought, A. U. 457, A. C. 295, used war-chariots<sup>4</sup>; but nothing decisive can be inferred from this passage, until it be determined whether these Gauls were Celtic or Belgic. Our author refers to no authority for his assertion, that the Silures employed these chariots in their battle under Caractacus against the Romans. Tacitus, who describes it very minutely, is silent respecting them; whereas, he particularly

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes Unmask'd*, Letter the 2d.

<sup>3</sup> Pompon. Mela, lib. 3. c. 6, p. 41. edit. Steph. published by this editor in the same volume with Dionys. Periegr. Solianus, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, lib. x. c. 28. edit. Clerici.

larly mentions the *Covinarii* in his account of the battle between Agricola and the Caledonians, a German or Gothic tribe<sup>5</sup>.

We agree with our author, that Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus, cited by Mr Pinkerton, to establish the identity of the Scythic and Greek languages, are so vague and general in their expressions, that a casual and partial similarity alone can be inferred. 'Mr Pinkerton either did not read, or misunderstood Xenophon,' (p. 61, 62.) Our author should have been more scrupulous and diligent, before he brought forward this charge in so positive a manner; at least, he ought to have guarded himself against a similar imputation. Mr Pinkerton quotes two passages from Xenophon, in reality distinct; but which, from his mode of quotation, and the want of express reference, appear to be one. Our author examined Xenophon; found the first passage, which did not contain the whole of Mr Pinkerton's assertion; and is so eager to proclaim his victory, and so careless about truth, provided he defeat his antagonist, that he overlooks entirely the other passage, though it follows the former, with the intervention of a few lines. In this, Xenophon certainly says, '*Kindred* was given as the military watch-word by the united armies of the Greeks and Thracians, as implying their common origin<sup>6</sup>.'

The Vindicator convicts his opponent of a strange blunder; or, more probably, a shameful and gross misrepresentation, in his quotation from Ovid. Mr Pinkerton, who seems to have read ancient authors with a determination to fabricate authorities, where they did not present themselves, and to be very indifferent about the nature of the materials he employs, found in the 10th Elegy of the 5th Book of Ovid, a line which, by a junction with another in the 2d Elegy of the same Book, formed a couplet, unintelligible indeed, but which, to an inattentive reader, seems to imply that the Greek and Getic languages are nearly allied<sup>7</sup>.

Our author next undertakes to prove, that the Thracians, Illyrians; Greeks, and Italians, were not Scytho-Goths. It is unnecessary, however, to examine this position, since he rather infers the truth of it from his supposed confutation of Mr Pinkerton's hypothesis, respecting the very early progress of the Scythians into Europe, than supports it by any express or appropriate authorities.

<sup>5</sup> Taciti Annal. lib. xii. c. 35. Taciti vita Agric. c. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. lib. lvii. p. 237, 238. edit. Steph. 1581.

<sup>7</sup> Exercent illi SOCIÆ commercia linguæ  
Graiaque quod Getico victa loquela sono est.

Trist. v. 10.—Dissert. p. 75.

rities. In our opinion, there is no part of Mr Pinkerton's Dissertation more weak and unsatisfactory, than that which contains his arguments for the Scythic origin of the Greeks and Italians. His quotations, indeed, are numerous, but they are vague and contradictory; and his attempts to illustrate or fix their meaning, and to reconcile their disagreement, are in general ineffectual. It is well known, that the Greeks and Romans regarded all other nations as barbarians; and their historians are, therefore, anxious to prove, either that they were aboriginals of the soil, or that they were descended from nations distinguished for their very early civilization and knowledge. This partiality in their historians, renders their testimony on these points liable to suspicion, as well as obscure and contradictory. And the argument derived from the similarity of their manners, customs, &c. cannot be applied, where there was to great a difference in the circumstances of the Scythians and Greeks.

We begin, now, to approach points of history, comparatively luminous and distinct; and Mr Pinkerton's positions are more generally interesting and important. It is also evident, that his authorities, and arguments in defence of them, are too powerful for his antagonist, although his zeal and diligence increase in proportion as the Inquiry respects more directly and essentially the Celtic population of England.

Mr Pinkerton's first position is, that the Germans are Scytho-Goths. His first argument is drawn from language; and if his illustrations and proofs be carefully examined<sup>8</sup>, they will be found much more clear and strong, than our author is willing to admit. The resemblance between the very few remaining Scythic words and the Gothic, is close and striking<sup>9</sup>; and no one will deny, that the German is a dialect of the latter<sup>1</sup>. We have already examined all the nine authorities quoted by Mr Pinkerton, except that of Pliny. The meaning which ought to be affixed to his words is rendered clear, by comparing them with the passages already quoted, from Herodotus, Aristotle, &c. respecting the principal settlement of the Celts; and is decidedly in favour of Mr Pinkerton.

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<sup>8</sup> Dissertation, p. 107.—114.

<sup>9</sup> Ihre, Lex. Suio-Goth. in Præfat.

<sup>1</sup> The opinion of Hickes and Iarozius, that the version of the Gospels, ascribed to Ulphilas, is in the Tudesque, and not the Gothic, is completely refuted by Benzeliuss, in his preface to *Lyc Evangel. Goth.*, and by an inscription found and published in Italy, 1731; the letters and words of which are perfectly similar to those in *Ulphilas' Gospels*. *Lyc. Evan. Goth. Præf. p. 7.—14.; p. 35.*

It certainly does not by any means follow, of necessity, that because the Celts inhabited only about one third of Gaul in the time of Cæsar; therefore, the Goths had penetrated into that country, 500 A. C. But as the original inhabitants were driven to the very shores of the ocean in the time of Cæsar, their invaders must have entered the eastern part at a period long anterior. Our author has rather weakened, than supported his interpretation of the words, 'Plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis,' by quoting the entire passage in which they occur (Vind. p. 83—86). It is absurd in him to draw any inference respecting the Belgæ, from the silence of authors prior to Cæsar; as he was the first who, from his opportunities of observation, was enabled to give an accurate description of Gaul. Our author asserts, that Mr Pinkerton has quoted Strabo in a garbled and imperfect manner: in order to prove this assertion, and, at the same time, to show that Strabo is in favour of his opinion, he lays before his readers, what he calls a translation of the genuine and entire passage. But he has translated the words of the Latin interpreter, not those of Strabo: and he has misunderstood even the former. 'Ακυβιανὺς μὲν ἐν καὶ Καίλας εἰλεγον, τὴς πρὸς τὴ Πυρηνῇ, διακρισμένους τῷ Κίμμενῳ ὄρει. Ergo qui Pyrenæ sunt proximi, eos Aquitanos et Celtas vocunt, monte divisi Cimmeno.'—'Inasmuch, that those who live near the Pyrenees, denominate them only Aquitani and Celtæ, they being divided by the Cimmen Mountain.' (Vind. p. 88.)

A comparison of the different parts of Cæsar, in which the words *Gallia* and *Galli* occur, and in which he describes the different inhabitants, is sufficient to establish the common opinion, that he referred exclusively to Celtic Gaul, when he is mentioning the Druids, although his words are, 'In omni Gallia.' Even if we grant that they are to be taken strictly and literally, it by no means follows, that the Belgæ were Celts, because they practised Druidism. Their intermixture will sufficiently account for the adoption of religious rites, and renders unnecessary the supposition of their identity, which is expressly contradicted by Cæsar himself.

Our author, here, and in subsequent parts of his work, maintains that the Greek historians use the terms, *Γαλαται*, *Κελται*, as synonymous; and that they always refer exclusively to the Celtic division of Gaul, and its inhabitants, by the words *Κελται* and *Κελται*. As it is of the highest importance to determine this point, which appears not to have been carefully examined, even by Mr Pinkerton, who seems frequently reduced to perplexity or subter-

\* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 176.



fuge, by his suspicion of its truth, we shall lay before our readers the result of an impartial and strict inquiry. The Greek authors appear to use *Κελίαι* and *Γαλαῖαι*, and the corresponding names of the inhabitants, as strictly synonymous: they apply them sometimes to Gaul in general; at other times the context proves, that they are used in their original sense. But Belgic Gaul, and its inhabitants, are most frequently denoted by the words, *Κελίαι* and *Κελίαι*. The Belgæ appear to have attracted most of the attention of these historians; and their description of them is so uniform and accurate, that no doubt can be entertained that they mean the Belgic Gauls, although they call them *Κελίαι*. Strabo, speaking of the inhabitants of Britain, says, 'The men are taller than the Gauls (*των Κελίων*); and their hair less yellow<sup>3</sup>.' In his description of Germany, 'Immediately beyond the Rhine, to the east of the Celts, the Germans live, differing little from the Celtic race (*τη Κελίαι*), in their savageness, tallness, and yellowness of hair: and with respect to features, customs, and modes of life, very like the Gauls (*τοις Κελίαις*), whom we have already described: wherefore, it is our opinion, that the Romans have given them very properly the name *Germani*, implying the common origin of the Gauls (*Γαλαῖαι*) and them<sup>4</sup>.' The faithfulness and exact information of this author are well known: we may, therefore, consider his description of the Gauls as accurate: but it will apply only to the German or Belgic Gauls. Yellow or red hair distinguished a German tribe. There was no resemblance between the Celts and Germans. Diodorus Siculus gives a very particular description of Gaul (*Γαλαῖαι*, *Κελίαι*); and it is evident, that these terms are frequently employed, when he is speaking of that part, which Cæsar, from whom he has taken his description, says was inhabited by the Belgæ. He also expressly says—'The Gauls (*Γαλαῖαι*) are tall, fair skinned, and naturally yellow haired<sup>5</sup>.' Polybius, our author asserts, describes the Gauls, who pillaged Rome under Brennus, as Celts: he certainly calls them Celts (*Γαλαῖαι*, *Κελίαι*); but his enumeration and description of their different tribes, puts it beyond a doubt that they were German Gauls. He particularly names and describes the Veneti, Semnones, and Boii<sup>6</sup>. We have the express testimony of Strabo, that the first were German Gauls<sup>7</sup>; and the others

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<sup>3</sup> Strabo, lib. iv. p. 194. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, lib. vii. p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Siculus, lib. v. p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> Polyb. lib. ii. p. 42. Edit. Bas. 1549.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, lib. iv. p. 194.

are enumerated by Tacitus among the tribes of Germany<sup>2</sup>. It may be objected, that Polybius mentions these Gauls as coming from a country very remote from any assigned to them by Tacitus and Strabo. But, in the time of the first historian, the Romans were entirely ignorant of Germany, and knew very little even of Transalpine Gaul; and, therefore, could not mention the name or situation of the country, whence the invaders originally came. Polybius says, they proceeded into Italy from the adjoining territory on the north: this would be directly on their route from Germany: and as they had, most probably, occupied it for some time, Polybius, both from this circumstance, and his want of information, would consider it as their original or permanent residence. Longolius, in his edition of *Taciti Germania*, shows that the appellations, Semnones and Boii, are evidently derived from the Gothic, and particularly applicable to the situation and manners of those tribes<sup>3</sup>. Pausanias calls both the Celtic and Belgic inhabitants of Gaul, Γαλαῖαι, and Κελῖαι; but as his authority is less important, and his descriptions not so full and definite, we shall only refer to him<sup>4</sup>.

It is still more evident, that the terms *Gallia* and *Galli* are frequently employed by the Latin authors, when their observations and descriptions are applicable only to Belgic Gaul and its inhabitants. We need not illustrate this point by the examination of any particular passages, as it is generally admitted, and easily proved.

Our author and Mr Pinkerton agree in the opinion, that the Cimbri, who, in junction with the Teutones, invaded Italy, and were defeated by Marius, were a Celtic tribe, and the same as those who had, some centuries before, sacked Rome. But the country whence they proceeded, their close alliance with a Gothic tribe, and the description given of them by the Greek and Latin historians, who appear to have considered them of the same race with the Teutones, clearly prove them to have been of German origin<sup>5</sup>. To these considerations, it may be added, that the name of their leader, Boiorix, is evidently of Gothic structure: and that Tacitus, who, in his description of Germany, particularly and expressly marks the few tribes who appeared not to be Germans, is entirely silent respecting the Celtic origin of the

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Cimbri,

<sup>2</sup> Tacit. Germ. c. 38. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Tacit. Germ. Edit. Longol. c. 38. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, lib. i. p. 16. 62. 66.; lib. x. p. 644. &c. Edit. Sylbur. Hanov. 1613.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. in Mario. Livy, Epit. l. 68. Percy's Preface to Mallet's North. Antiq. p. 38. Mallet, Vol. I. p. 32.

Cimbri, and in his account points out no difference between them and the other inhabitants <sup>4</sup>.

Mr Pinkerton, as our author observes, has added the word *furthest* to Strabo's account of the most ancient division of the globe. In Book 1st, he says, 'The earth is divided into four parts: to the furthest east, the Indians; to the furthest south, the Æthiops; to the furthest west, the Celts; and to the furthest north, the Scythians <sup>5</sup>.' We know not why Mr Pinkerton quoted this passage; and still less, why he interpolated it. As it is found in Strabo, it proves merely that the Celts inhabited the west of the globe, which is admitted upon all hands. If Mr Pinkerton had added the word *furthest* only to the division inhabited by the Celts, it might have served his purpose; but by applying it to all the divisions, he can derive no advantage from it. It is surprising that our author, who has detected a false reading in Mr Pinkerton's quotation from Pomponius Mela, (*Belcarum*, instead of *Belgarum*), should have overlooked a *forged* passage, for which Mr Pinkerton refers to the same author, especially as it is necessary to make the substituted word of any use to him. He says, Pomponius calls the northern Scythæ, Belcæ; and refers to lib. iii. c. 5 <sup>6</sup>. No such passage occurs in Stephen's edition. Our author betrays gross ignorance of the Latin idiom in the following remarks:—'Mr Pinkerton introduces the authority of Pliny, to prove that Germany was included in Scythia: "*Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui, extremi Gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt.*" Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12. 'The name of Scythians is everywhere changed to that of Sarmatæ and Germans: nor has that ancient appellation continued, save to the most distant of these two nations, who live almost unknown to other mortals.' (Dissert. p. 127, 128). 'It is a most singular circumstance, and proves how far zeal in support of a favourite hypothesis will blind even a man like Mr Pinkerton, of extensive learning, and profound research. He has inadvertently introduced this very passage of Pliny, which strongly militates against his system, in support of it; but has misinterpreted the last part of the sentence: and by introducing the

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<sup>4</sup> Tacit. Germ. 37. A professed antiquarian, in 'Some Remarks on the early Population of Europe' (Exeter Essays, p. 84), endeavours to prove, that a few Celtæ, whom he imagines to be descendants of the Cimbri, still exist in Italy; because the King of Denmark, about 70 years since, conversed easily with them in the Danish language!

<sup>5</sup> Dissert. p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> Dissert. p. 127.

the word *two*, which is not in the original, applies the remark of Pliny to the Sarmatæ and Germans only, which was applied neither to the Sarmatæ nor Germans; but to those nations, who were unknown to the rest of the world.' (Vind. 99, 100). Mr Pinkerton certainly was not justified in inserting the word *two*; as Pliny, by the word *harum*, confines his remark to the latter, the Germans: but the word *harum* determines, that the nation unknown to the rest of the world, and which still retained the ancient appellation, *Scythian*, was part of one already mentioned.

' Herodotus places most of his Scythians in Germany.' (Dissert. 173). ' This is not true; for he places some of his Scythæ on the northern shores of the Euxine, and near the mouths of the Ister; and the others beyond the Tanais, and the shores of the Caspian.' (Vind. p. 131). Herodotus places some Scythian nations far to the north; most probably, from his description, rather to the east of Germany'. ' The Ister or Danube, he calls the largest river in Scythia.' (Dissert. *ibid.*) ' Not so: he says, it is the largest known river in Europe.' (Vind. *ibid.*) The words of Herodotus are: ' The Ister, being the largest of all the rivers with which we are acquainted'. A circumstance that Herodotus mentions, shows that Scythia was to the east of Germany: for he says, ' The Ister, turning obliquely, enters Scythia: this oblique turn is at no great distance from its mouth.' (Vind. *ibid.*) Herodotus, enumerating the rivers which flow into the Ister, says, ' There are five, which take their rise in Scythia; the one furthest to the west is the Ordissus'. By examining the map, we shall find that this river enters the Ister in long. 20. E., or near the middle of Hungary. The Porate, mentioned by Herodotus as another river rising in Scythia, has its source in nearly the same long. and in lat. 49. N. among the Riphæan mountains'. There is no oblique turn in the Ister, at the influx of the Ordissus, nor between that river and the one nearest to it on the west, within which space the Ister must have entered Scythia. But Herodotus makes no mention of an oblique turn; his Latin interpreter does. The words of the former are: ' The Ister, running across Europe, enters the side of Scythia'. Our author's assertions are here brought forward in the

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<sup>1</sup> Herod. Melp. 262—264.

<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.* 272.

<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Ες τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίας ἰσβαλλοῦ. Melp. 273.

Ex transverso ingreditur Scythiam. Lat. Version.

most positive and dogmatical manner: while it is evident, that he has not only failed in his attempts to support them, but exposed his own ignorance, and weakened his cause.

The next point of inquiry which presents itself, is, whether the population of England, as it is described by Cæsar and Tacitus, were Belgic. All our author's objections and arguments depend entirely on the question, Whether the terms *Gallia* and *Galli*, were applied by the Latin historians to Celtic Gaul and its inhabitants exclusively? As they were not, he has failed to prove, from them, the Celtic population of this island: and as, from our former investigations, it appeared that the Belgic Gauls were most frequently meant by the words *Κελταί*, and by the corresponding Latin term *Galli*, it is reasonable to infer, from their testimony, that the population was Belgic. The truth of this inference is strongly confirmed, by a comparison of the manners of the Belgæ, and the inhabitants<sup>4</sup>; and is by no means weakened by the existence of Druidism, even if we suppose it not to have been confined to a few places inhabited by the Celts. The testimony of Nennius, cited by our author (Vind. 157), contradicts Mr Pinkerton's position, that the language of England was the same with that spoken by the Saxons at the time of their invasion. The necessity for an interpreter between Vortigern and Hengist, proves their difference; but not that Celtic was spoken by the former. The languages of Belgia, and of that part of Germany whence the Saxons came, differed then, most probably, at least as much as they do now; and the original tongue of the Belgæ, who had crossed into England, would in the time of Vortigern be much corrupted, even if they were not intermixed with the Celts. As the determination of the inquiry respecting the language spoken in England at the Saxon invasion, will decide the origin of the population which then existed; and as it has not been attempted, we believe, by any writer on this subject, we shall venture to state a few of the facts and arguments which have led us to conclude that it was Belgic.

An examination of the words, phrases and structure of the Anglo-Saxon, which was commonly used in England from the eighth to the twelfth century, will convince us that it is a mixed language. If it were the language introduced by the invaders, it must have been either the Teutisque or Icelandic; which alone were spoken in that part of Germany from which they came. We have works in the Teutisque of the eighth century, and an Icelandic history of the eleventh. If Anglo-Saxon writings, of  
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<sup>4</sup> Cæsar, lib. v. Tacit. vit. Agric. Diod. Sic. lib. v. 299.

the same dates, be compared with them<sup>5</sup>, it will be found that the grammatical form and structure bear a near resemblance, but that the greater number of Anglo-Saxon words differ from those of a corresponding meaning in the Icelandic and Tudesque. This will be satisfactorily explained, by the well attested facts, that the Saxons who invaded England were very few, compared with the conquered inhabitants, and that these were very generally employed as domestic slaves. We may therefore conclude, that the Anglo-Saxon is composed of the language spoken by the invaders, and that which the inhabitants retained; and that most of its words and phrases were borrowed from the latter. As it is clearly evident that this cannot be the Celtic, there is no other to which we can direct our examination, with more probability of success, than the Belgic. We have indeed no specimens of the ancient Belgic; but both the English and the Anglo-Saxon present a very striking and general resemblance to the language now spoken in the Netherlands. Kilianus published, in the 16th century, *Etymologicon Teutonicæ Linguae*; which contains not only the common Low-Dutch words then in use, but all the words peculiar to Friesland, Gueldres, Juliers, Brabant, and the borders of Westphalia. Among these provincialisms will be found a great number not in the present German, the Tudesque, and Icelandic, which are very similar to the Anglo-Saxon. It is well known, that the dialects of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the oldest English authors, contain many Anglo-Saxon words, which are now disused. There are even, in the former, some words, which cannot be traced to the Anglo-Saxon, but which are common to the Flemish. A comparison of the Flemish with the Anglo-Saxon version of the New Testament, and of the latter with the Icelandic, and the Paraphrases of Otfred and Tatian, preserved in Schilter, written in the Francic or Tudesque, about the ninth century, will prove, that there is a greater number of words in the Anglo-Saxon, liker the Flemish than the Icelandic and Tudesque. It may also be remarked, that many words in the Anglo-Saxon, which cannot be referred to those languages, exist in the Gothic, from which they could have been transferred only through the medium of the Belgic, although they are not now to be found in the present dialect of that tongue. If authority were needful, where the reader can examine and judge for himself, we

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<sup>5</sup> Alfred's translation of Bede and Orosius, written in the eighth century, may be compared with the Tudesque of the same date, collected by Schilter, *Thesaur. Eccles. Ant. Teuton.* The Saxon Chronicle, written during the tenth and eleventh centuries, may be compared with *Arii Frode Schede*, in Icelandic, written in the eleventh century, and first published, 4to, Hafnia, 1733.

V. The Greek and Latin historians most frequently describe the Belgic Gauls, even when they call them *Kελταί*, and *Galli* <sup>5</sup>.

VI. The population and language of England were Belgic, at the time of Cæsar's invasion <sup>6</sup>.

The subject of the present work has confined our inquiry to Greece, Italy, Gaul, Germany, and England. In order, however, to render this article more complete and interesting, we shall briefly point out the sources of the population of the other countries of Europe. The inhabitants of Scotland, except those of the Highlands, are Gothic <sup>7</sup>. Iceland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, are also evidently peopled by a Gothic race. We have already shown, that the Belgæ inhabited part of France. Its population and language were rendered more generally Gothic, by the conquest of the Franks and Normans. Nothing can be decided respecting the original population of Greece, or the conquest of it by the Scythians. It is probable, however, that the latter did not enter into it in their first invasion of Europe. Their route evidently was from S. E. to N. W.; and we know that they did not penetrate into Spain, or even the south of Gaul. Italy was most probably peopled from Greece; and this country, in part at least, from Africa, which appears also to have supplied the peninsula of Spain with its first inhabitants. The circumstances of the second Gothic invasion, which destroyed the Roman empire, are so well known, that no doubt can be entertained, that the present population of Spain and Italy is partly Gothic.

The Slavi, who invaded the north-west of Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire, were an Asiatic tribe; and the present inhabitants and languages of Russia, Bohemia, Poland, and

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, lib. iv. 194—200; lib. vii. 290. Diod. Sic. lib. v. 322. Polyb. lib. ii. 42.—Compare the different passages in Cæsar and Tacitus, &c. where the words *Galli*, *Gallia*, occur.

<sup>6</sup> Cæsar, lib. v. de Bell. Gall.—Tacit. Vit. Agric.—The facts and arguments already adduced, respecting the Belgic origin of the Anglo-Saxon language.—Lye's Dict. Goth. & A. Sax.—Hickes' Preface to his Gothic Grammar, and especially the Gothic Gospels, may be consulted, as containing many examples of English words evidently Gothic, which are not to be found in the Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>7</sup> Pinkerton's Inquiry.—Innes's Crit. Essay.—The dialects of Angus and Buchan are very similar to those in Jutland; and the Scottish, in general, bears a greater resemblance to the Icelandic and German, than to the Dutch. We make the former assertion on the authority of Mr Niebuhr, son to the famous traveller, who joined an accurate and critical knowledge of the Scottish, in all its dialects, to a perfect acquaintance with those of his own country, (Jutland),

and Dalmatia, are derived from them<sup>1</sup>. The Laplanders seem to be the aboriginal savages of that part of Europe which they now possess<sup>2</sup>. The present inhabitants of Hungary are not Huns, but descendants from the Fins, who conquered that country<sup>3</sup>. The Basques are most probably the remains of the ancient Iberi, or first African inhabitants of Spain<sup>4</sup>.

We promised to examine our author's Appendix, which contains a few instances of the twenty thousand Greek words similar to the Welsh. They by no means prove the identity, or even the great similarity of these languages; but, like every other collection of Celtic words, discover that tongue to be much intermixed with the Gothic. We have room, however, for only a very few; and our remarks on each shall be short.

*All*, Welsh; *αλλος*, Greek, *other*. This word occurs, in the same sense, in the Gothic; *allakunga*, *alienigena*: Luke, xvii. 18.—*Aru*, Welsh; *Αρου*, Gr. to plough; Aryans, Goth. Luke xvii. 7.—*Cylla*, *κοιλια*, the stomach; but *cylla* comes from *kely*, to hide; and properly signifies, what is hidden, (Lhuyd, Archæ. Britt. p. 104, in voc. *Occulto*); whereas the Greek word *κοιλια* is applied to the stomach, because it is hollow, (*κοιλος*). See also, Jun. Etym. Ang. voc. *Cellar*.—*Drysu*, *δρασσα*, to entangle. *Dres*, in Irish, and *Dressen* in S. Welsh, is a bramble, (Lhuyd, p. 272, voc. *Bramble*); whence this meaning of the verb is plainly derived. In what Greek author does *δρασσα* mean, to entangle?

Whoever examines the remainder of these instances, which most probably were carefully selected, will be inclined to retort on our author, what he says respecting Mr Pinkerton's comparison of the Scythic and Gothic mythology. 'This reminds us of Fluellen's comparison of Macedon and Monmouth—"There is a river in Macedon; there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth: it is called

<sup>1</sup> Procopius, lib. ii. 15. iii. 33. apud Pinkert. Diff. 157.—Frisch de Ling. Slavon. apud Diff. 70.—Tooke's Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Leemius de Laponibus, c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> De Guignes, Hist. des Huns.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the Basque language with the Old Mauric, on which there is a dissertation at the end of Chamberlayne's Oratio Dominica (de lingua Shilhensi).—See also the dissertation prefixed to Dictionario Trilingue, del Castellano, Bascuence, y Latin, by the Jesuit Larramendi. In order that the reader may compare the languages of those nations, which we have affirmed to be Gothic, with that tongue, we shall mention the authors in which a respective comparison may be found.—Ihre, Suio-Goth. Lex. Wachter Germ. Gloss.—L. Kuster, Gemeenschap tussen de Gottischepraeeck en de Neyder dutsche.—Sibbald's Glossary to Chronicle of Scottish Poetry.—Aldrete, Del Origen y principio del lengua Castellana.



called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but it is all one; 'tis as like as my fingers to my fingers, and there is salmon in both.' (Vind. p. 104.)

We shall conclude with stating, very briefly, our general opinion of the Vindication of the Celts. It certainly completely fails in its attempts to prove the grand positions with which it sets out, and to overturn Mr Pinkerton's hypothesis; but it destroys what is weak, and exposes what is false, in that gentleman's Dissertation. It may thus be of great service to him, if he be not too obstinate to give up what is untenable, and too proud, or too hardened, to confess and correct his literary delinquencies. The cause of truth must at all events be benefited; it will be freed from error: and the complete and frequent detection of mistake, and want of fidelity in Mr Pinkerton, will induce the readers of similar works, not to put implicit confidence in the most solemn asseverations, but to examine every authority, and judge for themselves.

ART. VIII. *The History of the Maroons, from their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone; including the Expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the State of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years; with a succinct History of the Island previous to that period.* By R. C. Dallas Esq. Two Volumes 8vo. pp. 987. London, Longman & Rees. 1803.

WHEN the title of a work extends to such a length, and embraces so minute a detail of the contents, there is reason to suspect that the author has either misnamed his performance, or that his design is defective in unity; and the most cursory perusal of the volumes now before us, must convince any one that it is liable to both these exceptions in no common degree.

The design of the book is stated by the author, in a very turgid and diffuse preface, to comprehend the History of the Maroons, a subject extremely short and simple, not necessarily connected with any other branch of West Indian politics, and capable of being handled, without reference either to the general topics of colonial affairs, or the private adventures of individuals. But the conciseness of the subject was apparently its chief drawback in the eyes of Mr Dallas; and we are indebted to his desire of eking it out, for, at least, one half of the pages which compose these volumes. Because the Maroons lived in Jamaica, a '*succinct history*' of that island is prefixed, occupying a hundred pages. Above twenty pages are added, repeating some of this history, and describing the state of affairs in St Domingo,

Domingo, because these bore some relation to the interests of Jamaica. Then, because the Maroons were negroes, and other negroes are slaves, a copy of the consolidated Slave act of Jamaica is allowed to occupy above fifty pages. Colonel Quarrell was sent to Cuba, to hire bloodhounds, during the last Maroon war; therefore, the whole adventures of this gentleman are related in a hundred and twenty pages, with a minute description of the towns through which he passed, the personages whom he happened to visit, and many of the entertainments at which he was present. After the whole subject of the Maroons has been exhausted, our author finds he has nearly two hundred of his pages yet to fill; and this he does handsomely enough with desultory remarks, anecdotes, descriptions, and statements, relative to Jamaica and the negroes. The same glaring want of taste, and obvious spirit of book-making, which united in dictating this plan, appear to have presided over its execution: The style is throughout wretched, and the composition is precisely that of a novel. We believe, few works, under the name of History, furnish so many specimens of flippancy, bombast, and dereliction of dignity, as this of Mr Dallas. It is written not only in the form of letters, but with all the pertness and levity of female epistolary correspondence. The meanest forms of expression are constantly resorted to, without the excuse of necessity, or the remuneration of humour. The most pompous images are introduced, where the subject required only plain narrative; and, as if to render the appearance of those figures more ludicrous, they are usually surrounded with the lowest allusions of which our language is susceptible. The more trivial and undignified incidents are selected for the purpose of amusing; and the whole mass appears to have been combined, with a rapidity that excluded all chance of correction or arrangement.

To justify these strictures, we shall lay before our readers a few specimens, taken almost at random, from the rich assortment which every letter presents us with. Partly from the inelegance of manners, and the vulgarity of character which prevails in most of the commercial settlements of the New World, and partly from the admixture of the gibberish used by the negroes, the nomenclature of the West Indian islands is extremely ill adapted to the purposes of a dignified or affecting narrative. It would have been difficult, even for Robertson, to have sustained the complete propriety and decorum of his style, had he been called upon to narrate the actions of Cudjoe, Johnny, and Cuffy—at the Cockpits, Hellshire, Nanny, Parlison Trash-house, Amity Hall, One-eye, or Putty-putty bottom. But a writer of the most limited skill in composition, will perceive the necessity of introducing

introducing all such names as seldom as possible in his finer passages; and will, upon no account whatever, aggravate the natural meanness of his subject, by detailing the remarks of negroes in broken language, and adopting, unnecessarily, their low and disgusting expressions. Of this rule, our author seems lamentably ignorant. His negroes are always chattering, and his epithets are rather vulgar and ludicrous, than easy or familiar. Such of our readers as wish to see the effects of negro eloquence, in working up the eulogy of a conquering general, and in elucidating the doctrines of ethics, may turn to vol. i. p. 246. and vol. ii. p. 226.

The character of Mr Dallas's nomenclature may, indeed, be estimated by the circumstance of '*fellows*' generally being preferred to '*men*' or '*soldiers*;' and by the following assortment of terms, which all occur in two pages, '*villain*'—'*villanous*'—'*rascals*'—'*tars*'—'*vagabonds*,' vol. ii. p. 46, 47.

Our author is not more happy in his combinations of words, than in his selection of simple applications. The difficulty of confining the Maroons by a cordon, is compared to that of '*penning pigeons in a meadow*,' vol. i. 238. A subaltern, at a certain post, had '*a ticklish game to play*,' vol. ii. 82. And immediately before, we are told, that '*Senor* (or, as he calls him, *Signor*) *Pedraffo would not sport his toe*,' although Mr Quarrell, '*dressed à la militaire*,' walked a minuet with the Marquiza, and supplied, by good humour and address, '*the place of gestive lore*,' *ib.* 79.

In the larger patches of composition, which are intended to strike the reader, Mr Dallas is, if possible, still less felicitous. Our unfeigned and conscientious admiration of the person bedaubed in the following passage, may lead us to excuse a digression of this sort; but it inclines us, at the same time, to lament that so little taste should be displayed on so fine a subject.

'And here, my dear friend, suffer me to pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration, however slight it may be from my pen, to the consummate statesman, whose wisdom and foresight, whose prudence and perseverance, whose talents and firmness, whose energy and virtue, have saved this realm; saved the majesty of a Sovereign, the dignity and spirit of a gentleman, the independence and happiness of a people. The brilliancy of such a character cannot be eclipsed by the turbulence of party-sophistry, and the fermenting crudities of mob-leaders. Who observes any obscurity in the transit of Mercury across the Sun? Nay, although the glorious orb of heat and light is at times darkened by an inferior interposer, the opaque body soon passes away, and leaves its splendour undiminished,' &c. vol. i. p. 16. 17.

Our author's talents for describing the beauties of natural scenery, are somewhat of the same cast with his powers of eulogizing great characters.

'The site of the New Town commands a prospect, in which the charms of the sublime and of the beautiful are united, and presents subjects that would have been worthy of the Italian pencil in the age of Leo, and are worthy of the English one under George III. Imagine that you have rode in a carriage from Montego-Bay to John's Hall, that you have mounted and walked your horse up the long ascent to Kensington, that you have trotted through majestic woods to Vaughan's-field, made your way to the Old Town, and scrambled a-foot through the defile to the New one; you will stand in need of rest, and I shall therefore let you sleep till the next morning. The smoke of the habitations has been condensed by the weight of the night-air, and has mingled with the thick and fleecy-looking fog rising from innumerable glades. Injure not my description, by suffering the intrusion of a misplaced idea of an insalubrious exhalation,' &c. vol. i. 84. 85.

If, to the manifold imperfections now pointed out in the style and arrangement of this work, we add the want of any correct reference to authorities upon disputed points; the excessive rapidity of the narrative in the most important parts of the subject, contrasted with extreme minuteness of detail on more trivial occasions; and the most unpardonable negligence in quoting the opinions or statements of those who are attacked for error or inaccuracy, it will perhaps be admitted, that the author has somewhat too highly estimated the importance of his work, when he ranked it with that class of writings in which the qualities of elegance, dignity, and correctness, are most peculiarly required. But if, instead of a history, we had only been led to expect in these volumes an amusing collection of anecdotes, founded in truth, we must admit, that we should have risen from the perusal highly satisfied. This is, in fact, considered as a book of *entertainment*, one of the most pleasing and interesting that we have ever met with. Taking it in this point of view, the selection and arrangement displays no small portion of skill; but, then, there is too much statistical detail and protracted narrative, for a mere miscellany intended to amuse: so that although the perusal of the greater part may give pleasure to those who read without any other object than the gratification of a curiosity quickly excited, satisfied, and forgotten; in a word, to the readers of novels, magazines, and newspapers; yet, they will pass over a considerable portion, without finding any thing to arrest their attention: while the readers of history will probably discover little in the whole work which is not better told elsewhere, and will be disgusted with the manner in which that little is delivered. To a certain class of readers, indeed, this work may prove a source of more unmingled delight. They who consider the present system of

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West Indian policy as right and expedient, that is to say, they who possess West Indian estates which require new supplies of negroes, will probably receive great satisfaction from the principles maintained by Mr Dallas; and we cannot help wishing that he had ventured to act upon what must be his belief or conviction, that those persons are the least respectable of his readers.

As some of the subjects of Mr Dallas's work are in themselves highly interesting, and as, we doubt not, the qualities which, according to the foregoing estimate, it may be allowed to possess, will procure it many readers, we shall now direct our attention more particularly to the plan and substance of the book; pointing out, in the first place, the real amount of the new information which the author pretends to communicate; and then stating what appear to us the chief questions of more general discussion, that arise out of the historical detail.

The '*Succinct History of Jamaica*,' we are informed in the preface, is the work of a Mr Cutting; and Mr Dallas bestows upon it a very liberal eulogium. Now, this information happens to be as incorrect as the eulogium is unmerited; for the '*Succinct History*' is a very bad abstract from Edwards, frequently expressed in the same words, and sometimes adorned with the very quotations of that well-known author.

The first letter, which is pretty much on the same subject, Mr Dallas has derived from the same source; but this he partly acknowledges in a note. In one part of the letter, we meet with a theory, given under the form of a fact; and, we will venture to say, equally unfounded in both these capacities. The expedition to St Domingo is charged with being the cause of the negro emancipation in that ill-fated colony. He must, indeed, be grossly ignorant of West Indian affairs who can discover, in the British invasion, the slightest connexion with the internal dissensions which, both before and after the year 1793, overthrew the colonial system of the French islands. We wish Mr Dallas had studied those parts of Edwards, from which instruction was to be derived, as attentively as he has perused the parts from which he could extract and abridge. It is difficult to say, in what chapter of the '*History of St Domingo*,' the most complete refutation of this calumny may be found: And yet Edwards, like every Jamaica landholder, is loud in condemning the St Domingo expedition; he even seems willing to believe in some mysterious connexion between that measure and the proclamation of the French commissioners. But the whole of those memorable events, which preceded the invasion under General Williamson,

concur

concur to demonstrate, that the negro emancipation was not even accelerated by the fears of the Republican agents.

In the account which Mr Dallas gives of the Maroons, he is much more copious and amusing than Mr Edwards; but only now and then gives us more real information. Among the *defiderata* which common readers must have found in Edwards' tract, and which the present work supplies, we may mention as most important, the distinct statement of the difference between the original Maroons and the runaway negroes, who afterwards received the same appellation. The former were the slaves of the Spainards, left behind them at their expulsion; and they settled in the eastern and northern parts of the island. The latter left their masters in the rebellion 1690, and settled on the south side. They were afterwards joined by a number of fugitives, chiefly Coromantees; by the Cottawoods, a tribe of the Maroons; and by the Madagascars, a tribe of uncertain origin. This new race of independent negroes was consolidated, under the famous chief Cudjoe, in 1730; and became so formidable, that, after various unsuccessful attempts to seduce them, Governor Trelawney was induced to give them an advantageous peace in the year 1738. It was this tribe alone that engaged in the last rebellion. Now, from Mr Edwards' account, no such information can be collected: He makes no distinction between the original Spanish Maroons, whose descendants still remain in the island, and the tribe of Cudjoe, the Trelawney Town Maroons, composed of rebels and fugitives from the English plantations, with a few Spanish Maroons. These were sent off, after the last rebellion; first, to Nova Scotia, and then to Sierra Leone.

Another obligation, under which Mr Dallas has laid the inquisitive reader, arises from the clear and accurate description of the Cockpits, and the Maroon mode of fighting. For want of this, the narrative of Edwards is extremely obscure in many parts. We are still farther indebted to our author, for correcting several misrepresentations into which Edwards has been led by his interested zeal against every thing that tends to favour the negroes. Accustomed, as we have been, to the inaccuracies of that writer upon all negro questions, we were not surprised to find abundant confirmations of our general opinions respecting his historical merits. We never believed his account of the Maroon character. Mr Dallas brings his own testimony, and that of his respectable informers, to strengthen our disbelief.

As an example of the discrepancy which often prevails among eye-witnesses of the same facts, we may observe, that both these writers ground several of their contradictory opinions upon alleged personal observation; and, as a proof of Mr Edwards' zeal

to blacken the character of the Maroons, we shall mention one singular circumstance. Mr Dallas tells us, that six weeks after Colonel Fitch's death, his skeleton was found among other bones of the slain, and that the skull was thrown within the ribs (vol. i. p. 239.). In order to render this picture more horrid, Mr Edwards has converted the six weeks into a day or two, covered the bones with flesh, and filled the abdominal cavity with bowels (sect. 3. *sub fine*). What he thus gains is indeed trifling; but the dishonesty of a trick is not much palliated by the insignificance of the gain.

A more extensive error has been committed by the same writer, if we may trust the result of a comparison which naturally forces itself on us, in reading his account of the plan for employing bloodhounds, (sect. 1. & 4.), and contrasting it with the narrative given by Mr Dallas, (vol. ii. p. 4. *et seqq.*)

Mr Dallas ascribes the suggestion of this very dubious measure to a conversation held by Mr Quarrell with a Spaniard, who had seen it adopted successfully against the Musquito Indians. Mr Edwards, after stating a fact, wholly omitted by Mr Dallas, that dogs had been employed for tracking the Maroons in the war 1730, describes the measures of 1795 as a recurrence to the laudable policy of former times. According to the former author, the only use of the dogs was to find out the retreats of the Maroons. The narrative of the latter proves, that the discovery of their haunts must be synonymous with their immediate butchery, either by the dogs or the chasseurs. Edwards describes the dogs as trained to the chase of wild cattle. Dallas uniformly distinguishes the true bloodhounds from those used in cattle hunting; the one being trained exclusively to the scent of men, the taste of human flesh, and the tearing of the victim limb from limb; the other, being only common hounds, of great strength indeed, but of very inferior value, in negro warfare. We shall insert, for the information of our readers, the following description, from vol. ii. p. 56, 63, & 67.

The dogs carried out by the Chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in; that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue, unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops; they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he stirs. In this position, they continue barking, to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expence. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home, the dogs are kept chained; and when walking with their masters, are never untamed, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are constantly

constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs, called finders, whose scent is very keen, and always sure of hitting off a track. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well; and the chasseurs rear no more than will supply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not so prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely stronger and hardier. The animal is the size of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are usually cropped at the points; the nose more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw. His coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other species of dog. There are some, but not many, of a more obtuse nose, and which are rather squarer set. These, it may be presumed, have been crossed by the mastiff; but if, by this, the bulk has been a little increased, it has added nothing to the strength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native breed.' p. 56-58.

'The pursuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would pass a hog without notice. Were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be severely punished.' p. 63.

'The Besucal chasseurs had not above seventy dogs properly broke; the others, of which they had many, though of the same breed, will kill the object they pursue: they fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two. These dogs, however, are seldom, if ever, carried out till, perfectly trained.' p. 67.

Now, let it be remembered, that one hundred and twenty dogs and *forty* chasseurs were transported from Besucal to Jamaica; and it must be evident, that few only of the number were properly trained; and, consequently, that more of the duty of hunting Maroons was meant to be left to the bloodhounds than to the drivers.

To Mr Dallas we are also indebted for a statement entirely omitted by Mr Edwards, not only of the real cause of terror which the negroes of Jamaica had, on the landing of the hounds; a terror, which Mr Edwards ascribes to false accounts of their qualities, but also of the specimens given by these animals, of their skill in the chase of men, and their thirst of human blood. vol. ii. p. 160. & 169.

'In this bottom Zeny encamped, judging it better to give rest to the men and the dogs, now exhausted with fatigue as well as thirst, and to advance on the Maroons in the morning, with the day before him, when the enemy would be less able to avail themselves of their superior knowledge of the ground than in the night. The party had scarcely erected their huts, when the barking of a dog was heard near them. They got immediately under arms, and, proceeding in the direction of the sound, discovered a negro endeavouring to make his escape. One of the Spanish dogs was sent after him. On coming up, the negro cut him twice



with his muschet, on which the dog seized him by the nape of the neck, and secured him.' p. 160. 161.

\* One of the dogs that had been unmuzzled to drink, when there was not the least apprehension of any mischief, went up to the woman, who was sitting attending to a pot in which she was preparing a mess. The dog smelled at it, and was troublesome; this provoked her; she took up a stick and began to beat him, on which he seized on her throat, which he would not let go till his head was severed from his body by his master. The windpipe of the woman being much torn, she could not be saved.' p. 169.

It is only necessary to add, that Mr Dallas is as keen an advocate as Mr Edwards for the use of the bloodhounds; that he derives all his original information from the person charged with the employment of procuring them, and honoured with the praise of having suggested the plan; that he evidently softens the information, as much as is consistent with truth; and that we can obtain a fair account of the scheme of the agents employed in executing it, only by comparing the different parts of his scattered narrative. We have judged it necessary to enter into these details, because they furnish the most material branch of the new matter contained in this work, and prepare the reader for the discussion of the main question suggested by the Maroon affairs—the propriety of employing bloodhounds in a war against human beings. We now proceed to offer a few remarks upon this point, chiefly because we conceive it has been much mistated on both sides, and because the situation of West Indian affairs renders the recurrence of similar discussions a matter of high probability\*. We think it necessary to premise, that, after the dogs arrived in Jamaica, they were uniformly kept in the rear of the army; that, unless in the two instances above mentioned, they never shed a drop of human blood; and that the commander, on all occasions, peremptorily rejected the earnest solicitations of the Spanish chasseurs, who were eager to *finish the war*, as they termed it, and to obtain the 960 dollars *per head* of the Maroons. We do not mean this as a compliment to the gallant officer who innocently, rather than gloriously, terminated the campaign; for, had he acted otherwise, he would have been, in our apprehension, guilty of a crime.

The question upon which we propose to offer a few remarks, is closely connected with the first principles of political science, and

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\* If common fame may be credited, the French are at present engaged in a campaign against the St Domingo rebels, with the aid of bloodhounds. Considering the nature of the Consular government, and the wretched people over whom it is stretched, we cannot avoid being astonished at this measure having only now been adopted.

and may appear to favour a little too much of metaphysical disputation. We shall endeavour, however, to steer clear of casuistical topics, and to offer a few plain criteria for the examination of the subject.

It must be observed, in the outset, that the mere consideration of humanity is by no means the chief argument against the employment of extraordinary methods of attack. In all civilized warfare, certain common and mutual rights are recognized; and the dread of retaliation will always operate as a prudential motive upon those combatants whose feelings are the most callous. It is not, therefore, from motives of humanity, but from views of interest, that the chief arguments on both sides of this question will naturally be drawn. By overlooking this principle, however, it has happened, that all the arguments of analogy which have been used to defend the employment of bloodhounds against the Maroons, if they prove any thing, prove a vast deal too much. The party who favoured the scheme, including the Legislature of Jamaica, maintained, that animals had all along been used in war, by the most refined nations in the world; that the Asiatics had used elephants, and would have enlisted lions and tygers in their service, had these possessed sufficient docility; that every European nation adopts the use of horses, principally for the purpose of following up an attack upon discomfited and flying infantry. But, surely, if the only limits to the right of employing such auxiliaries, are the previous usage of what we thus term civilized states, and the safety with which those auxiliaries may be employed, the very same limits may be stretched, so as to comprehend all the stratagems of ancient warfare, the serpents of Hannibal, the assassins of the Old Man of the Mountain, the poisoned arrows of the Indians and Orientals, nay, the compendious waste of life by poisoning the meat and drink of an enemy, and the punishment of captives by tortures, not to mention red-hot balls, and refusal of quarter. The same expedients may be justified by the other more general argument which the advocates for the use of bloodhounds resorted to, that the justice of the end justifies all the means which can be proved useful towards its attainment. To poison the water of a besieged city, or to assassinate the generals of a hostile army, are measures of obvious use towards the defeat of the enemy, and are no more liable to the charge of wantonness, or malice, or needless cruelty, than any other acts of hostility.

To the illustrations given by Edwards, in his statement of the reasoning adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica, Mr Dallas adds several other topics, which he seems to think still more decisive of the question. 'Were a man,' he demands, 'bit by a mad dog, would he scruple to cut or burn out the part which had received the contagion? Do we not amputate a limb, to save

the body? And if self-preservation,' he continues, 'dictate these personal sufferings, shall not the preservation of a large community justify the use of the readiest, perhaps the only means of averting destruction?' But, besides, that this argument applies, like all the rest which we have considered, to the justification of every species of enormity whereby military operations may be facilitated, and the destruction of war rendered more extensive and unsparing, it should be remembered, that the very act of hostilities against any tribe, presupposes it not to be a part of the community which carries on the war with it. It is ludicrous to talk of a concession, or a loss, or a sacrifice, made to preserve one of the belligerent parties, at the sole expence of the other. The act of submitting to a painful and extraordinary privation, in order to prevent a still greater evil, derives its whole merit from affecting the person or the community, that at once feels the smart, and reaps the benefit: We can give but little credit to the heroism which seeks for self-preservation, not in self-denial and sufferings, but in the pains and injuries of others.

It is indeed alleged, that the Maroons were rebels, and not enemies. But although, like many other nations, they owed their origin to a successful rebellion at a former period, it is clear, that they had acquired, by the concessions of the Europeans themselves, a right to be treated, in many important particulars, exactly like an independent community. By the celebrated treaty most unfortunately concluded in the year 1738, in consequence of mutual misconceptions of the state of things on each side, lands were granted in perpetuity to the Maroons, as a separate tribe; the general plan of a system was sketched out, by which they agreed to regulate themselves towards their British neighbours; and, by their own voluntary agreement, certain limitations were imposed upon their power of arranging their own affairs. Although the seeds of a new rupture had been left to spring up gradually by the operation of this compact, (as too often happens in the transactions of greater communities), it is obvious, that the immediate cause of the hostilities in 1795 was of such a nature as would, in Europe, have been held to throw the blame upon Great Britain. The letter of the treaty was observed, and its spirit completely disregarded. Two Maroons were whipt for thieving. To this their countrymen would have had no objections; but, then, the punishment was performed by the hands of a slave, while it was well known, that the most irreconcilable enmity has been successfully encouraged between the Maroons and the enslaved negroes. The rebellion would have been quelled, had not another step been adopted, equally repugnant to the spirit of the treaty—that of sending those who came to make submission,

submission, on board of a vessel, when it was known that the thing most dreaded by the Maroons, was transportation from the country. If, to these unnecessary insults, we add, the persevering obstinacy with which the government maintained in his office a superintendant, extremely obnoxious to the tribe, and excluded from that situation the person who had gained their entire favour and confidence, we shall probably be inclined to think, that the Maroons did not resort to hostilities, without having somewhat of the same pretexts which are held to justify more civilized nations in adopting warlike measures; and, at any rate, that there was nothing so extraordinary in their conduct, as to justify the adoption of uncommon methods of annoyance on the other side.

But Mr Dallas ridicules the clamour that was raised in England, against the employment of bloodhounds; partly by enumerating instances of greater and more inexcusable violence; such as, the Spaniards hunting the naked Americans, the Romans exposing criminals to wild beasts in their public amusements, and the Spartans hunting the Helotes for their diversion; and partly by stating, what he considers as a parallel case, the practice of keeping watch-dogs. With respect to the last of these arguments, it is sufficient to remark, that the objection formerly urged, applies to it in full force: it proves a great deal too much, if we admit that it applies at all. With respect to the former cases, what do they prove, but that still greater enormities were once committed by the Spaniards, the Romans, and the Spartans, than those of which we have to accuse the government of Jamaica? It is no very great vindication of our countrymen in the colony, that the enormity of their conduct was less shocking than those outrageous violations of every human feeling and principle, by which the most warlike nations of antiquity, and one of the greatest states in modern times, have branded their names with everlasting infamy.

The circumstance of a difference in civilization, cannot, by any means, render the case of the Maroons an exception to the laws which, partly from right declared by usage, partly from clear views of mutual interest, prohibit a recurrence to extraordinary modes of annoyance. It becomes a refined people to war with savages, if circumstances render such hostilities necessary, according to the same rules of honour and good faith which regulate their attacks upon more polished states. Once admit that the line may be overstepped in consideration of the character of the enemy, and you must sanction the adoption of every enormity which is practised by savages themselves in their barbarous system of warfare. It is the proud distinction of a civilized nation, to have abandoned, at a former period of its progress, all those arts of ferocious ingenuity; and there is not a

shade to separate the crime of recurring to the same state of barbarism, in order to oppose tribes who have not yet abandoned it; from the crime of introducing those modes of barbarity into contests with civilized nations, in order that this temporary dereliction of the civilized state may render the continuance of hostilities shorter, and their recurrence less frequent.

But the Maroons had various advantages, in their knowledge of the country—their acute senses—their perseverance under hardships and privation. These are the only advantages of savages; and to counterbalance them, we apprehend, the advantages peculiar to civilized warriors are abundantly sufficient. We conceive, that discipline, artillery, and regular supplies of provisions, will generally render acuteness of sense superfluous, patience and perseverance unnecessary, and acquaintance with the fastnesses of the country of little avail.

In the situation of the Maroons, the fortuitous circumstances of an uncommonly strong position, and nice adaptation to the rigours of the climate, were added to the common advantages of rude tribes. But vast superiority of numbers, all the facilities arising from a possession of the towns and coasts, and a decided preference in the eyes of the slaves, were no trifling matters in favour of the Europeans, to match the accidental superiority of the savages in these particulars.

The proceedings of the Maroons were indeed stained with those enormities which always attend a barbarian's conquests: but the perpetration of such enormities, is the great feature which distinguishes a savage state. And as an immediate sacrifice of the bad passions to which they owe their origin, would by no means ensure the possession of discipline and refinement: so, the sacrifice of regularity and humanity, would not secure to Europeans, all advantages of systematic cruelty. In short, the contest between foes of different degrees of civilization, is a thing, on every account, much to be deprecated. But if, by our own policy, we have filled our colonies with barbarians, let us not aggravate the original crime, by adding to it another; let us not overleap the bounds which separate the savage from the civilized state. That the bloodhounds were never used, can be no vindication of the measure in question. If the Maroons had resisted, they would have been partly tracked, that is, hunted and shot, when they could not resist; partly torn to pieces by animals who are trained to the scent and taste of human blood. It was only the effects produced upon the savages, by seeing this refinement of barbarous tactics, which prevented the apparatus from being used as it was procured. It would be no vindication of a general who should poison his swords, or the enemy's water, to say, that the fear of the poison kept the enemy from either fighting or drinking, by which

which he was subdued ; nor would it much excuse a highwayman, that the fear of his pistol prevented him from committing murder in order to effect a robbery. The Legislature of Jamaica, if the idea of *right* applies to national proceedings, were guilty of a breach of public duty, by hiring bloodhounds, although this measure operated by fear and not by actual murder. They were guilty of gross impolicy, in an enlarged sense of the word, unless it can be alleged that the shortest and easiest means of attaining a justifiable object, are always the most expedient, even when they are most criminal.

It is upon the Legislature of the island, and not upon the Governor or the Commander in Chief, that the foul stain, which, we cannot help thinking, the British name received in this transaction, must rest. The Colonial Assembly, with that meanness of plan, that precipitancy of action, and that cowardly eagerness after present safety, which might have been expected in a parish vestry, adopted this mode of proceeding, immediately after they had nearly come to a pusillanimous resolution of giving the Maroons equal terms, without trying the effects of General Walpole's system. Their subsequent conduct was marked by similar inconsistency and narrowness of views, both towards their own agents in the bloodhound scheme, and towards the Maroons themselves. They virtually acknowledged, that Mr Quarrell had saved the island by his ability in executing the plan ; but they were too jealous of a fellow colonist, to return him direct thanks : They treated with the enemy, and, in our humble opinion, violated their plighted faith. This is the next question of importance in considering the Maroon affairs ; and we shall say but a very few words upon it ; though it illustrates the absurdity of expecting much from Colonial Assemblies.

In the convention between the Maroons and General Walpole, ratified by the Government, it was stipulated, that they should lay down their arms, and deliver up themselves and the deserter negroes, before a specified day. It was also stipulated, that they should *not* be carried out of the island. Now, it cannot be denied, that the Maroons were slow in performing their part of the stipulation. The first day of surrender specified in the treaty was allowed to elapse, and another was named ; which also passed over, without any considerable number of Maroons surrendering. General Walpole, therefore, deemed the treaty sufficiently infringed to justify him in hastening their surrender, by threats of using the hounds. But his principal instrument of persuasion consisted in assurances that the stipulations of the treaty would be strictly observed by Government ; for he plainly saw that the backwardness of the Maroons arose entirely from the distrust which forms so distinguishing a feature of the savage character.

character. As soon as he had succeeded in removing these suspicions, the Maroons surrendered themselves, and the Assembly, on the ground of the treaty having been set aside by their delay, immediately voted that they should be transported to the British dominions in North America. The Governor left the determination of this point entirely to them; and they positively refused even to hear General Walpole give evidence with respect to those parts of the Maroon affairs which he alone had an opportunity of knowing. When we consider the difference of the British and the Maroons in point of refinement, we shall perhaps be disposed to think, that some inaccuracy on the part of the latter, in observing the precise terms of the treaty, might have been forgiven. But when it is admitted that the Maroons continued to come in gradually on the faith of the subsisting treaty; that their slowness originated in distrust; that their submission was accepted without any new stipulations, we cannot hesitate to declare the rigorous conduct of the Assembly a direct violation of justice, as well as humanity, supported by a pitiful nicety in the interpretation of a compact, the spirit of which had been observed, as far as the British had any right to expect, from their knowledge of the party with whom they bargained. The Maroons were sent to Nova Scotia, where they remained an expence to the island of Jamaica, from their habitual want of industry; and miserable from the severity of the climate, and their hankering after a more southerly exposure. Rather induced by the expence, than by the unhappy condition of these people, the Colonial Legislature took measures, in the year 1799, for transporting them to Sierra Leone, where they have since lived in greater quietness and comfort.

The opinions of our author upon all the negro questions, differ extremely from those which we have been led to form, even by attending to his own statements of fact. He positively denies the dangers of an independent negro commonwealth being allowed to grow up in the West Indies. Upon this subject we have already delivered our sentiments, and have sketched the reasons on which they are founded. (No. I. Art. XXVII.) He objects to the scheme of cultivating by free negroes, and argues against the author of the '*Crisis*,' in a vague and declamatory style. Although on this point we agree with him, yet we are not at all confirmed in our opinion, by his very loose and superficial remarks, and we cannot avoid reprobating the careless or insidious manner in which he alludes to the excellent writer just now mentioned. He describes him as the champion of negro liberty, and declaims against the idea of emancipation, as if any one could now be found willing to support so insane a doctrine. But nothing can be more absurd than his defence of the slave trade, He

He seriously maintains, that it is authorized by religion and usage, that it is calculated to civilize Africa, and that the possession of liberty is rendered of little value, by the recollection of what has lately passed in France. We have often heard the French revolution pressed into the service of those who wanted an *argumentum ad populum*, to palliate existing abuses in the political establishments of Europe. But we have not until now observed that calamitous event used as a vindication of domestic slavery, and still less as a defence of the negro commerce.

Upon the whole, we cannot give much praise to Mr Dallas's performance, either as a history or a piece of reasoning. All the grave and argumentative part of it tends little to instruct or convince. The adventures of Mr Quarrell, however, and the anecdotes of the Maroon war, may certainly amuse those who delight in useless reading; and we must acknowledge, that after giving up all idea of receiving real benefit from the book, we have been highly entertained by perusing it merely as a romance, or an unimportant piece of biography.

ART. IX.—*Nouvelle Theorie de la Formation des Filons*, par A. G. Werner. Traduit de l'Allemand, par J. F. Daubuisson. Paris, 1802.

**I**N the present state of society, metallic substances are among the most powerful of our moral and physical agents. The theory of their formation, and the rules that may lead to their discovery, are therefore the most important objects of mineralogical research. The circumstances in which they are found, the economy to be observed in obtaining them, their probable extent, and possible reproduction, are inquiries which affect the interest of all, and involve the most intricate and interesting questions of geological speculation.

The author of the work we are about to consider has long enjoyed deserved celebrity. His treatise 'on the External Characters of Fossils,' may be said to have first rendered mineralogy a communicable science, by substituting precise terms, accurate definitions, and infallible criteria, for the vague, unmeaning, or unintelligible descriptions with which the adepts of the old school had formerly bewildered their disciples, and involved their art itself in barbarous mysticism. Elevated by his talents to the respectable situation of Professor in the first mineralogical school in Europe, Werner has seen his system triumph over the opposition of prejudice, petulance, and jealousy. His authority has



has been appealed to, his expressions quoted, his book translated, and his lectures pilfered. In Germany, an empire of miners and mineralogists, his words have oracular authority; and in no country where the science he professes is known, can his assertion be despised, or his authority lightly dissented from. In the work before us, there was reason to expect that the audacity of Theory should have been repressed by matured judgment, and by nearly thirty years of extensive and indefatigable observation. The powers of the author's mind have been directed to one grand phenomenon in the economy of Nature, for which he has laboured to devise a satisfactory explication. How far he has succeeded in that arduous undertaking, remains for us to inquire.

The theory itself must be fairly stated in the outset: It may be condensed into four propositions.

1. That all veins were originally fissures in the rocks they traverse.
2. That these fissures were filled from above.
3. That veins differ widely in the relative antiquity of their formation.
4. That the same vein, being partially filled at different periods, often contains substances of various antiquities.

The substance of the remarks by which these propositions are explained and connected, may be found in the following abstract:—When stratified mountains were formed at the bottom of the ocean by successive depositions, the moist incoherent mass must, on the retreat of the waters, have sunk towards the unsupported side, and its retreat must have produced numerous and profound fissures. Other fissures would be formed by the contraction of the strata during the evaporation of the superfluous moisture; and every earthquake must have increased their number. Nor is their formation confined to remote antiquity. Rents of great extent have been lately formed, after a wet season, in Silesia; and in Calabria, during the dreadful earthquake by which it was desolated. Empty fissures of various dimensions are not uncommon in rocks, and would have formed veins, had not their situation debarred them from the necessary impregnation, or their formation been subsequent to the last solution in which the country was immersed.

Veins resemble fissures, in contracting as they descend, in finally closing at bottom, and in sometimes splitting into minute ramifications. In their position they are nearly vertical, and the veins of one district that contain the same minerals are generally parallel to each other in their direction, and have probably been produced by the same convulsion. The derangement of rocks by veins, proves, still more unequivocally, that they were originally open

open fissures; the division of the rocks being effected by violence, and the separated portion removed from its natural situation by the shock.

On considering the interior structure of veins, it will evidently appear that they were open fissures, which have been gradually filled from above. The substances they contain are disposed in coats parallel to the walls, and arranged in corresponding order on each side. Those coats that are in contact with the walls are thinnest at the top, become more thick as they descend, and sometimes unite. The inner coats receive the impressions of the crystals in the coats nearest the walls, thus establishing their anterior formation, as the enveloping substance must be more recent than what is enveloped. Veins often contain rounded pebbles, and are sometimes entirely filled with them. Portions of the rock they traverse are frequently enclosed, preserving the acuteness of their angles. Though the occurrence is rare, several well authenticated instances demonstrate the existence of petrifications in veins; and trees have been found at a great depth in a vein of *wakke*. There is no conceivable explanation of these phænomena, says Werner, but by supposing the substances filling the vein to have entered from above, and to have been precipitated from aqueous solutions.

The same depositions that constituted strata, would form veins, when precipitated into fissures existing in rocks of anterior formation. Thus we find veins of granite, porphyry, basalt, quartz, carbonate of lime, &c. If the solution contained metals, the vein would become metalliferous; and, at the same time, depositions on the surface of the rocks would form strata rich in ore. It is evident that the stratified depositions of ore are exposed to many causes of destruction, from which the walls of rock would protect the substances enclosed in a vein; but a sufficient number have escaped decomposition, alluvion, and the overwhelming incumbency of subsequent depositions, to prove the general operation of the laws which have effected their formation; for there are few ores existing in veins that may not be found in strata, some of which are of great extent, and rich in metallic impregnation.

From the diversity of substances that occupy veins, and the manner of their introduction, different modes of formation, and of course different degrees of antiquity, must be assigned to them. It is not even to be supposed, that the fissures in which they are found were all formed at the same time. The case has been so much the contrary, that some have evidently been filled and consolidated, before others were produced by subsequent convulsions, which, acting in a different direction on the mass of  
rock,

rock, formed a chasm intersecting the former vein; and, so tremendous has the shock often been, that not merely is a new fissure generated, but the masses of rock, and with them the portions of the old vein, have been laterally removed many yards from their former situation. The new fissure, filled by subsequent depositions, exhibits one vein traversing another, interrupting its continuity, interposing a considerable space between the junction of its dislocated extremities; while the aggressor tranquilly preserves its rectilinear direction, and its unbroken body of ore; most clearly demonstrating the recentness of its own origin relatively to that of the vein which suffered from its intrusion.

Such is the theory which Werner supports in this volume, with great copiousness of illustration, and innumerable references to observations, which he has either personally made, or indefatigably accumulated, from authorities on which dependence could be placed. In asserting his doctrines, he displays no little of that confident enthusiasm which ever distinguishes the daring theorist, and omits no method to gain friends, and disarm his antagonists. In his preface, he intreats that his work may be twice carefully read before it is judged; and two very long chapters are occupied in detailing and confuting the opinions of all who have spoken of mineral veins, from Diodorus and Pliny, to Lehmann and Ladius. He might safely have resigned the greater part of these theories to the oblivion from which we fear his interposition will not rescue them. For we doubt if even his prefatory supplication will induce the most devoted of his readers to wade a second time through this heavy mass. It was with joy we returned to the discussion of his own opinions; and we derived peculiar pleasure from his disquisitions on the relative antiquities of metals, the almost endless diversity of their formations, and the universal operation of those singular laws which have produced the association of some metals, and ordained others to be for ever disunited. We cannot too much admire the patient research and acute observations which have enabled him to exhibit, in so clear an arrangement, a series of facts that had formerly eluded the researches of the naturalist, from the obscurity of their situation, and the aspect of irregularity and confusion with which the attendant phenomena often perplex even an experienced

Had every proposition that Werner asserts, been as irrefragably established, he might safely brave the puny hostilities of rival theorists in his own impregnable fortress; but, when unsatisfied with facts, he launches into the boundless regions of conjecture, we can no longer follow him with confidence or with safety.

In the very outset of this rash course, we find him floundering in the muddy depositions of that chaotic ocean, which speculators have unwisely created for their own entanglement; by whose treacherous quicksands they are constantly betrayed; and from the dye of whose mud, not all the solutions in which they afterwards immerse the world can effectually purify them.

But let us concede them the existence of this extraordinary menstruum, in which the elements of all substances are dissolved or suspended; and let us suppose that the operation of affinities, which Nature has long ceased to exert, enabled her to summon, from the remotest of its turbid waves, the particles necessary to form granite, gneiss, primitive limestone, or schistus, and, by successive precipitations, to place strata of the one above the other, nicely defining the line of separation, and scrupulously abstaining from contaminating them with the slightest admixture. Let them lye *stratum super stratum* in all the majesty of accumulation, still we would ask the theorist how they are to be elevated into mountains. In their original constitution they must have been horizontal; for the laws of gravitation, if the speculator considers himself bound by them, would determine their concentricity to the centre of the earth. The bottom of this ancient sea being thus level, there could be no currents to cause accumulations in particular places, and the whole stratification must have reposed tranquilly under the waters which generated it. Let us concede another step, and suppose that the operation of other undiscovered laws, assembled the jarring chaotic atoms in particular spots, traced the limits within which they might repose in peace, and, by raising some tracks to comparative elevation, left profound excavations between them; still, no rock can have appeared above the surface of the ocean; and the strata deposited must still have been horizontal. The improvident speculator has contrived no reservoir to contain the superfluous waters, resting from the task of creation; that the world he has with such conjectural difficulty constructed, may be torn in every direction by the sinking down of its incoherent bulk, be cracked by the contraction of its parts in drying, and be subjected to various unknown operations and convulsions, by which its strata might be elevated from their horizontal position, till they become vertical, and mutilated at the same time, with various contortions and dislocations.

Nor even now is the tortured world to be allowed repose; for now commence its immersions in solutions impregnated with metallic salts. From what new reservoir does this scourge escape? What calls it forth teeming to saturation? What determines the moment of its parturition? and whither does it retire?

Let

Let us grant all this to have happened once, and hope that succeeding tranquillity may reward our concession; or at least that we may proceed with the more leisurely steps of philosophic induction. But the indefatigable theorist has already prepared innumerable other solutions which are successively to immerse us. Some, richly impregnated, are to form *two* depositions; and, after triumphing over the principles of chymical affinity, we may admire the moderation which does not attempt to obtain the whole *seventeen* formations of Galzèna from the same solution; and thus remove, in a great measure, the embarrassment attending the regulation of the ebb and flow of a mass of fluid, adequate to covering the world.

It is needless to push this investigation farther, or attempt to analyze the wildness of opinions from which probability revolts. Theories, founded on postulates so inadmissible, and on the capricious exertion of forces so prodigious, are far from advancing the interests of true philosophy. Those hours which might be precious employed in observing and registering the phænomena of Nature, are idly wasted in weaving the slight tissue of conjecture; and those talents, which might enlarge our knowledge by well directed experiment, are ill employed in defending or combating a fantastic hypothesis.

In our opinion, Werner has proved, to a philosophic demonstration, that veins were originally fissures, that they have been formed at very different periods, and that they have been filled by successive depositions. Had he stopped here, his doctrines might have defied all opposition; though we might still have regretted that the assistance he boasts of having afforded to practical mining, should dwindle, on examination, into little more than an exhortation to miners to make geological plans and descriptions of the districts they explore. Without being accused of fastidiousness, we may also regret that the arrangement he has adopted should be so far from being luminous, and that his style should be loaded with unnecessary repetitions. It is true, he tells us, in his preface, that although he has been employed nearly thirty years in collecting the materials of this work, and although the theory he here supports had for six years formed part of his geological lectures; circumstances, which he does not explain, had obliged him to compose and publish the whole in three months, each sheet being printed as soon as it was written. This is but a bad apology, even for defects in composition; and it is impossible that this final precipitation could influence the general arrangement of a work which had been the subject of the author's meditations for so many years.

In his preface, Werner pledges himself to publish some other portions of his lectures. Twelve years have since elapsed, and we believe his promise remains unfulfilled. It is needless for us to observe how mortifying such a suspension must prove to all those who dedicate their time to the sciences in which he is so profoundly skilled; and how eagerly they wish him to rescue his works from the mutilations and blunders with which the pirated copies of his lectures are deformed. Many an ephemeral reputation has been raised in Germany on materials which dishonest industry has pilfered from the copious store of Werner; and our love of literary justice combines with many other motives in making us anxious to behold him resume his rights, and chase his puny competitors from the field.

We cannot close these observations, without bestowing some attention on the translator, to whose laudable industry many mineralogists are indebted for facilitating their acquaintance with this valuable treatise. Mr Daubuisson has been already distinguished by a long account of the mines of Freyberg, and by several essays in the *Journal des Mines*. He appears to have entered Germany little skilled in the science he now so sedulously cultivates; to have listened to the German professors as to the voice of Inspiration; to have scrupulously avoided all unbecoming hesitation in embracing their opinions; to have examined no phenomena but those they indicated as deserving of attention, and to have seen no specimens but those which embellished their cabinets. Like a zealous apostle, he has laboured to promulgate the tenets he has received; and, the more effectually to secure himself from the danger of conviction and apostasy, he published the first edition of his translation before he left Freyberg, with such a solemn proclamation of his faith, as almost precluding a recantation. In Paris, this new edition, enriched by several notes and verbal corrections, appeared in 1802, under the eye and patronage of Werner, who was visiting the accumulated riches of that metropolis. The enthusiasm of the translator seems nothing abated, and his laborious zeal announces fresh translations. These will be a valuable addition to the general stock of information, if M. Daubuisson continues to exercise the same candour and fidelity that distinguish his present performance. It is no small effort of candour in a Frenchman to discover merit in the productions of foreign nations; and to naturalize that merit, without appropriating it, is a degree of honesty which some distinguished philosophers have not been able to attain.

As a specimen of the translator's style, and to afford the abettors of the Huttonian theory, a subject of meditation, we add the following short extract :

‘ Dans les *Annales de Chimie de Crell*, j'ai donné la description d'un gîte de *wakke*, connu sous le nom de *buxzenwakke*, que l'on voit dans la galerie *Barbara* à *Joachimsthal*. Cette *wakke* appartient à la formation de *trap* : elle se trouve dans une roche primitive de schiste micacc et de schiste argileux. Le gîte descend à une profondeur de plus de cent cinquante toises. Il renferme des arbres à demi-pétrifiés, qui ont encore leur écorce, leurs branches, leurs feuilles. Ce gîte ressemble beaucoup aux filons ; et il est bien hors de doute que ce n'est qu'une énorme fente qui s'est faite dans cette montagne primitive et élevée, et que cette fente a été ensuite remplie de *wakke* par le haut. Quelle est la révolution qui peut avoir produit la fente ? Quelle est celle qui peut l'avoir remplie ? ’ p. 277. 278.

ART. X. *Essay on Irish Bulls*. By Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and Maria Edgeworth. London. 1802.

**WE** hardly know what to say about this rambling, scrambling book ; but that we are quite sure, the author, when he began any sentence in it, had not the smallest suspicion of what it was about to contain. We say, the author ; because, in spite of the mixture of sexes in the title-page, we are strongly inclined to suspect, that the male contributions exceed the female, in a very great degree. The *Essay on Bulls* is written much with the same mind, and in the same manner, as a school-boy takes a walk : He moves on for ten yards on the straight road, with surprising perseverance ; then sets out after a butterfly, looks for a bird's nest, or jumps backwards and forwards over a ditch. In the same manner, this nimble and digressive gentleman is away after every object which crosses his mind. If you leave him at the end of a comma, in a steady pursuit of his subject, you are sure to find him, before the next full stop, a hundred yards to the right or left, frisking, capering, and grinning in a high paroxysm of merriment and agility. Mr Edgeworth seems to possess the sentiments of an accomplished gentleman, the information of a scholar, and the vivacity of a first-rate Harlequin. He is fuddled with animal spirits, giddy with constitutional joy : in such a state, he must have written on, or burst. A discharge of ink was an evacuation absolutely necessary, to avoid fatal and plethoric congestion.

The object of the book is to prove, that the practice of making bulls is not more imputable to the Irish, than to any other people ;

people; and the manner in which he sets about it, is to quote examples of bulls produced in other countries. But this is surely a singular way of reasoning the question: For there are Goitres out of the Valais, extortioners who do not worship Moses, oat cakes over the Tweed, and balm beyond the precincts of Gilead. If nothing can be said to exist preeminently and emphatically in one country, which exists at all in another, then Frenchmen are not gay, nor Spaniards grave, nor are gentlemen of the Milesian race remarkable for a disinterested contempt of wealth in their connubial relations. It is probable there is some foundation for a character so generally diffused; though it is also probable, that such foundation is extremely enlarged by fame. If there were no foundation for the common opinion, we must suppose national characters formed by chance; and that the Irish might, by accident, have been laughed at as bashful and sheepish; which is impossible. The author puzzles himself a good deal about the nature of bulls, without coming to any decision about the matter. Though the question is not a very easy one, we shall venture to say, that a bull is an apparent congruity, and real incongruity of ideas, suddenly discovered. And, if this account of bulls be just, they are (as might have been supposed) the very reverse of wit; for, as wit discovers real relations, that are not apparent, bulls admit apparent relations, that are not real. The pleasure arising from wit proceeds from our surprise at suddenly discovering two things to be similar, in which we suspected no similarity. The pleasure arising from bulls proceeds from our discovering two things to be dissimilar, in which a resemblance might have been suspected. The same doctrine will apply to wit, and to bulls in action. Practical wit discovers connexion or relation between actions, in which duller understandings discover none; and practical bulls originate from an *apparent* relation between two actions, which more correct understandings immediately perceive to have no relation at all.

Louis XIV. being extremely harassed by the repeated solicitations of a veteran officer for promotion, said one day, loud enough to be heard, 'That gentleman is the most troublesome officer I have in my service.' 'That is precisely the charge (said the old man) which your Majesty's enemies bring against me.'

'An English gentleman' (says Mr Edgeworth, in a story cited from Joe Millar) 'was writing a letter in a coffee-house; and, perceiving that an Irishman stationed behind him was taking that liberty which Parmenio used with his friend Alexander; instead of putting his seal upon the lips of the *curious impertinent*, the English gentleman thought proper to reprove the Hibernian, if not with delicacy, at least with



poetical justice. He concluded writing his letter in these words: "I would say more; but a damned tall Irishman is reading over my shoulder every word I write."

"You lie, you scoundrel," said the self-convicted Hibernian.' p. 29.

The pleasure derived from the first of these stories, proceeds from the discovery of the relation that subsists between the object he had in view, and the assent of the officer to an observation so unfriendly to that end. In the first rapid glance which the mind throws upon his words, he appears, by his acquiescence, to be pleading against himself. There seems to be no relation between what he says, and what he wishes to effect by speaking.

In the second story, the pleasure is directly the reverse. The lie given was *apparently* the readiest means of proving his innocence, and *really* the most effectual way of establishing his guilt. There seems for a moment to be a strong relation between the means and the object; while, in fact, no irrelation can be so complete.

What connexion is there between pelting stones at monkeys, and gathering cocoa nuts from lofty trees? Apparently none. But monkeys sit upon cocoa-nut trees; monkeys are imitative animals; and if you pelt a monkey with a stone, he pelts you with a cocoa nut in return. This scheme of gathering cocoa nuts is very witty, and would be more so, if it did not appear useful; for the idea of utility is always inimical to the idea of wit.\* There appears, on the contrary, to be some relation between the revenge of the Irish rebels against a banker, and the means which they took to gratify it, by burning all his notes, wherever

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\* It must be observed, that all the great passions, and many other feelings, extinguish the relish of wit. Thus, *lympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit*, would be witty, were it not bordering on the sublime. The resemblance between the sandal tree imparting (while it falls) its aromatic flavour to the edge of the axe, and the benevolent man rewarding evil with good, would be witty, did it not excite virtuous emotions. There are many mechanical contrivances which excite sensations very similar to wit; but the attention is absorbed by their utility. Some of Merlin's machines, which have no utility at all, are quite similar to wit. A small model of a steam engine, or a mere squirt, is wit to a child. A man speculates on the causes of the first, or on its consequences, and so loses the feelings of wit: with the latter, he is too familiar to be surprised. In short, the essence of every species of wit is surprise; which, *vi termini*, must be sudden: and the sensations which wit has a tendency to excite, are impaired or destroyed, as often as they are mingled with much thought or passion.

wherever they found them; whereas, they could not have rendered him a more essential service. In both these cases of bulls, the one verbal, the other practical, there is an apparent congruity, and a real incongruity of ideas. In both the cases of wit, there is an apparent incongruity, and a real relation.

It is clear, that a bull cannot depend upon mere incongruity alone; for, if a man were to say that he would ride to London upon a cocked hat, or that he would cut his throat with a pound of pickled salmon, this, though completely incongruous, would not be to make bulls, but to talk nonsense. 'The stronger the apparent connexion, and the more complete the real disconnexion of the ideas, the greater the surprise, and the better the bull. 'The less apparent, and the more complete the relations established by wit, the higher gratification does it afford. A great deal of the pleasure experienced from bulls, proceeds from the sense of superiority in ourselves. Bulls which we invented, or knew to be invented, might please, but in a less degree, for want of this additional zest.

As there must be apparent connexion, and real incongruity, it is seldom that a man of sense and education finds any form of words by which he is conscious that he might have been deceived into a bull. To conceive how the person has been deceived, he must suppose a degree of information very different from, and a species of character very heterogeneous to his own; a process, which diminishes surprise, and consequently pleasure. In the above mentioned story of the Irishman overlooking the man writing, no person of ordinary sagacity can suppose himself betrayed into such a mistake; but he can easily represent to himself a kind of character that might have been so betrayed. 'There are some bulls so extremely fallacious, that any man may imagine himself to have been betrayed into them; but these are rare; and, in general, it is a poor contemptible species of amusement; a delight in which, evinces a very bad taste in wit.

Whether the Irish make more bulls than their neighbours, is, as we have before remarked, not a point of much importance; but it is of considerable importance, that the character of a nation should not be degraded; and Mr Edgeworth has great merit in his very benevolent intention of doing justice to the excellent qualities of the Irish. It is not possible to read his book, without feeling a strong and a new disposition in their favour. Whether the imitation of the Irish manner be accurate in his little stories, we cannot determine; but we feel the same confidence in the accuracy of the imitation, that is often felt in the resemblance of a portrait, of which we have never seen

the original. It is no very high compliment to Mr Edgeworth's creative powers, to say, he could not have formed any thing, which was not real, so like reality; but such a remark only robs Peter, to pay Paul; and gives every thing to his powers of observation, which it takes from those of his imagination. In truth, nothing can be better than his imitation of the Irish manner: It is first-rate painting.

Edgeworth & Co. have another faculty in great perfection. They are eminently masters of the *pathos*. The Firm drew tears from us in the stories of little Dominick, and of the Irish beggar who killed his sweetheart: Never was any grief more natural or simple. The first, however, ends in a very foolish way;

—*formosa superne*  
*Definit in pisceni.*

We are extremely glad that our avocations did not call us from Bath to London on the day that the Bath coach conversation took place. We except from this with the story with which the conversation terminates; for, as soon as Mr Edgeworth enters upon a story, he excels.

We must confess we have been much more pleased with Mr Edgeworth in his laughing and in his pathetic, than in his grave and reasoning moods. He meant, perhaps, that we should; and it certainly is not very necessary that a writer should be profound, on the subject of Bulls. Whatever be the deficiencies of the book, they are, in our estimation, amply atoned for by its merits; by none more, than that lively feeling of compassion which pervades it for the distresses of the wild, kind-hearted, blundering poor of Ireland.

ART. XI. *Thoughts on the Restriction of Payments in Specie at the Banks of England and Ireland.* By Lord King. London. May 1803. pp. 106. 8vo.

THIS sensible and instructive publication, contains the substance of what was urged in Parliament, by Lord King, against the last renewal of the Bank Restriction Bills. His reasoning coincides, at least in its general outline, with that of Mr Boyd's well known pamphlet: setting out with the strong presumptions which might have led us to expect an excessive issue of paper, and confirming that probability by a reference to the price of bullion, and the rate of foreign exchange. We must acknowledge, however, that the argument is presented by Lord King, in a more corrected form, as well as with more candour.

dour. And the interval of experience that has now elapsed, has furnished him with a larger body of evidence, and a variety of additional illustrations.

Though from the very first, there could be no doubt of the impolicy and injustice of the restriction; yet, at the date of Mr Boyd's letter, the measure was too recent to warrant a confident opinion with regard to its particular influence on prices. It was, in its kind, quite novel and unexampled; and its operation was necessarily affected by many complicated circumstances. But now, it may be affirmed, that of all the political experiments which the temerity of statesmen ever hazarded, there is not another which has been more fairly tried than this, or of which the result has been ascertained with greater certainty. We have had an opportunity of observing the operation of the measure, under many varieties of situation, and where almost every circumstance has been successively varied, by which it might either have been counteracted or assisted; in war and in peace, in famine and in plenty, with a favourable and with an unfavourable balance of trade, during a languid stagnation of our manufactures, and amidst the spirit and heat of speculation. Throughout all these changes, one uniform effect may be perceived; which, with the evidence by which it is proved, and the reasonings by which it is explained, is very ably and perspicuously described by Lord King. For the information of our readers, on this most interesting subject, we shall make an abstract of his publication; because it is highly important that the public should at length entertain a correct opinion, with respect to those laws which have vitiated the currency of this country. We shall endeavour to convey the substance of his reasonings, without meaning to confine ourselves to his language, or to the precise order in which he has arranged the different steps of the argument.

It does not appear to have ever been doubted by any of the writers on political œconomy \*, that an enlargement of paper currency, beyond the growing demands of trade, has exactly the same operation in raising prices, as a multiplication of the precious metals. There is this difference, indeed, between the two cases, that the one is a local effect merely, whereas, the other extends over the whole commercial world; and that the latter is produced gradually, scarcely becoming sensible, till after the lapse of a considerable period of time; whereas, the former may take place very quickly, and has actually been known to take place very quickly in more instances than one. It is evident,

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\* See our First Volume, p. 179.

together unnecessary, even as a part of circulation; and that the provisional law of 1797 should be established as a permanent system. If the former sentiment may be classed among the expiring prejudices of the vulgar, this visionary scheme betrays no less ignorance of political œconomy, and in its practical tendency is much more pernicious. It is not, however, to be treated as a doctrine entirely new, or as for the first time suggested by the existing circumstances of this country. If authority could yield any support to so palpable an error, the sanction might be found of other names, than it will probably be able to produce in the present day. An idea of this sort runs through the *Querist* of Bishop Berkeley, not the least remarkable production of that acute genius; from whose fame it cannot be considered a derogation, that among many original and valuable views upon a science then almost uncultivated, some errors are to be found, from which we are not completely guarded by all the discoveries and experience of subsequent times. He appears to have conceived \*, that all circulation is alike a circulation of credit, whether metal or paper be employed as the medium; and that as coined metals were, in the progress of mankind from barbarism, substituted for barter, so, in a farther stage of improvement, a paper medium is to be substituted for coin. If the question were solely, whether it may be stated in the abstract as at all practicable, to carry on the business of internal commerce by a medium of circulation merely conventional, neither possessing intrinsic value itself, nor immediately convertible into a commodity of intrinsic value; we should answer this question in the affirmative. The practicability is sufficiently proved, by the experiment which has been made in this country; and there existed no reason, *à priori*, to doubt its possibility. But the real and important question is a very different one; how far this practicable scheme, is, by motives of expediency, and after a full view of its operation, recommended to be actually carried into practice? To this, we have no less hesitation in pronouncing a negative, upon the principle which has already been explained. A perfect system of currency must be composed both of specie and paper.

The introduction of paper money, the most refined, perhaps, of all the expedients to which the relations of society have given birth, was not only an immense step in the progress of commerce, but may be considered as having marked an epoch in the history of mankind. But the essential benefit of the invention does

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\* See Numbers 426. 439. 441. & 445. of the *Querist*, a work originally published in 1735.

does not consist, as Berkeley supposed, in forming an entire substitution for metallic currency; but, in saving a certain portion of so costly an article, and, what is of far greater consequence, in facilitating exchanges between places remote from each other, and economizing the time and the labour of large payments. Specie, however, as possessing intrinsic value, must still be considered as the ultimate element into which the currency of the country may at all times be resolved; and is the true basis upon which the fabric of paper circulation must be solidly reared. If the whole currency is merely conventional, no check operates against an excessive issue, and consequently no security exists for the permanent value of the medium of exchange. That permanency can only be secured, by making the conventional representative of value constantly and readily convertible into real value; constantly and readily convertible into gold and silver; because these preserve, more steadily than other commodities, an uniform value. Upon the principle, which we have endeavoured to explain, the excess of paper circulation would be converted into whatever commodity the paper was made convertible, provided that commodity was of intrinsic value. But it cannot be rendered convertible into some commodities, with the same convenience, as into others; nor would the restraint upon excessive issue operate, in every case, with the same degree of efficacy and regularity. As the precious metals form the most convenient measure of value and medium of exchange, when the whole circulation is effected by a medium of intrinsic value; for the same reasons, they are better fitted than any other commodity to be the basis of a conventional currency, and to form that real value into which every portion of it may at all times be immediately converted. Permanency of value, from age to age, is the point of first importance in the medium of circulation. And while the currency of a nation consists, either wholly of the precious metals, or of a paper system founded on, and secured by the principle of convertibility, its value cannot be considerably depreciated, except, along with the currency of the whole commercial world, by the discovery of new mines of extreme fertility: an event so rare, as to have occurred only once within the period of historical memory, and that at the epoch when the two hemispheres of the earth were first revealed to each other.

The preceding observations are sufficient, we trust, to shew, that when a national Bank, whose notes form the chief branch of currency, is relieved from the obligation of payments in cash, the only controul is then removed which limits the issue of paper to what is actually required by trade. That with such an opportunity, and such a license, no bank will ever long resist the temptation

temptation of high profits and extraordinary gains, there are very obvious reasons to presume; yet, it is a matter of some nicety to make out, in a particular instance, a distinct proof of the fact of undue issue. It is a case of that sort which scarcely admits of direct evidence. Even when we can obtain faithful documents of the amount of notes in circulation during a series of successive periods, we are not fully entitled to consider a progressive increase of amount as conclusive, unless that increase be very great indeed: because the quantity of currency required by the trade of a country varies with the rate of circulation, that rate of circulation differs with the different kinds of currency, and in each kind is liable to be accelerated or retarded by the various fluctuations of demand and of credit. Nor does a high and growing state of prices afford any more satisfactory proof of an undue excess in the quantity of circulating medium; because the state of prices is a very complex subject, and is known to us very vaguely; and because the same increase, which an excess of currency would occasion, may be produced by many other causes, such as a failure of produce or supply, or an accumulation of taxes, the operation of all which is so complicated together, that it is difficult to assign to any one its proper portion of the whole joint effect. Fortunately, however, there are two very simple and satisfactory tests, by which the fact of an excessive currency may be ascertained. The nature of these, we took an opportunity of explaining in a former article of this Review \*, at a time when we did not yet think that sufficient evidence was laid before the public to apply the inference, with conclusive certainty, to the conduct of the Bank of England.

When the circulating medium of a country has suffered a depreciation, whether it proceeds from the debasement of a metallic currency, or from the discredit, or from the excess of a paper currency, the currency price of gold and silver bullion must rise, at the same time with that of all other commodities. This fact is usually expressed, by saying, that the market price of bullion exceeds its mint price. When the market price of bullion comes to exceed its mint price, in consequence of a depreciation of currency, the rate of foreign exchange will suffer a nominal and apparent fall. The domestic currency has sunk in its bullion value, while foreign currencies remain unaltered: the proportion, therefore, of the bullion value of the former, to that of the latter, is changed. But though this proportion is changed, the ancient numbers, expressing it, are still adhered to by merchants. There will thus be a great difference between the computed rate of exchange, and its real rate; and whether the

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\* Vol. I. p. 184. & p. 209.

the actual difference be in favour of, or against, the country whose currency is depreciated, the apparent rate will always be computed so much more against it, or so much less in its favour, in proportion to the degree of that depreciation. The use of these two tests, in ascertaining the fact of a depreciated currency, may be explained by several remarkable instances. Before the reformation of the silver coin in King William's time, we are informed by Dr Smith, the exchange between England and Holland, computed according to the standard of their respective mints, was 25 *per cent.* against England; but the value of the current coin of England was, at that time, rather more than 25 *per cent.* below its standard value. \* Before the reformation of our gold coin in 1772, the market price of bullion exceeded the mint price, and the rate of foreign exchange was depressed; even the exchange with France was 2 or 3 *per cent.* against England. It is understood, that, at that time, the French coin, though worn, was not so degraded as the English, and was, perhaps, 2 or 3 *per cent.* nearer its standard. Very soon after the recoinage in 1772, the market price of bullion fell to the mint price, and there was a corresponding improvement in the course of exchange; the difference turned immediately in favour of England, and against France. † The issue of assignats, during the Revolution, depreciated the currency of France in a greater degree, than was ever known in any other instance. In the course of little more than two years, accordingly, the exchange between London and Paris fell between 60 and 70 *per cent.* to the disadvantage of the latter place; and would probably have fallen still more, by the operation of new issues of assignats, if the war had not interrupted the commercial intercourse of the two countries. ‡

It is not, indeed, from every rise in the market price of bullion above its mint price, or from every fall in the course of foreign exchange, that we are entitled to infer a depreciation of currency. A temporary excess of the market price of bullion above its mint price may be produced, without any peculiarity in the state of currency, by a failure in the supply of bullion from the mines, by a great demand for it either at home or from abroad, and, above all, by what is called an unfavourable balance of trade. The high market price, which these circumstances occasionally for a short time produce, may be farther augmented and prolonged, if the expences of foreign warfare, and the remittance of foreign subsidies, are aggravated by a failure

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\* Wealth of Nations, II. 215.

† Id. I. 62. and II. 215.

‡ Lord King, p. 37.



ure of the most necessary produce. It was from this view of the subject, that, when we examined the valuable publication of Mr Thornton, we deemed it proper to suspend our opinion, with respect to the operation of Bank of England paper upon prices, until the various causes of foreign expenditure might be considered as having completed their full effect; while, at the same time, we declared that the question would be solved to our conviction, if the excess of the market price of bullion should continue, after the balance of trade was restored in favour of this country. In the same manner, it is somewhat difficult to discriminate, whether an unfavourable course of exchange is real or only apparent. When it is only a few degrees below par, and has been observed only for a short period of time, it is scarcely possible to determine whether it is a real difference from an unfavourable balance of trade, or an apparent difference from a depreciation of our currency. But the longer the period of time is, during which even a small difference continues, the greater does the presumption always become, that it is only an apparent difference: and this presumption would be remarkably strengthened, if the difference were against a country which formerly enjoyed a favourable balance of trade, of which the manufactures and foreign commerce had suffered no diminution, but had advanced in prosperity, and which had recently adopted a change in the system of its currency, that might possibly lead to depreciation. It must farther be observed, that, how short soever the period may be during which the course of exchange is observed, if the difference from par is very great, and exceeds a certain limit, there is then every reason to believe that a certain portion at least of this difference is only apparent, and must be ascribed to a depreciation of currency. No person can imagine for a moment, that, when the exchange against Paris was almost 70 *per cent.* under par, that the whole of this immense difference, or that more than a very small portion of it, was real and arising from the balance of trade. Nor does any one believe that the present exchange of 16 *per cent.* against Dublin, which is nearly twice as great as the usual difference, does not in part originate in a recent depreciation of the currency of Ireland. There is, indeed, a natural and necessary limit to the real difference of exchange, as occasioned by the balance of trade. This difference never can exceed, as Lord King has observed, \* ‘ what will be sufficient to pay the expences and profit of the merchant who exports precious metals to restore the balance.’ The same thing was long ago pointed out by Sir William Petty; who informs us, that,

that, about the year 1672, 15 *per cent.* was given for the remittance of money from Ireland into England: and the remark, which he subjoins, admits of an exact application to present circumstances:—‘Although, in truth, exchange can never be naturally more than the land and water-carriage of money between the two kingdoms, and the insurance of the same upon the way, *if the money be alike in both places.*’\* Lord King farther states, that this expence will probably seldom exceed 8 *per cent.* from London to the continent of Europe; which may therefore be considered as the utmost limit of an unfavourable exchange, in a regular state of things.

From the foregoing observations, which we have insensibly protracted to an unexpected length, it may be concluded, in general, (and this general conclusion we may be prepared to apply to such particular instances as shall present themselves), that, where a steady excess of the market price of bullion above its mint price, and a great depression of the course of exchange, are permanent amidst the variation of all those circumstances which influence the balance of trade, the two effects must be referred to one common cause, a depreciation of currency. Without any farther proof, the inference is just and satisfactory. But if it be farther fortified by direct evidence and official documents, either of a fraudulent debasement of coin, or of an unwonted augmentation in the issue of paper, the conclusion becomes irresistible to every understanding, that does not set all evidence and demonstration at defiance.

The amount of Bank of England paper in circulation, prior to the suspension of cash payments, was, upon an average of three years ending in December 1795, 11,975,573*l.* For a considerable time after that measure had been resorted to, the Directors appear to have acted with caution and forbearance, as if not yet sure of their ground, and doubtful of the success of the experiment on which they were about to venture. To supply the place of the guineas that were thrown out of circulation, an additional quantity of small notes was no doubt necessary; which Mr Thornton has probably estimated too highly, when he states the amount at two millions; because it was not found immediately necessary to issue so large an amount. Until the year 1799, however, the issue of bank notes did not much exceed thirteen millions. But about the middle of that year, as we find from the accounts laid before Parliament, the notes in circulation amounted to 13,759,940*l.*; and, before the end of the year, exceeded fourteen millions. In the course of the succeeding year, they were increased about a million and a half more. Our readers will

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\* Political Survey of Ireland, p. 71.

will recollect, that Mr Thornton endeavours to shew, that the issues of the Bank did not exceed the average sum, to which they amounted before the law of restriction. He admits, that, in December 1800, they were proved to amount to 15,450,970l.; but then he observes, that the Governor of the Company stated, in the following spring, to the House of Commons, that they had drawn in about a million and a half of that sum; so that, when the two millions of small notes were also deducted, there remained a sum almost exactly equal to the average of issues before the restriction. When we examine, however, the accounts which have from time to time been laid before Parliament, we find, so far from this being a correct statement of the fact, that in spring 1801, the issue of notes amounted to 16,365,206l.; which was still farther increased, in the summer of 1802, to 16,747,300l. According to the last account presented to the House of Commons, the Bank of England notes in circulation amounted to 16,108,560l. If we compare this sum with the above average of three years ending in December 1795, even after we add to the latter the whole two millions, of which Mr Thornton speaks, and which seems a very large allowance, the present issue from the Bank will be found to exceed that, which formerly was convertible into specie, by something less than one sixth of the whole. If we consider the quick circulation which paper admits of, and the increase which an accelerated rate of circulation gives to the effective powers of currency, this addition of almost one sixth must be regarded as an immense augmentation of the mass of efficient currency.

While the issue of Bank of England notes was moderate and restrained, the market price of bullion (particularly of silver bullion, which is a more certain standard than gold, because a more regular article of commerce) continued very nearly the same, as its established price in our mint; sometimes rising a little above that, and sometimes falling a little below it, but speedily returning towards it from each deviation. In the summer of 1799, however, about the same time with the great increase of bank paper, a rapid and extraordinary advance took place in the market price of bullion. That of silver rose at once to 5s. 8d., almost 10 *per cent.* above the mint price. It continued to rise, along with the progressive increase of notes; and in 1801, when they exceeded sixteen millions, it was as high as 6s. more than 16 *per cent.*, and even as 6s. 1d., more than 17 *per cent.* above the mint price.

While the issue of Bank of England notes was moderate and restrained, the rate of exchange with Hamburgh continued in favour of this country, being from 3 to 5 *per cent.* above par. But in the summer of 1799, about the same time with the great increase

crease of Bank paper, a very rapid fall took place. It fell at once to 32, about 8 *per cent.* below par; and continued to fall almost regularly, though not quite so regularly as the price of bullion rose, along with the progressive increase of notes. At the commencement of 1801, when they exceeded sixteen millions, the exchange with Hamburgh was as low as 29l. 10s. almost 16 *per cent.* below par.

These facts are highly curious and important: important to our own country in the present juncture, on account of the conclusion which they enforce respecting a most important object of national policy; important to the economist of every country and age, from the new light which they throw on one of the most difficult subjects in his science. The detail of these facts may be accurately considered, in a set of excellent tables which Lord King has subjoined to his work; and which, from their construction in parallel columns, exhibit, more distinctly than we have been able to describe, the remarkable correspondence between the variations in the quantity of Bank notes, and the variations in the price of bullion and rate of exchange. During the late suspension of hostilities, the exchange was somewhat improved, though it still continued apparently unfavourable to England; and the market price of bullion fell in some degree, though it still remained considerably above the mint price. These effects must be ascribed to the beneficial influence, even of a momentary pacification, upon the commercial relations of this country; and from all former experience, it may with confidence be inferred, that, had there not been an actual depreciation of our currency, the market price of bullion would have been on a level with its mint price; and the computed exchange, instead of being against us, would have appeared, as doubtless the real balance was, greatly in our favour. It is very ingeniously observed by Lord King, with reference to the state of things at the date of his publication—

‘We have, at the present time, a striking instance of an exchange with the Continent at par, and in an improving state; while the price of bullion is between 9 and 10 *per cent.* higher than the mint price. This extraordinary difference is rendered intelligible by supposing Bank notes to be depreciated, and the real balance of trade very different from the nominal, but by no other hypothesis.’ p. 35.

We have already alluded to the remarkable state of the exchange between Dublin and London. While that with the Continent has been so uniformly unfavourable, as we have described it, the exchange with Dublin has been all along increasing in favour of this country. But this exception in point of fact, forms

an additional illustration and proof of the general principle. In the former regular state of things, while the obligation of converting paper into specie subsisted, the ordinary difference of exchange between London and Dublin was 8 *per cent.* against the latter. But this has undergone a material alteration, since the Bank of Ireland, as well as that of England, received a license of issuing paper free from that obligation. If the Bank of Ireland had been more moderate in its abuse of this license than the Bank of England, it is obvious, that the currency of the former would have suffered a less depreciation than that of the latter, and there would consequently have been an apparent diminution in the difference of exchange. On the other hand, if the Bank of Ireland has been more extravagant in its abuse of that license than the Bank of England, the currency of the former must have suffered a still greater depreciation than that of the latter, and there will consequently have been an apparent increase in the difference of exchange. Now, the actual case is, that there has been a very great increase in the difference of exchange; and, agreeably to that correspondence which the preceding reasonings entitle us to expect, the issue of Notes from the Bank of Ireland has been greatly more enlarged than that of the Bank of England. For the detection of this fact, and of most reprehensible conduct on the part of the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, the public is indebted to the intelligence and activity of Lord King; upon whose motion, in the month of February last, the following document, which we insert entire, was laid before Parliament.

\* Account of the Amount of Bank of Ireland Notes in Circulation at different Periods (including Bills under *5l.*), presented to the House of Lords, pursuant to an order dated February 1803.

1797.	£.	1802.	£.
January 1.	— 621,917	June 1.	— 2,678,980
April 1.	— 737,268	August 1.	— 2,628,958
June 1.	— 808,612	October 1.	— 2,528,251
September 1.	— 959,999	December 1.	— 2,536,867
1801.		1803.	
April 1.	— 2,266,471	February 1.	— 2,633,864
May 1.	— 2,405,214		
June 1.	— 2,330,012		

(p. 186.)

In the space of six years, it is thus proved, the paper currency of the Bank of Ireland has been augmented from 621,917*l.* to 2,633,864*l.*; and its notes at present in circulation exceed, more than four times, the amount of what were in circulation when the act of restriction was passed. During the same period, the

the price of silver in Dublin has experienced a great advance, having varied from 6s. 6d. to 7s. Irish currency; an increase which, estimating the mint price at 5s. 7d., is from 14 to 20 *per cent.* The rate of exchange between Dublin and London has been also remarkably affected; the difference having progressively increased from 8½, the ordinary difference, to 10, 12, 14, and even 16, to which it has risen since the publication of the present Work. This proof, of the depreciation of Bank of Ireland notes, has not been confined to the course of exchange with London; but is felt in the transactions of Dublin with many of the provincial towns, where those notes have not acquired a general circulation, the currency still consisting either of specie or of country notes. In consequence of this, and of the depreciated condition of the Dublin currency, there is an actual difference of exchange between Dublin and those towns. In Belfast, for instance, this is the case; and when a payment is there made in Bank of Ireland notes, an additional sum is paid proportional to the discount. To these statements of Lord King, we may add a fact exactly of the same nature, which has recently come to our knowledge; that when there is a money transaction betwixt this country and those parts of the north of Ireland, where the notes of the National Bank are not in general circulation, the difference of exchange, instead of being computed at 15 or 16 *per cent.* as against Dublin, does not exceed 8 *per cent.*, which was the ordinary exchange with Dublin, before the measure of restriction was resorted to. 'It is impossible, (our author observes), under such circumstances, to acquit the Directors of the Bank of Ireland of the charge of gross misconduct, even upon the ground of supposed ignorance and inexperience. An important trust, which, upon mistaken principles of political necessity, was committed to this corporate Body by Parliament, for the public benefit, appears to have been perverted to the private interest of the proprietors of their stock.'—p. 53. The remedy which Lord King has proposed, for the cure of these disorders, appears extremely simple, and founded on the justest principles of political economy. While the Bank of England continues to enjoy the restriction, that of Ireland cannot, with any propriety or justice, be directed to resume the ancient system of payments in specie. But, as a temporary expedient, an obligation upon the Bank of Ireland, to pay upon demand, in notes of the Bank of England, would unquestionably impose upon the Irish Directors the necessity of restraining the issue of their paper, and of reducing it at least to the standard of English currency.

From the preceding mass of evidence, so harmoniously consistent with all the deductions of general principle, our readers,

we trust, are prepared with us to pronounce, that the fact, of a depreciation of our currency originating in excess, is completely established. To our mind, at least, the reasonings and statements of Lord King appear now quite decisive. We mean, decisive as to the actual consequences of the measure of 1797, and its pernicious influence upon the system of circulation. For of the impolicy of that measure, we never for a moment entertained a doubt. To have apprized the public of that, it was quite sufficient, that the most intelligent and best informed persons owned themselves unable at the time to descry its probable effects; and that it was in itself a violent interference of the Legislature, forcing the arrangements of commerce out of their accustomed and natural course. Nothing can be more judicious than the concluding observations of Lord King:

‘A due regard to *general rules*, and especially to the great rules of property, forms a most important part of the duty of a legislator. They are the foundations of all private and political security; and the only means by which great principles can be effectually protected against rash speculation and hasty and inconsiderate judgments. A strict adherence to these rules, and a deep sense of their value and importance, is the great characteristic which distinguishes civilized nations, and which marks the progress of political knowledge and improvement. It has, in general, distinguished the legislative proceedings of our own country, and may be justly regarded as one of the principal causes of our national prosperity and greatness. Yet a more extraordinary deviation from all general rules has never occurred, than in that change in the system of our paper-currency, which commenced in the Act of Suspension of 1797, and is still continued. A law to suspend the performance of contracts has been suffered to remain in force upwards of six years. A power has been committed to the Directors of the Bank, which is not entrusted by the Constitution even to the Executive Government; a power of regulating, in a certain degree, the standard of the currency of the kingdom, and of varying this standard at their pleasure. A precedent has been established, by which, upon any suggestion of temporary expediency, the whole personal property and monied interests of the country may be committed to the discretion of a commercial Body not responsible to the Legislature, and not known to the Constitution.

‘This extraordinary measure, which originated in embarrassment and temporary difficulties, has been suffered to continue from mere inadvertence. Neither the Public nor the Legislature appear to have considered to what consequences such proceedings ultimately tend. Had Parliament been called upon to authorise any of those direct frauds upon the currency which have often disgraced arbitrary governments; had it been recommended to them to raise the denomination, or to diminish the value of the current coin, there can be no doubt that such a proposal would have been rejected with indignation. Yet an abuse of the same nature

nature has been established by law in this country. The power of reducing the value of the currency, by a silent and gradual depreciation, is more dangerous, from the very circumstance of its being less direct and less exposed to observation.

‘The true interests of Government and the People are not really at variance. No advantage can possibly be obtained by the former, under any emergency, from any change in the system of currency by which the Public is injured. After the first momentary relief, Government, so far from deriving any benefit from such violations of established rules, is obliged, like other consumers, to increase its expences, to multiply its loans and taxes, and to adapt its revenue to the enhanced price of labour and commodities. But this is only a small part of the evils that have uniformly been experienced by those nations which have had frequent recourse to such expedients. The abuse increases in strength, and a return to the former system is rendered more difficult by delay; public credit suffers; the revenue and resources fail; and what was at first a mere temporary accommodation, becomes finally a permanent cause of national weakness and decay. The case which is here supposed is extreme; but every instance of a discretionary power, by which the currency may be depreciated, has this tendency, and may ultimately produce these effects.’ p. 83—86.

We have purposely abstained from interrupting the deduction of the principal argument, by an allusion to any collateral views or incidental topics, in which we feel ourselves disposed to differ from the author, or to criticize his mode of statement. It is proper that we should now explain very briefly the few objections which have occurred to us.

He has not, perhaps, adhered with exact precision to the distinction, of which, in the abstract, he seems aware, between the two sorts of depreciation; the one originating from excess, the other from discredit: For he appears to apprehend, that the excess alone of Bank of England notes might at length produce a discount between them and gold coin; (p. 37. & p. 81.) This seems inaccurate. It must be recollected, that paper cannot become permanently excessive, until gold and silver coin have been in a great measure thrown out of the channel of circulation. Every superfluous issue is, for some time, counteracted, in its influence on prices, by a displacement and exportation of an equivalent portion of precious coin: And when these are at length so much thrown out of circulation, that the fresh emissions of paper produce an uncorrected influence upon prices, the currency must then be considered, with regard to every sensible effect, as consisting entirely of paper. What remains of precious coin, forms, comparatively, no part of the circulating medium. Now, it is only between two different kinds of currency, bearing a sensible proportion to each other, that a discount can be established;



a discount, between the two different currencies of one place, being exactly the same thing as the course of exchange between the currencies of two different places. When a discount is established between the two currencies of one and the same place, it must proceed from a discredit or want of confidence in one of them; in consequence of which, two money-prices are recognized for all commodities, and the precious coins remain still in the channel of circulation, notwithstanding continued emissions of paper. We have little doubt, that the discount at Dublin originated in this manner.

In the course of this author's liberal remarks on country Banks, he gives an opinion, in favour of that law, which formerly prohibited the issue of notes under the value of five pounds. We are rather inclined to doubt the policy on which this prohibition was founded. The authority of Dr Smith, indeed, is with Lord King; but the principle of commercial freedom has such firm hold of our conviction, that, to warrant any exception from it, we should require much stronger reasons than are furnished upon this point by either of these writers.

Lord King has stated, rather too absolutely perhaps, (p. 15. & p. 23.), that the circulating medium of a nation bears no proportion to its wealth and trade. It is quite true, that the number of exchanges bears no *ratio* to the mere quantity or amount of circulating medium; because the quantity required varies, as we have often observed, with the rate or velocity of circulation. But the amount of circulating medium, and the rate of circulation, may be taken together, and considered as forming a complex quantity; and then there can be no doubt that this complex quantity bears a *ratio* to the number and value of exchanges. This *ratio*, it is evident, may be fixed and constant, though the two component parts of that complex quantity are perpetually varying; because, while trade continues the same, they must vary inversely, as each other. Nor does it affect the truth of this proposition, as thus stated abstractedly, that the present resources of political arithmetic do not yet enable us to assign the *ratio*.

Lord King has endeavoured to strengthen that part of his argument, which is founded on the unfavourable state of foreign exchange, by a theory which, as far as we know, is quite new; that, in the present commercial relations of Great Britain, the real course of exchange with the Continent must necessarily and permanently be in our favour. The great trade with the East Indies and China is carried on almost entirely by an exportation of silver to Asia, and this trade is possessed almost exclusively by Great Britain. We must therefore draw from the rest of the western world, that supply of this precious metal, which is annually consigned to the east. Our direct commerce with Spain  
and

and Portugal is inadequate to this purpose : we must derive the supply, therefore, from the several nations of the Continent, among whom the annual produce of the mines is distributed from Portugal and Spain. This bullion we can only purchase by an exportation either of produce or of manufactured goods ; our exports of these, to those nations, must therefore constantly exceed our import of goods and produce from the same nations. The balance of trade with the Continent is thus, it is said, necessarily and permanently in our favour ; and of course, likewise, the difference of exchange. The plausibility of this theory, at first caught our assent ; but, on farther consideration, we were led to suspect that it involves a fallacy. It does not follow, because our imports always consist partly of bullion, that the balance of trade is therefore permanently in our favour. Bullion is a commodity, for which, like every other, there is a varying demand ; and which, exactly like any other, may enter the catalogue either of imports or exports : and this exportation or importation of bullion will not affect the course of exchange, in a different way from the exportation or importation of other commodities. The real course of exchange, between two countries, depends upon the state of their reciprocal credits and debts. When the real difference is in favour of this country, it must be occasioned by the demand abroad for bills being greater than the supply : and that difference is no other than the premium which is paid for bills, in consequence of the competition. This excess in the demand abroad above the supply of such bills, proceeds from an excess of the debts due to us, above the debts due by us ; that is, from an excess of our whole exports, above our whole imports. The balance thus due to us, and which cannot be liquidated by means of bills, may either be discharged by sending bullion to this country, or may be allowed to remain for a time unpaid. So long as it remains a permanent debt, the price of bills will continue high, that is, the course of exchange will continue in our favour. If the balance be discharged by an actual transference of bullion, the supply of bills abroad will then become equal to the demand, and exchange will be at par. But even when it has the effect of liquidating such a balance, bullion is only sent to this country, because there is an effectual demand for it, which allows the importation ; and it liquidates that balance in no other way than an equal import of any other commodity, for which there had been a demand, would have done. The state of exchange, therefore, does not depend upon the bullion trade, more than upon that of any other commodity ; it depends entirely on the balance of debts. Provided the whole exports are no more than equal, during a given period of time, to

the whole imports, the exchange will be at par, although a great part, the greater part, or even the whole of those imports, may have consisted of bullion. Let it be supposed, for example, that the commerce between Britain and Portugal had consisted wholly of woollen cloths exported from Britain, and of nothing but bullion directly imported from Portugal, provided the whole quantity of woollen cloth exported was no more than equal in value, annually, to the whole quantity of bullion imported, and that the reciprocal purchases were made upon the same terms, in respect of the length of credit, the real exchange would have remained steadily at par, though we imported nothing but bullion; and if, on the other hand, our import of bullion had exceeded our export of woollen cloth; or if the Portuguese merchant had granted a more indulgent credit than he received from Britain, the course of exchange would then have been permanently against this country, although we imported nothing but bullion. That there is a steady influx of bullion into this country, both for our own consumption, and for the supply of our Asiatic trade; and that the course of exchange, until the year 1799, was steadily in favour of this country with almost the whole of the Continent; are facts which appear to us quite unconnected with each other. That favourable difference of exchange ought, perhaps, to be considered as having been partly apparent and partly real. That portion of it which was only apparent, was owing to the excellent state of our currency (for the gold coin regulated the rest), compared with the currencies of the Continent, most of which were much more degraded below their respective standards. That portion which was a real difference of exchange in our favour, and which therefore indicated a balance of debts in our favour, was owing to that credit which the merchants of England are enabled, by their great capitals and skill, to extend to the traders of almost all foreign countries. This appears to us a more correct explanation of the fact, than that which is suggested by Lord King. For the purposes, however, of his general argument, the fact alone is enough, that, in the present commercial relations of Britain, the real difference of exchange is almost permanently in our favour. This corroborates all the other arguments which have been adduced to show, that nothing but a derangement and depreciation of our currency can explain the appearance, continued since 1799, of an exchange against us.

We cannot permit ourselves to disown this work, without expressing our approbation, both of the style, and of the temper, in which it is written. So great perspicuity is not often attained, upon a subject in its nature intricate and abstract; but it is still more rare, upon a subject connected with the topics of political difference,

difference, to preserve such entire candour. The calmness with which the argument is pursued, and the clearness with which it is stated, might render this pamphlet a model for similar publications. In almost all the general principles, that are collaterally introduced for the sake of illustration, the author is liberal and accurate; nor was an apology for these digressions in the smallest degree necessary. On the contrary, we have always thought, that such writers, as undertake to inform the public mind upon measures of temporary interest, render themselves doubly and eminently useful, when they seize every opportunity of expounding those more extensive truths, which, though in possession of the learned, are not yet insinuated into popular conviction. It is by innumerable repetitions of this sort, that an impression may at length be made, even on vulgar understandings, in favour of an enlightened policy; and the assent of the multitude, habituated to the results of that genuine philosophy, whose high aim is to emancipate mankind from practical error, and to ameliorate their political condition.

ART. XII. *The Defence of Order*: A Poem. By Josiah Walker, A.M. pp. 176. Third Edit. Edinburgh. Manners & Miller. 1803.

IT is impossible to bestow too much praise upon the laudable motives which appear to have dictated this publication. The principles which pervade the whole composition, whether upon subjects of a political, of a moral, or a religious cast, seem to us altogether unexceptionable. The poet's mind has evidently been deeply affected by the sufferings of all Europe, since the fatal reign of anarchy began; and, in the fulness of his emotions, he has poured out three *cantos*, or, as he calls them (after the modish phrase), *parts*, expressive of his honest indignation at the crimes of the French Revolution, his zeal for the cause of regular government, and his gratitude to those illustrious men, who have stood in the breach, and devoted themselves to the noble task of stemming the destructive torrent. In all the feelings which have influenced his mind, we trust every one is now prepared to sympathize; at least, we are happy in thinking, that the latest of the events which this age has been doomed to experience, brings one blessing along with it—the inestimable good of unanimity and patriotism. The defence of order, then, will be read under circumstances peculiarly favourable. Whatever portion of its plan is didactic, must necessarily be undisputed. The poet sings to a willing and believing generation. He belongs to a party, in which all his  
British

British readers are comprehended; and if truth and accuracy of principle alone were required in a poetical composition, the lays of Mr Walker might set all criticism at defiance.

But, unfortunately, we speak it with unfeigned regret, the bulk of readers are so devoid of true taste, as to seek for something else than mere truth in poetry. They are even so callous in their feelings of moral rectitude, that they refuse to balance the inestimable jewel of truth against the various poetical faults which the best of men will often commit when they deliver themselves in verse. Nay, so depraved are the appetites of those who make pretensions to taste in works of fancy, that they are generally found to undervalue the most innocent and virtuous sentiments, merely because they may happen to be delivered in flat or ungrammatical, or (what such critics are pleased to call) unpoetical language. The friend of virtue hath, from this cause, great reason to lament the reception which his favourite topics often meet with; and to deplore the wicked insatiation of mankind, who, from the days of the worthy Sir Richard Blackmore down to the present time, have persisted in slighting the most wholesome doctrine, if not communicated in a striking, or a pleasing form.

We are seriously concerned to think, that not even the great popularity of the subject upon which this poem is written; nor the undoubted justness of the points of doctrine on which it touches; nor the happy union of private with public eulogium, by which it is pervaded; nor the equally fortunate combination of beautiful paper, with exquisite typography, in which it so eminently excels almost all the other productions of the Scottish press, will obtain for it, on the part of the readers to whom we have been alluding, a short suspension of the prevailing rules of taste. We are much afraid, that men, calling themselves judges of poetry, will examine the strains of the 'Muse of Order,' as our bard ingeniously denominates her, with all that cold and unsparing severity, which a good mind would wish to see reserved for the punishment of immoral and seditious poetry. But lest our readers should think us too desponding upon this subject, we must disclose to them the grounds of our dread; and, as fear is apt to magnify danger, we shall quote at length the passages of this praiseworthy and estimable performance, upon which our apprehensions for its fame are principally founded; premising, at the same time, that it would be endless to think of enumerating all these, as they occupy, in fact, nearly the whole of the worthy author's pages.

In the first place, the readers of poetry rarely possess such reasoning heads, as may enable them to unravel very intricate periods, and come easily at the meaning of perplexed, elliptical, and inverted chains of verse. Hence, they are apt, somewhat

somewhat rashly, to conceive a prejudice against such passages as the following; and to imagine, superficially enough, that there is no meaning, or, at least, no sense worth seeking for, when a little more trouble than usual is required to discover it.

‘ Thus, to the savage, though mature in age,  
When reason bends to passion’s brutal rage,  
Benign restraints from situation flow,  
And give the guarded intellect to grow.  
Soon taught, how wretched they, who singly prowl  
Through jungles wild, where ravening rivals howl,  
Rude plans of polity the elders build,  
And freedom’s bane, for ordered union, yield.

‘ Yet there, when sovereigns slack their moody sway,  
Or restless subjects, but by starts, obey,’ &c. p. 21.

‘ Even when your tyrants, fiercer than before,  
Grind you, till nature can endure no more,  
When (direful hour! denied th’ award of Heaven,  
Till sorrow long be felt, and oft forgiven)  
When forced to prove rebellion’s dubious fate,  
And pour its poisoned vial on the state,  
Yet, yet be calm—specific faults repair,  
And stop—the fabric’s reverend pillars spare!  
Spare antient forms, your heated host to awe,  
To bridle ruin, and restore the law;  
Spare one great floodgate, at command to drop,  
And, when its end is gained, the deluge stop;  
Else will its sweeping force uptear the realm,  
And you, who broke its sluices, first o’erwhelm.’ p. 25. 26.

‘ So for Carew, Ierne’s outcast son,  
Unfading wreaths unfinished daring won;  
Who o’er the cave of death sublimely stood,  
Decoyed his doom, the dire explosion wooed,  
And drained the goblet, with triumphant eye,  
“ To all who gloriously in battle die!” p. 114. 115.

‘ Mated with thee, for mutual succour paired,  
In all thy deeds his manly genius shared,  
Thy help invoked, to plant the Indian gem,  
With rooted hold, in Albion’s diadem;  
And lent thy daring hand requiting aid  
(Though storms without and rage within forbade)  
Closer to draw the loose and ravelled zone,  
That bound Ierne to her parent throne;  
To round, renew, cement the Sundered realm,  
And move the whole by one presiding helm.’ p. 84.

Now,

Now, we are far from dissembling, that these, and innumerable other passages which might be quoted, are conceived in a considerable degree of obscurity, and even of confusion. But we can with truth assert, that, after some labour, we have generally succeeded in getting an idea of the author's meaning. A perfect solution of difficulties, indeed, is not always to be expected. But if our vanity, or partiality, does not much deceive us, we have, in most of these instances, obtained a tolerable approximation. And where we have failed, we hope, at some future period, to be more fortunate; especially if the poet shall follow an advice, which we humbly offer, and add a marginal interpretation, after the manner of the commentators on the classics. If, then, the reader shall be able to discover the meaning of the author, what more would he require? How many commentators have been labouring upon famous authors, ever since the revival of letters, without doing so much?

We shall, in the next place, be told, that with the best intentions towards his subject, our author very frequently involves it in ridicule, by some unhappy oversight, or perhaps by some natural defect in that organ by which men discriminate between the sublime and the ludicrous. And truly, such portions of verse as the following, may appear to give a certain colour to the insinuation, that Mr Walker, like the respectable Blackmore, the pious Hopkins, and many other excellent characters, is somewhat too intemperate in his use of the bathos. Describing the principles which rouse a mighty people to vengeance, he says,

' Minds, thus prepared, against abuse will rise,  
When Nature urges—not when knaves advise;  
Feel for themselves, nor meddling flappers need,  
To prove their pain, and tell them where they bleed.' p. 70.

The following picture of a great famine is original, and we will maintain it, very affecting:

' Sad was the scene! believe the Muse, who saw  
The rugged rustic from his cot withdraw,  
The bootless tears from those within to hide,  
Which aching fondness wrung from manly pride;  
Their dreadful cause reluctant to reveal,  
That leagues around contain no second meal!' p. 72.

The noble person to whom the poem is dedicated, with a liberality rarely to be met with, purchased bread-corn at an advanced price, in Leadenhall market, during the scarcity, and sent it down by sea, to relieve the poor of the parish. It may perhaps be alleged by hypercritics, who have studied the pedantic

dantic writings of Scriblerus, that the following highly wrought passage describes the foregoing fact too minutely.

- ‘ To rich Augusta’s granaries he flies ;  
 No wary doubts, no balanced scruples rise :  
 ‘ Unlock your stores,’ he calls, ‘ your ships prepare,  
 ‘ And instant succour to my people bear !  
 ‘ Pause not—nor urge the cost—though tripled thrice,  
 ‘ I pledge my name and fortune for the price.  
 ‘ Wealth I but feel a trust, till it provide  
 ‘ Relief for want, in scenes where I preside.’  
 The mandate thus repeated, grainy stores  
 Are soon diffused through Tay’s exhausted shores.’ p. 73.

The next examples which we take, present moving portraits, the one of *Memory*, the other of *Magnetism*; or, as the author intends it, of the effects of French principles.

- ‘ Her backward tube let Memory still apply,  
 Through travelled spaces to direct my eye.’ p. 52.
- ‘ Felt ye magnetic spells your frame bewitch,  
 Your features model, and your fibres twitch,  
 Force you to writhe, in sympathetic throes,  
 Racked with your prototype’s well-imaged woes ;  
 And, face to face, in wild convulsive dance,  
 Reflect each furious attitude of France ?’ p. 67-8.

The following description of Colonel Graham eating his horse, will, we much fear, be less relished than it deserves. p. 129.

- ‘ From scene to scene his active valour hastes,  
 Where danger thickens, and where famine wastes ;  
 Self-doomed, in Mincio’s leaguered towers, to feed  
 On stinted portions of his butchered steed.’ p. 129.

And this fine distich on French alliances will foolishly be thought deficient in dignity.

- ‘ Brigaded thieves, incendiaries, and spies,  
 With matchless impudence, self-named allies.’ p. 85.

Nay, we are afraid there are critics who will be more sensible of the vulgarity than the force of the following appeal.

- ‘ *Yourselves be judge*, who best our weal promotes :  
 He gave us *viñuals*—they would give us *votes*.’ p. 75.

In all these, and a multitude of other passages, we must take the liberty of asserting, without fear of being contradicted, that the intentions of the author were pure, that he firmly believed he was treating his subject with the sublimity it merited, and that



that he now enjoys (the best possible proof of his innocence) the delightful satisfaction which consciousness of right can alone bestow. It will further be alleged, that by the constant use of certain unhappy words, a tendency to laughter is excited by Mr Walker, in those parts of his poetry where gravity would, on the whole, have been more becoming. And to speak candidly, we must admit, that in this remark there is some truth: Nay, we will even allow, that the words alluded to are rather too often thrown into the ends of the verses, which may render their unlucky operation on the gravity of the reader more certain. But we must remark, that this error also is venial, because it is unintentional. And besides, if readers will laugh in the middle of a serious subject, whose fault is it? Who does not see novelty, force, and ingenuity, in such expressions as the following? *Displode*, p. 33.; *foresnatch*, 61.; *unprison*, 28.; *unbloody day*, 30.; *discommend*, 71.; *Arch-anarch*, 85.; *refixed*, 87.; *blood-boltered*, 101.; *blood-baked sands*, 119.; *leaguered towers*, 129.; *thrid the centre*, *ibid.* But chiefly in the following compound epithet:

‘ From every point, each *Arab-awing* post,’ &c. p. 140.

We must observe, once for all, that a constant struggle with language is the true criterion of vast poetical genius. The grand object of this contest, is to extend our empire over unruly words, to force them into services for which they shew a natural repugnance, to torture them until they are rendered fit for their new tasks, or sometimes to neglect this, and disregard all their stubborn unfitness. Besides, the instances already given of our author's unusual success in this struggle, we may add his various achievements in the rhyming way, as, for instance, p. 22. 125. 136.

- ‘ Improving states require, with each ascent,  
Still less and less coercion's harsh restraint.’
- ‘ Oh! then would Power its measured sway relax,  
As men in wisdom, and in virtue wax.’
- ‘ Where can thy worth, thy polished prowess claim,  
A timelier eulogy, accomplished Graham?’
- ‘ Light up a circle of nocturnal fire,  
And nigher yet the curve contracts, and nigher.’

If all that we have stated in favour of our author's phraseology, be insufficient to work out his defence, we must desire capacious men to remember how many liberties with language the greatest poets have used. Even some of the words and rhymes above quoted, may be found, we believe, in Shakespeare and Milton: And if they used such licences, why may not Mr Walker?

Walker? Surely it will not be denied that he has as much need as they, to work up his ideas, and give spirit to his verse. Nay, has he ever once taken such liberties as Virgil did with his verses, leaving some half lengths, others kit-cat, and others three quarters? And by how many alliterations and antitheses does he charm and surprise us, allowing for peculiarities of grammatical and rythmical taste, even to such as may on these matters differ from him and us?

The last accusation which we are able to anticipate, is of a different nature from the foregoing, though we think it will be found equally insignificant in the eyes of good and impartial men. It may be said that our author has given up too great a portion of his invaluable verse to the celebration of certain obscure personages, chiefly remarkable for their situation in his immediate neighbourhood, and has thereby interfered with the province of the preacher and life-writer. But let it be remembered, that Mr Walker knew, while he wrote, that he was dealing out immortality: And (as he is but a man, with all his genius), he could not be expected to forego the gratification of including his best friends in the range of his bounty. Besides, he could not avoid knowing that this was the only chance which these worthy persons had of deathless renown; and it would have been highly unneighbourlike to have neglected them.—Here again, then, our author stands excused, by the purity of his motives.

The style of Mr Walker, in celebrating truly illustrious characters, must be allowed by all to favour of the very highest relish of the epic. Among these, the '*Angel of Gallia*' holds a distinguished place, and delivers a long speech, in a dream. Her eloquence is of the most splendid kind: She describes Desolation looking from a turret—'begirt with screaming owls and croaking rooks.' The following portion of the angel's harangue is strikingly didactic through the first five lines, when suddenly a touch of the true sublime is given in one line, after which the remainder of the discourse is didactic.

' Mute, through the ports, that skirt my wide domains,  
For trade's loud buzz, a lonely languor reigns.  
Unseemly herbage clothes the untrodden pier;  
The basin choaked, the storehouse mouldering near;  
The slumbering merchant o'er his desk reclines,  
And, round her grave, the ghost of Commerce pines.  
Where are my fleets?' &c. p. 38.

Next to this angel, the most distinguished personages are British seamen. They are all immortalized in detail, each by a separate

separate simile. Lord Nelson is a small diamond or sparkling cross; Lord St Vincent is likened to a bird tearing out a bull's eyes; Lieutenant Price, to a bomb-shell (he belonging probably to the artillery); Lord Cochrane, to a sword-fish stabbing a whale; and Lord Duncan, to Leonidas. Who does not perceive the beauty and justness of all these comparisons? For our parts, we are inclined, as we must give an opinion, to prefer the last, for the striking accuracy of the resemblance; well knowing that Leonidas, the celebrated Greek admiral, fought an equal force of Persians, gained a complete victory, and returned in triumph to his grateful countrymen, who immediately gave him a pension and a peerage.

Upon the whole, therefore, we are of opinion, that our favourite poem may challenge the attacks of criticism, whether we view the accuracy of the principles which it is intended to inculcate, or the innocence of the views with which the author has executed the detail of his work. But knowing, as we do, how little such rare qualities weigh in the scale of public opinion in these degenerate times, we must recommend it to Mr Walker\* to make up his mind for the worst. Let him consider the emptiness of rhyming, either to individual edification, or to the public weal; and how far inferior poetic fame is to the praise of worth. What though Horace has pronounced a sentence against mediocrity? Does that prevent this very line of mediocrity from being the path most constantly pursued, and by the greatest crowds? Our author will meet, in spite of Horace, with the most respectable part of the poetical community in the middle regions. These, in fact, are the parts generally frequented by royal and noble, and holy and wealthy, and fair authors; and with their society, he may be well consoled for the want of the 'white fillet,' which forms the only badge that we remember to distinguish the other order of bards, the '*Phæbo digna locuti.*'

ART. XIII. *A Description of the Anatomy of the Ornithorynchus Paradoxus.* By Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions for 1802.

THE first description of this animal, was given by Dr Shaw, in the Naturalist's Miscellany; but, at that time, he could not decidedly pronounce it to be a natural production. Its singular appearance struck him so forcibly, that he almost instantly suspected a trick; and was led to think on the various artifices, that had often been practised, to impose on the ignorance and credu-

lity of naturalists. He acknowledges frankly, in his natural history, that the beak of a duck, so curiously engrafted on the head of a quadruped, was so very unlike the other animal productions of nature, that he could not help viewing the whole with a degree of scepticism; and that he published his account in the miscellany with a sort of diffidence, and under some private suspicions that it was possibly a fabrication of art. His doubts, however, are now dispelled. Several specimens have been brought to Europe. And this very extraordinary animal is actually a native of Austral Asia, or New Holland.

In that country, and in no other, has it yet been seen in the living state. It frequents the banks of small fresh-water lakes, and is supposed to feed in the muddy places that surround them; although the particular kind of food on which it subsists, be not known. When it goes into the lake, it does not swim upon the surface, but merely comes up occasionally to breathe, which it does in the same manner as the turtle. When brought ashore, it runs upon the ground with as much activity as a land tortoise, and, like most of the amphibia, appears very tenacious of life.

The specimens brought to Europe were of different sizes. Those sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and dissected by Mr Home, were much larger than that formerly described by Dr Shaw. Of Sir Joseph's specimens, the male was  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, measuring from the point of the bill to the extremity of the tail. Of this measurement, the bill was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the tail  $4\frac{1}{2}$ : The circumference of the body was 11 inches.

In all, the head was rather compressed; had a bill and nostrils like a duck's, very small eyes, and oblong slits for external ears. The trunk resembled that of an otter, and was nearly of the same thickness throughout, except at the shoulders, where it was smaller. The feet were short, and webbed; and had each five toes, pointed with claws. In the fore feet, the web extended beyond the claws; and in the hind feet, terminated at their origin. The tail, in its general shape, was similar to that of a beaver; and at its extremity, in Dr Shaw's figure (for Mr Home has given us none), it appears bifid.

The colour on the back, legs, bill, and tail, was a dark brown; on the under surface of the neck and belly, a silver grey. The hair was of two kinds; a very fine thick fur of half an inch long, and a very uncommon kind of hair, three quarters of an inch long, cylindrical at the root, and flattened at the point, so as to have the appearance of feathers. Both of these kinds were longer on the belly, than upon the back.

We have given the above general description, partly taken from Dr Shaw's Natural History, and partly from Mr Home's paper,  
VOL. II. NO. IV. F f in

in order that our readers may have some idea of the nature and habits of the animal, before they enter with Mr Home upon an investigation of its structure.

In this investigation, Mr Home seems to have noted down every circumstance as it occurred; and has presented them to the public very nearly in that order. He divides his description into two parts; that of the external, and that of the internal appearances: a division, which admits of that loose, rambling detail, which is very easy for the writer to give, but very difficult for the reader to comprehend. In this account, the connexions of the parts, by form, structure, and function, are frequently overlooked; and that of place, or mere situation, substituted for them.

Doubtless, the mind, by that arbitrary power of association which it possesses to a certain extent, may connect the circumstances which fall under its examination, by the time in which they happen, by the place which they occupy, by similarity or contrariety with respect to use, cause, or effect, &c. But the results of these different associations, it must be allowed, are calculated to produce very different impressions. One association is suited to one subject, and another to another; and, comparing the associations formed by others, with those already in our own minds, we are naturally led to pass sentence on a man's knowledge, penetration, wit, judgement, &c.

The chain of connexion which Mr Home appears to have followed in this instance, might be excuseable in a common-place book, but can hardly be admitted in a book of science. It must surely have proceeded from want of time, or a want of inclination to bestow that attention which is necessary in forming a clear and distinct arrangement. No person, we are fully persuaded, who is in the least acquainted with his character, will ever be disposed to suspect his abilities as either a naturalist or an anatomist; yet, for his own sake, in addressing the public, he should have avoided whatever appeared like slovenliness or carelessness in his description; and shown, that, besides manual dexterity in the way of dissection, he possesses the talents and the education which fit him for an author.

But as censure is not criticism, nor dictatorial arrogance any proof of superior discernment; and as the candid may expect, that, after disapproving of his method, we should propose one of our own, we are willing to comply, and would recommend, in all such anatomical descriptions, something like the arrangements adopted in books of anatomy, where the bones, muscles, blood-vessels, nerves, &c. are treated separately, and where the intel-  
ligent

ligent scientific reader may discover, at once, what is superfluous, and what is defective.

An arrangement of the organs, either according to structure or function, gives much clearer ideas to the reader, is more useful to the student of anatomy, and, at the same time, is better adapted to the purposes of the naturalist and physiologist. This indeed is far from being the order of dissection; but dissection furnishes only the materials for a description. We convey no idea of mechanism, by simply enumerating the different materials of which a clock or watch is composed; and every person might acquire the reputation of an historian, were the loose unconnected materials of a note-book allowed to constitute a history.

For the sake of our readers who may wish to know what Mr Home has said of the anatomy of the *Ornithorynchus paradoxus*, we shall here exhibit the substance of his notes, in what we think a more connected and intelligible form.

*The Ossæous System.*—The upper part of the head was flat, and the cranium capacious, with an ossæous septum instead of the falx of the dura mater. Such an ossæous septum, in a less degree, is found also in the craniums of the spoonbill and parrot; but in no quadruped, that Mr Home knows, excepting the *Ornithorynchus paradoxus*.

The ribs were sixteen in number, and the first six united to the sternum; these six, excepting the first, were ossæous at both extremities, and the cartilaginous part in the middle answering so far the purposes of a joint. The false ribs had likewise their cartilages; and these cartilages, at their anterior extremity, terminated in broad ossæous laminæ, that overlapped one another like scales.

To the upper extremity of the sternum was attached a bone, which, at its upper extremity, divides into two, each of which was connected with a scapula resembling a bird's, and was made to perform the office of a clavicle.

We are rather surprised that Mr Home did not remark other analogies between this and the structure of birds. In the feathered tribe, a bifurcated bone is attached both to the sternum and scapulæ; there is a cartilaginous joint in the middle of the true ribs; and, in many at least, these ribs have transverse processes overlapping the rib immediately below. The first rib likewise, in many birds, is not a true rib; and here, though the first rib was joined to the sternum, it differed from the rest, if we may be allowed to judge from the figure, by having its cartilage not in the middle, but connected with the sternum. Notwithstanding, however, this general analogy, the differences are considerable. The bifurcated bone, in the feathered tribe, does

not supply the place of the clavicles; the sternum is different; the form of the chest is widely different; and the transverse processes have not the situation, nor belong to that species of ribs in which we here see the osseous laminæ.

The pelvis of the ornithorynchus was unusually small, and had two moveable bones attached to the pubis, like what we see in the kangaroo, and, he might have added, in the opossum, where these bones are connected with the pouch where the female occasionally puts up her young, and conceals her mammæ.

In this account of the osseous system, nothing is said of the extremities, their articulations, or of the number and form of their bones; nothing of the number or form of the bones that compose the cranium and face; nothing of their relative situations or sutures; nothing of the diameters of the cranium or foramen magnum; nothing of the different aspects of the head, with regard to the trunk; nothing of the vertebral column, and consequently nothing of the number or differences of the cervical, dorsal, lumbar, and sacral vertebræ. Nor can we implicitly trust to the plate, where we never should have found out the number of ribs. It is a figure, like too many in modern books of anatomy, where youthful science, bashful and coy, conceals herself in her secret apartments; but, childishly attached to vanity and show, and wishing to astonish the world with her consequence, sends her painter, engraver, or colourman, in gaudy livery, and with polished smoothness, to tell the inquirer she is not at home; or, in plain English, is not to be seen.

*Muscular System.*—There is mention only of a strong panniculus carnosus, and a diaphragm, muscular towards the circumference.

*Vascular System.*—The heart was found in the middle of the chest, with its apex towards the sternum, and the whole enclosed in a strong pericordium. Mr Home must have observed, that this is the situation of the heart in birds. The heart had two ventricles, and two auricles, but no foramen ovale between the auricles, nor direct communication between the ventricles. The two ascending venæ cavæ were like what we see in the kangaroo, beaver, otter, and many other animals. The difference of size which he remarked between the right and left auricles, might have been owing to a difference of contraction at the time of death. Sabatier has shown, that this is the cause of a similar difference in other animals. Nothing more is said of the distribution of the veins or arteries: he saw nothing of their appearance in the head, neck, trunk, extremities, nor viscera; nor was much more to have been expected, without a previous injection of the vessels.

*Absorbent System.*—The lacteals were small, and the mesenteric glands numerous, of the size of millet seeds. He has not mentioned the thoracic duct, and probably saw none of the lymphatics.

*Nervous System.*—The brain was not in a state to be examined; and the spinal marrow, the cauda equina and their nerves, are all passed over in silence. The olfactory and optic nerves were small; but the fifth pair, which supplied the muscles of the face, as in many other animals, uncommonly large.

*Alimentary System, and its appendages.*—The teeth were all grinders, four in number, lying in the posterior part of the mouth, composed of a horny substance, and embedded in the gum to which they were connected by an irregular surface, instead of fangs. The upper mandible projected anteriorly and laterally, and beyond the inferior. In the superior, there were longitudinal ridges, and in the inferior longitudinal grooves, which corresponded when the mouth was shut: these were all in the corneous substance. The transverse serræ in the lower mandible were confined to the fleshy parts.

The tongue did not project into the bill, but was confined in its situation: it was small towards the apex, swelled, and rose towards the root, where two pointed and corneous teeth sprung from it, and inclined forwards: the rest of the tongue was armed with short cuticular papillæ, inclining backwards.

There were cheek pouches, as in some of the monkeys. No mention is made of parotid, submaxillary, sublingual, or other salivary glands.

The œsophagus was very small, particularly behind the larynx; the stomach was an oval, membranous bag, laterally attached to the œsophagus, which seemed to be continued into the duodenum. The duodenum, at its commencement, had its coats thickened, forming the valve of the pylorus; it was fixed in its situation, and received the fluids conveyed by the ductus pancreaticus and ductus choledochus communis: this last duct, as in ordinary cases, was formed of the cystic and hepatic ducts, and entered with the pancreatic into the intestine, at a small distance from the pylorus. The duodenum had transverse rugæ or valvulæ conniventes. The remaining part of the intestinal canal, which was strung on a loose, broad, and transparent mesentery, had no rugæ, but was studded with glands. There seems to have been no foundation for the division into large and small intestines. A small loculated cæcum, in some respect similar to that in the bittern and heron, marked the commencement of what Mr Home calls the colon. At the extremity of the rectum, which opened below the root of the tail, were two lateral glands,



which he thought at first belonged to the rectum; but afterwards, upon examining the ornithorynchus hystrix, saw two glands in a similar situation, with ducts leading to the penis.

The omentum, like the mesentery, was a thin, transparent membrane, without any fat; it was attached to the stomach and spleen, in the usual way; but, reaching the colon, it returned to the spine, forming the meso-colon, and leaving no apron or pouch interposed between the viscera and the peritoneum lining the muscles.

The liver was divided into five lobes: the gall-bladder had its usual situation.

The spleen was connected with the stomach and omentum, and consisted of two long slender bodies, united at one end, and for the length of half an inch.

The pancreas was spread upon the great and little omentum, as in the sea otter, and was made up of small parts, in a very similar manner.

*Urinary System.*—The kidneys were conglobate, and in the usual situation; the ureters pellucid; the capsulæ renales small; the bladder was not in the pelvis, but attached to the peritoneum lining the abdominal muscles. We might add here, that the situation of the bladder was not singular. Nothing is found in the pelvis of the mole but muscles. The rectum and other organs, which pass through the pelvis in other animals, are there on the outer side between the bones and the skin. In the ornithorynchus, the urethra, like the ureters of birds, terminated in the rectum.

*Respiratory System.*—The nostrils opened near the point of the bill: the glottis was uncommonly narrow, the epiglottis proportionally small: the rings of the trachea broad for their size, and meeting nearly behind. The lungs were large, corresponding to the capacity of the chest. They consisted of four lobes; two on the right side, one on the left, and a small one behind the heart. The lateral and posterior sides of the heart were the only parts in contact with the lobes. The base of the heart was situated higher, and the fore part was covered by the sternum. The cartilages of the larynx are not described; and a thyroid gland, if it was present, is not mentioned.

*Organs of Sense.*—The organ of smell, in its construction, resembled that of other quadrupeds, and might be said to have consisted of two turbinated bones in each nostril.

The eye was small, nearly spherical; had a membrana nictitans, and a very loose eyelid.

The opening of the ear was at a very great distance from the organ; and there was a cartilaginous canal, the size of a crow-quill,

quill, winding round the side of the head, on the outer side of the temporal muscle; and leading to the orifice in the temporal bone. The membrana tympani was large, of an oval form; on the outer side, concave. The tympanum contained only two bones; one passing directly from the membrane towards the fenestra ovalis, which Mr Home calls the foramen ovale. On the other, there was a second, imperfectly resembling the stapes, having a flat surface, of a circular form, upon the orifice, and a small neck, by which it was united to the other bone: The organ, altogether, bore a greater resemblance to that of the bird, than the quadruped.

The organ of taste was not examined with a view to its sensitive functions.

From the fifth pair of nerves that supplied the muscles of the face being uncommonly large, Mr Home was led to believe, that the sensibility of the different parts of the bill was very great; and that therefore it answered the purpose of a hand, and was capable of nice discrimination in its feeling: the same observation, he acknowledges, was made by Blumenbach of Göttingen, who first dissected these nerves.

*Sexual System.*—The male which Mr Home examined was longer than the female, of a darker colour, had a spur on his hind leg, but no fat under the integuments. The fat, however, till further inquiry, should hardly be considered as any characteristic of sex; its presence, or absence, might be owing to age, or casual circumstance. The female, from the great quantity of fat, was of the same circumference with the male.

In the male, the testicles were situated in the abdomen, close to the kidneys; and the epididymis connected by a broad membrane, which admitted of its lying very loose. The vasa deferentia proceeded to a penis, which did not project beyond the surface, but seemed, to the eye, a process from the pubal side of the rectum; and, when retracted, was entirely concealed by the inner membrane of the verge of the anus, forming its prepuce. This penis was composed of two parts, each of which had its glans, with perforated papillæ; one glans pointing to the right, the other to the left, and in these directions discharged the semen through the papillary orifices: This structure, it must be obvious, has a distant analogy to that of birds. There was no appearance of seminal vesicles; and there is no mention of a prostate gland.

In the human, and many other species of animal, a canal, called the *urethra*, serves the common purpose of conveying both semen and urine. In the bird, however, and the *ornithorynchus*, the seminal and urinary canals are distinct; but there are not

two kinds of urethræ. Urethra signifies the urinary passage, and can never, without an abuse of language, be applied to any other. From not attending to this circumstance, the following sentences, if not unintelligible, are at least obscure: 'When the urethra is laid open from the bladder to the rectum, about half an inch from its termination, it communicates with the proper urethra of the penis, which afterwards divides into two, one going to each glans, in the centre of which is a cavity, communicating directly with the papillæ, the points of which are pervious, forming the orifices by which the semen is evacuated. The vasa deferentia open into the membranous part of the urethra, before it comes to the root of the penis.'—Does Mr Home mean, that the vasa deferentia open into a common canal, which, after communicating with the urinary passage, divides into two branches, leading to the two clusters of papillæ at the extremity of the penis?

His description of the female organs is equally confused. He mentions a vagina which is not different from the extremity of the rectum and fallopian tubes, where he acknowledges there is no uterus. In this instance, he seems to have been misled by the common language of anatomy, which is founded on distinctions that are not to be met with in the ornithorynchus.

In the female, the ovaria were small, though the size might depend on the state, or the season in which the animal was killed. From each of the ovaria proceeded a canal, which terminated in the rectum and in the lateral parts of the urethra, a valvular projection being interposed between their orifices and the fæces. Our author thinks that this structure bears an analogy to that of birds, though not surely of those birds that have but one ovarium, and one oviduct: it has certainly a much stronger resemblance to that of frogs and other animals which have two ovaria, and two oviducts.

*Classification in Natural History.*—From the want of mammæ, and from the structure of the sexual organs, the naturalist surely cannot, with any degree of propriety, arrange this animal with the Mammalia; and very few will be hardy enough, after the account Mr Home has given, to think of arranging it with Birds or Fishes. The only possible class that remains, is the Amphibia; and if it belong to that class, it must be arranged with the order of Reptilia. It differs, indeed, from all of that order, by having a rough hairy covering. But a rough covering, a bilocular heart, and warm blood, every one knows, are not peculiar to the mammalia; and such objections to its being admitted among the amphibia, cannot be sustained.

Dr Shaw, in his Natural History, has placed this animal under the name of *Platypus*, in the order of Bruta, between the elephant and the walrus, and another animal, of a similar structure, in the genus *Myrmecophaga* of the same order. To this animal he has given the name of *Myrmecophaga aculeata*. Mr Home calls it *Ornithorynchus hystrix*; and read a paper upon it to the Royal Society, June 3. 1802, entitled, 'Description of the Anatomy of the *Ornithorynchus Hystrix*.' In this paper, he mentions a third species of the *ornithorynchus*, of the same size as the *hystrix*, and which was shot at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, by Lieutenant Guthrie, in the year 1790, a drawing of which was made by Captain Bligh, and sent to Sir Joseph Banks, who allowed Mr Home to annex a copy of it to his paper. The anatomy of this third species is not described, but probably resembles that of the other two. Mr Home says of the *ornithorynchus hystrix*, that its internal structure so nearly resembles that of the *paradoxus*, that a particular description of many of the parts is unnecessary. He proceeds, however, to describe it, but in the same careless manner as he did the *paradoxus*, relating every thing nearly in the order in which it occurred, just as a merchant does in his day-book. We shall not follow him through this description; but could wish that, in future, if he attempt any thing similar, he would transfer his accounts to his ledger, before he presents them to the eye of the public. At the same time, we readily acknowledge our obligations to this learned and ingenious author, for what he has done; and are still of opinion, that the faults of his paper are solely to be imputed to his want of leisure, or of inclination.

ART. XIV. *Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, compared with other Institutions: and a Future State of Rewards and Punishments: In Answer to the Objections of Hume.* By W. Craven, D. D. Master of St John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. About 480 pp. Printed at the University Press. 1802.

THIS volume, which was published originally in detached parts, was completed about the time that our design commenced. We procured it in order to examine its contents; but were soon given to understand, that in consequence of some mistake committed by the printer, the author was preparing a more correct copy for immediate publication. We therefore considered it as an act of mere justice to wait for the present edition; and now proceed to give some account of the author and his performance.

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With the author of a book, generally speaking, a Reviewer has no concern. We conceive, however, that upon this occasion, we are bound to notice some parts of his character which have come to our knowledge, because they throw a light upon a few peculiarities in the volume before us.

Dr Craven is now in an advanced period of life, the greater part of which he has devoted to habits of study and retirement. Not many years since, he was placed at the head of a numerous and learned Society: and though he enters but little into the bustle, and not at all into the intrigues, which such a situation sometimes occasions, yet he reflects dignity upon the College over which he presides, by the mild lustre of unaffected learning and unostentatious virtue.

From the simplicity of his manners, we may account for much of what might otherwise appear negligence in the composition of the work before us. There is no attempt whatsoever at ornament, and scarcely any at elevation of style. The words appear to be set down as the thoughts occurred; and the reader is often left to collect his own inference from the facts and observations which are loosely thrown together before him.

From his advanced age we expect a quaint phraseology, as well as an antiquated orthography.\* Indeed, if we did not know that this volume has been published within a very few years, and occasionally see an allusion to modern writers, (though to none, we believe, of later date than Mr Gibbon's and Bishop Hurd's earlier publications), we might conceive ourselves perusing a treatise a century old.

We shall confine our observations to the first and largest part of the volume, namely, the 'Discourse on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, compared with other Institutions.' The 'Discourse on a Future State of Rewards and Punishments,' though highly valuable, from the acuteness and solidity with which the argument is conducted, is a republication of some sermons, which appeared twenty years ago. They have certainly undergone some alteration in their form, but they cannot properly be considered as a subject of critical investigation now.

The plan of the other discourse is of a very extensive nature; and we conceive, we cannot give a better idea of it, than by quoting the heads of the chapters, with the pages at which they respectively occur. This is the more necessary, as such an arrangement is a desideratum in the volume itself.

Chap. i. §. 3. The religion of the Jews compared with that of other nations. ii. p. 11. The Assyrians and Egyptians. iii.

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\* We suspect that even amongst his contemporaries, Dr Craven can scarcely produce authority for *marvellous, choosed, behooved*.

iii. p. 22. Religious systems of the learned. iv. p. 40. The learned of Chaldæa and Ægypt. v. p. 54. The form and design, the rise, the institutions, and sanctions of the Jewish government. vi. p. 64. Concerning Moses, as the lawgiver of the Jews; their history, prophetic writings. vii. p. 78. Objections to the divine origin of the law. viii. p. 96. The Messiah foretold. ix. p. 109. The office of Messiah. x. p. 122. Concerning the prophets who foretell the Messiah. xi. p. 131. The prophecies concerning the Messiah, and their interpretation. xii. p. 157. The moral precepts of the law vindicated and improved by Jesus: the doctrine of salvation; how far taught in the Old, and further explained in the New Testament. xiii. p. 175. Precepts in common with Christian and Heathen moralists. xiv. p. 186. On a future state, as taught by the Heathens. xv. p. 203. Doctrines peculiar to Christianity. xvi. p. 219. Types pointed out in the New Testament. xvii. p. 231. The reality of types. xviii. p. 245. Objections to types and typical interpretation. xix. p. 258. Conversion of the Gentiles; Rejection and restoration of the Jews. xx. p. 273. Antichrist, Saracens and Turks, Millennium. xxi. p. 287. Scriptural and Pagan prophecy compared. xxii. p. 302. Jesus, the Messiah. xxiii. p. 316. The ministry of the Apostles. xxiv. p. 328—353. The rise of Christianity and Mohammedism compared.

The design of this discourse embraces no less a compass than the internal evidence in favour of the Old and New Testament: It professes also to explain and enforce the arguments from the much contested and embarrassed subjects of prophecy and type. A work of such extent must obviously be supposed to rank under the denomination of a sketch, rather than be considered as a finished piece. The merit of the execution, therefore, must principally depend upon these two points; the correctness of the outline, and the importance of the parts which are selected as the subject of the artist's skill. In the former of these particulars, our author will be found to deserve great praise, as the topics are in general treated with precision and judgment. But perhaps it may be thought, that in a performance of this nature, which embraces such a variety of particulars, and which of necessity must treat them with conciseness, the greatest stress should have been laid upon facts which are undoubted, and most attention paid to that species of argument which is least liable to objection. Hence, unless any such new light can be thrown upon a controverted point, as to establish it upon a firmer basis than any on which it stood before, or unless a different mode of reasoning be employed upon questions which have hitherto been found to 'engender strifes' and difficulties, such points and such questions

questions should, in our opinion, be avoided. This appears to us reasonable, whether the work be intended for the satisfaction of the believer, or the confutation of the infidel. On this account, then, we could not but be sorry, when we saw a considerable portion of the volume appropriated to the subject of Types and Prophecy; because, in matters so much disputed, even the believer will require some originality to repay him for a new demand on his attention; and the infidel will not yield his assent to arguments, of which the force is not universally, or at least generally, acknowledged by believers themselves. When, therefore, we confess, that the subject of prophecies from the Old Testament, quoted and alluded to in the New, appears to us to have been more satisfactorily treated by Dr Sykes, in the preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and by Bishop Chandler, in his Defence of the Christian Religion \*, the venerable author of the work before us must excuse us, if we say, we should rejoice if he had devoted the pages in question to the elucidation of Oriental and Greek learning, or to the sensible dictates of his own excellent judgment.

We have indeed been much gratified by the plain but judicious manner

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\* The argument from prophecy is certainly much more striking in the aggregate, than in the detail. On this subject we shall take the liberty of borrowing the words of that sensible and liberal divine, Dr Jortin: 'That Christ was foretold by the prophets, may be shewed, I think, without an accurate discussion of single texts. There are, it may be, a hundred different passages in the Old Testament, relating to some person, whoever he be, one or more, and to certain considerable changes which should happen in the world. Christians say that they relate to Christ, and some of them are produced in these discourses. He who would see more, may consult Fabricius, *De Ver. Chr. Rel.* p. 569., and Huet *Dem. Ev.* prop. vii. History, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, will furnish us with a variety of heroes, kings, warriors, philosophers, and illustrious persons. If we endeavour to apply these passages in the Old Testament to any one, of these great men, for example, to Judas Maccabæus, to Confucius, to Socrates, to Solon, to Numa, to Scipio Africanus, to Augustus Cæsar, &c. we immediately see that it is a vain attempt; that three fourths of them are nowise suitable to his character and his deeds; and that it is easy to select many single ones amongst them, which cannot possibly be adapted to him. If we apply them to Christ, and to the religion established by him, a surprising correspondence immediately appears.

To ascribe these coincidences to chance, is to give a very poor and unsatisfactory account of them. He who can believe that chance produced them, ought not to object credulity to Christians.' *Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 177. (note.) 2d edit.

manner in which he has brought together the result of his investigation into Pagan opinions and practices, on subjects of religion and morals, and compared them with the Jewish and Christian institutions. The result of some particulars, in which he has thus compared them, may be best explained in his own words.

‘ We find, that as the bulk of mankind seemed, in the crowd of false gods which they worshipped, to have lost all sight of the true God ; so it likewise may be said of the more learned, *that in their wisdom they knew not God*. Some there were, who held, indeed, the doctrine of a Supreme Intelligence ; but they were neither well enough disposed, nor sufficiently able, to teach it as they ought, with sincerity or truth \*. They formed conceptions unworthy of the Deity, making at the same time a number of subordinate beings the objects of worship ; along with these, bringing in a train of fantastical, superstitious, and profane notions. And thus, while they prided themselves in the distinction of philosophers, they only showed, for the most part, a superiority over the vulgar, in being more ingenious in folly and absurdity.

‘ The power and strength of human reason, to investigate religious knowledge, must be seen and tried, if not in the popular establishments of a country, yet in the theories of the learned and inquisitive. But neither in the one nor the other do we meet with truth, pure and uncorrupt, without a mixture of error and elaborate folly. In the various regulations and institutions intended for public use ; in all the inquiries undertaken for private information and improvement ; in every effort of genius, to what purpose soever directed, men have failed of attaining to a system of religion, so just in its doctrines as that of the Jewish nation.

‘ And here the wonder will return upon us, if we set a divine interference aside, how it should happen, that this people professed a religion so very different from all other religious systems of every kind ; those, more particularly, of their neighbours, who were held in such high estimation for science by the rest of the world. The learned came from the remotest countries, and were glad to borrow from the treasures of Chaldæa and Egypt : these were the great sources of knowledge. How was it, that the Jews drew not waters from these fountains, so much sought after by other people, and so near at hand to themselves ? Or rather, we ought to ask, whence had they their clear and pure waters, when all the springs were everywhere muddy and corrupt ?’ p 51.

The following observation appears to us solid as well as ingenious, and we do not recollect to have met with it before.

‘ Had

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\* See Bishop Warburton concerning their double doctrine : the one held out to the people in common ; the other, what they taught their hearers in private. Vol. ii. B. 3. § 2, 3. Notissimum est, illud Platonis, *Τοι μιν εν ποιητην και πατερα τα δε τα παντες ευρειν τε ιεροι, και ευρεσιν αις πατας αδυνατοι λογιν.* Timæ. p. 28.



\* Had the law of the Jews been of human institution, it were to be expected, that Abraham would have appeared as the first giver and promulgator. He had left his native country, to go in quest of a new habitation (Gen. xii.); and having fixed his seat in Canaan, in the midst of a warlike people, who were strangers to him, some rules and regulations might have been thought necessary for the convenience of him and his followers. At least, it is on such occasions, and from the like beginnings, that states and commonwealths have usually taken their first rise.

‘ He had not been long in Canaan, before he had an opportunity of signaling himself in a war, in which the kings of the country had suffered a defeat; and he no sooner took a part in it, than he gave a turn to the action, and victory declared in his favour, (Gen. xiv.) The country seems at that time to have been divided into a number of petty kingdoms; and Abraham appears to have possessed a force and strength, which, compared with that of his neighbours, was by no means inconsiderable. He was, besides, of that eminence and authority among his own people, which entitled him to become the head and founder of a state.\* Thus he was in circumstances which both invited and required him, according to the usual rules of proceeding, to think of framing a system of laws, and of settling some form of government, for the security and establishment of him and his followers. Yet, it was not Abraham, but Moses, who, many years after, engaged in the office of giving laws to the people of the Jews; though, to all appearance, his situation was as discouraging, and as adverse to the purpose, as that of the former was favourable.’ p. 64.

Had our author not confined himself to the outlines of his very extensive subject, or had he applied himself more intensely to those parts of his argument, which we think would have better repaid his attention and gratified his readers, we are of opinion, that he might have entered much more particularly into the detail of the Mosaic law, and shown its superiority over every other mere human institution, (especially of those which approach the nearest in point of time), by its correct notions of human duty, and its enlarged views of human comfort.

As it will be thought, from the nature of the topics enumerated above, that the discourse occasionally assumes the form of Polemic, we can assure our readers, that the tone of discussion employed by our author constitutes a most legitimate and Christian species of warfare. The only expression, throughout the whole work, to which even the most bitter hater of *Odium Theologicum* could, by any perverseness of construction, apply that appellation, is to the following:

‘ The

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\* Possibly Romulus, when he first laid the foundations of Rome, was not able to muster a much larger, certainly not a more respectable number of followers, than Abraham at this time.

' The writer above alluded to, willing to persuade his readers, that the *ius* of Plato is the *λογος* of St John, goes on to observe, " that the theology of the Philosopher could never have been established by all his eloquence, had it not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the Evangelist : " an observation built on a false position ; and is as groundless as it is insidious. " Dignosci queat," says Mosheim, " ex animæ mundi *ψυχῆς* doctrina in *Timæo*, ut et de *νο* mente in *Philebo*, quam parum Platonis quæ dicitur trinitas, cum Christiana consentiat. "

With joy and gladness should we behold the time, when works of controversy shall appear upon any subject of religion, morals, or politics, or indeed upon any subject of inferior moment, (for it is not always true that the passions rise in due proportion to their real interest), with no more symptoms of acrimony than this. We should hail it as the dawn of those halcyon days which, we are assured, will attend the full prevalence of the holy religion we profess.

Upon the whole, we consider this volume as bearing honourable testimony to the industry, good sense, and candour, of its venerable author ; and we recommend it, as furnishing a series of important facts and observations, to all ingenuous inquirers into the very interesting subject of which it treats.

ART. XV. *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America, during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802.* Dedicated, by permission, to Thomas Jefferson Esq. President of the United States. By John Davis. 8vo. London. 1803.

MR DAVIS is a pedagogue, who would be a wit and a fine gentleman. He went to America avowedly as an adventurer, or, as he more elegantly expresses it, ' the architect of his own fortune ; ' and subsisted there, partly by translating occasional publications from the French, and partly by teaching children their rudiments in parish schools and private families. In this way, he appears to have roamed through the greater part of the Southern States, falling sentimentally in love with all his female pupils, and landladies' daughters, and changing his situation every two or three months, either because he was tired of it, or because his employers thought proper to dismiss him. His book is entirely occupied with the story of his own exploits and adventures, and ought rather to be called *Memoirs of his Life, during his stay in America*, than an account or description of the country. With the exception of some observations on the climate and state of society in Carolina, and a topographical account of the city of Washington,

ton, this book contains nothing of a descriptive nature, and little that is calculated to make a lasting impression on the mind. In running it over, we are indeed occasionally amused with a peep, as it were, at the manners of the people among whom he travelled; but of the state of agriculture, commerce, and the arts, we learn nothing. Except the mocking bird and the rattle-snake, we hear very little of the productions of the country; and on the interesting subject of its government and politics, a total silence is observed. Mr Davis's observations seem principally to have been directed to the manners of the people of America; but, unfortunately, he had not an opportunity of visiting the New England states, where, in this particular, he would have met with the most originality and room for speculation; and, in the southern part of the Union, he seems to have directed his attention only to the lower classes of the people. His chief associates, indeed, appear to have been an itinerant English Doctor, and a wandering Irish schoolmaster, with whom he used to tipple porter and quote Virgil, and with several of whose epistolary effusions, both in verse and in prose, he has favoured the public in this volume.

Though we can assure our readers, that there is very little to be learned from these travels, yet, as they are preceded by a complimentary epistle from no less a person than the President of the United States, and as the author himself arraigns all preceding travellers of 'want of taste, want of literature, or incapacity for observation,' we think it advisable to give a short sketch of his proceedings, and some few specimens of his own peculiar excellencies.

He landed at New York, where he translated Bonaparte's Campaign, and was introduced to Mr Burr, Vice-President of the United States, whose eloquence he praises in a line from Homer, and whose daughter he celebrates in a hemistich of Horace. Here, also, he used to drink madeira with a Major Howe, who had unfortunately been metamorphosed into a deist by reading an odd volume of Gibbon's history.

'Before this period, the Major was a constant attendant on the Established Church; but he now enlisted himself under the banners of the infidel Palmer, who delivers lectures on deism at New-York, and *securing for himself and followers considerable grants of land in bell.*'  
p. 22. 23.

From New York he walked to Philadelphia with his friend the physician; and though they must have passed through the greater part of the state of New Jersey, the only remarks that he favours us with, are, that he was prevented from sleeping at Elizabeth-  
town

town by the barking of a huge mastiff, ' which noise it did not remit during the whole night, notwithstanding the Doctor put his head out of the window, and vociferated to him repeatedly ; ' and that at Trenton, the said Doctor, having an inflammation in his eyes, and happening to stumble as our author was leading him to his chamber, ' took an opportunity *comically enough* to observe, When the blind leads the blind, they shall both of them fall. '

At Philadelphia, they found the yellow fever ; and, after moralizing a few days in its deserted streets, they embarked for Carolina, and were happily landed at Charleston. Here Mr Davis was admitted as usher to an Academy, but was dismissed in about six weeks, and accepted the place of tutor to the children of a rich planter, about eighty miles in the interior of the country. In this woodland retreat, Mr Davis appears to have given himself up to poetry and romance. He makes various observations upon the fragrance of the flowers, the clearness of the waters, and the melody of the birds ; and, after contrasting the finery of the Carolina ladies with the graceful undress of Venus when she meets Æneas in the woods, he makes the following fine apostrophe to the place of his residence.

' *Consolatrice!* thou shalt not be unknown, if, by what eloquence nature has given me, I can call forth corresponding emotions in the breast of my reader to those which my own felt when wandering silently through thy woods. ' p. 74.

In the middle of these delicate and sentimental effusions, we were rather surpris'd to find our author start up in the character of a bloody huntsman.

' I generally accompanied my pupil into the woods in his shooting excursions, determin'd to make havoc both among birds and beasts of every description. Sometimes we fired in volleys at the flocks of doves that frequent the corn fields ; sometimes we discharged our pieces at the wild geese, whose empty cackling betrayed them ; and once we brought down some paroquets, that were directing their course over our heads to Georgia. Nor was it an undelightful task to fire at the squirrels on the tops of the highest trees, who, however artful, could seldom elude the shot of my eager companion. ' p. 84.

The following remarks, however, are of a different character.

' In Carolina, the legislative and executive powers of the house belong to the mistress : the master has little or nothing to do with the administration : he is a monument of uxoriousness and passive endurance. The negroes are not without the discernment to perceive this ; and when the husband resolves to flog them, they often throw themselves at the feet of the wife, and supplicate her mediation. But the ladies of

Carolina, and particularly those of Charleston, have little tenderness for their slaves. On the contrary, they send both their men-slaves and women-slaves, for the most venial trespass, to a hellish mansion, called the Sugar-house. Here a man employs inferior agents to scourge the poor negroes: a shilling for a dozen lashes is the charge. The man or woman is stripped naked to the waist: a redoubtable whip at every lash lays the back of the culprit, who, agonized at every pore, reads the air with his cries.

‘ Mrs D— informed me, that a *lady* of Charleston once observed to her, that she thought it abominably dear to pay a shilling for a dozen lashes; and that, having many slaves, she would bargain with the man at the Sugar-house to flog them by the year!’ p. 90.

We give Mr Davis credit for the humanity of these observations, though they are certainly calculated to give the European reader a very exaggerated idea of the severity with which slaves are generally treated in America. In spring, he returned to Charleston, in the neighbourhood of which, he again met his friend George, the Irish schoolmaster; and ‘ not more joyous,’ says he, ‘ was the meeting of Flaccus and Maro at the Appian way.

‘ *O! qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!*’

From Charleston he proceeded to Georgetown. That our readers may form some idea of the profit and pleasure to be derived from the narrative of this exemplary traveller, we insert the following passage.

‘ I supped and slept at a solitary tavern kept by young Mr Dubusk, whose three sisters might have sat to a painter for the Graces. Delicate were their shapes, transparent their skins, and the fire of their eyes drove the traveller to madness. Finding my young landlord companionable, I asked him why he did not pull down the sign of General Washington, that was over his door, and put up the portait of his youngest sister. That, said he, would be a want of modesty; and besides, if Jemima is really handsome, she can want no *effigy*; for good wine, as we landlords say, requires no bush.

‘ Mr Dubusk was a mighty great dancer. Indeed, he would frequently fall a cowering, unconscious of being observed. But he swore he would dance no more in the day-time, because it was ungentee. We drew our chairs near the fire after supper, when Mr Dubusk did his utmost to entertain me. He related, that, only a few nights before, some sparks had put a black pudding into his bed, which, by the moon-light through his window, his apprehension magnified into a black snake, and made him roar out, murder!’ p. 117.

From Georgetown he returned to New York, where he was again hired as a pedagogue; and, upon the election of Mr Jefferson, followed the multitude to Washington, and was present at the

the delivery of his inaugural address, with a full copy of which he has generously presented his readers. At this period, a series of letters from his friend Mr George is introduced, of whom he is pleased to observe, 'that every thing that relates to him must be interesting to the poet, the wit, and the scholar.' As a specimen of his talents and his friend's taste, we shall insert a part of his first epistle.

'While devouring Newtown-pippins, and drinking cyder to the health of your hardship in my heart, the stage-driver brought me your welcome epistles. At first, the fellow pretended there was no letter for me, (I tolerate these liberties, because the Jehu has a pretty wife); but in a few minutes he delivered me the packet. *Jucundius est legere quam libere*; so I left the old parson, and his wife and his daughter, (her nose is like the tower of Lebanon looking towards Damascus), and I opened, O Devil! thy budget of satire. This has revived me; and I now walk about with your epistles in my hand, which, however, I am obliged to put down every five minutes, to hold both my sides while I laugh it out.

'By St Patrick, I swear, thou art above all men dear to me. I love thee with more than brotherly love. I hope we shall never part. In the vast deserts of the world, I never could have found such another friend as thyself; and (to speak in the language of classic antiquity) I think Apollo himself must have brought us acquainted.

'Tell me if you are about publishing your poems. Do not go far for a title. Nothing appears so stiff and pedantic as a little book with a magnificent title. Remember that Horace gives his odes no other name than *Carmina*, though he might have accumulated a thousand imposing epithets to decorate his title-page. It is rumoured you intend dedicating your effusions to Burr. Avert it, literature. Dedicate not the book to an American. Can Burr, or Maddison, or Adams, or even Jefferson, add to the reputation of him who aspires to be read on the banks of the Thames?' p. 190. 191.

The concluding sentiments of this extract form but a small part of the acrimonious lucubrations which this book contains upon the literature and learning of America. We do not mean to deny the charge: literature is one of those *finer manufactures*, which a new country will always find it easier to import than to raise; there must be a great accumulation of stock in a nation, and a great subdivision of labour, before the arts of composition are brought to any great degree of perfection. The great avenues to wealth, must all be filled, and many left idle in hereditary opulence or mediocrity, before there be leisure enough, among such a people, to relish the beauties of poetry, or to create an *effectual demand* for the productions of genius. But though these causes may for some time retain the genius of America in a state of subor-

dination to that of Europe, we cannot persuade ourselves that its condition has ever been so deplorable as to form a proper object for the contempt of Mr Davis or his friend. There are an hundred authors in America, who would be ashamed to write like either of them, and ten thousand men who are not authors, that are entitled to feel compassion for their insolence and their vanity. The truth is, that American genius has displayed itself, wherever inducements have been held out for its exertion. Their party pamphlets, though disgraced with much intemperance and scurrility, are written with a keenness and spirit, that is not often to be found in the old world; and their orators, though occasionally declamatory and turgid, frequently possess a vehemence, correctness, and animation, that would command the admiration of any European audience, and excite the astonishment of those philosophers who have been taught to consider the western hemisphere as a grand receptacle for the *degeneracies* of nature.

In a subsequent visit to Washington, Mr Davis was present at a learned dispute between a Virginian and a New-England man, about the literary merits of Franklin. The latter, enthusiastic in what related to his countryman, asserted that the Doctor, being self-taught, was original in every thing he had published. To this the Virginian replied, that his writings, so far from being original, exhibit nothing but a transposition of the thoughts of others; in short, that he was a downright plagiarist. After some altercation, they agreed to decide the point by wager. The Virginian immediately produced two books; and, by comparing the passages, proved, to the entire satisfaction of the company, that the celebrated parable of Franklin against persecution, is copied nearly *verbatim* from Bishop Taylor's polemical discourses. He afterwards clearly demonstrated also, that the much admired epitaph of the philosopher, is taken from one in Latin written on the bookseller Tonson, by an Eton scholar, an English translation of which was given in the Gentleman's Magazine for February 1736. Most of our readers hold in their recollection that of Franklin. We insert the concluding lines of the other, in which the resemblance is sufficiently striking.

‘ Hic jacet bibliopola,  
Folio vitæ delapso,  
Expectans Novam Editionem  
Auctiorem et Emendatiorem.’

Not content with these proofs, the gentleman went on to convince his opponent, ‘ that the pretended discovery of calming troubled waters by pouring oil upon them, may be found in Bede’s History

History of the Church; and that the facetious essay on the air bath, is poached word for word from Aubrey's Miscellanies.' We do not remember to have met with these detections before, and are not prepared to enter into any controversy on the subject \*. It is certain, however, that the enlightened part of the American community begin now to consider this boasted character in a very ambiguous point of view, and to attach much less consequence and veneration to his memory than formerly. To him they are certainly indebted for the most important public services, and for his strenuous endeavours to introduce among them a taste for science and literature; but, on the other hand, his casting exhortations to extreme frugality, have had their effect in preventing the expansion of the noblest principles of the mind; and his example in the dereliction of religion, has certainly lent an unfortunate support to the cause of scepticism and infidelity.

During his stay in the metropolis, Mr Davis was present at one of the most interesting debates with which the House of Representatives has been occupied since the accession of the present President. One of the very first measures of that administration, was to propose the absolute and entire abolition of all internal taxes, comprehending those which had been imposed on distilled liquors, on refined sugars, on licenses to retailers of wine and spirits, on sales by auction, on carriages, and on stamps, and to substitute in their place certain customs and duties on the importation of foreign commodities. This step, we are afraid, was taken rather, from a

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\* The parable, we believe, was never claimed, nor avowed by Franklin, as one of his compositions; and, as to some of the other articles, we must be permitted to doubt the accuracy of the Virginian gentleman's information. In the ecclesiastical history of venerable Bede, we have not been able to find any account of a tempest calmed by oil. But cap. 1. lib. 5. contains an anecdote of *Oidwaldus Amantissimus Deo Pater*, which probably misled the American scholar; for that worthy person is there related to have quelled a violent tempest '*orando*;' and the Virginian probably conceived that *orandum* is the Latin for oil.

The antiquity of the fact respecting oil cannot, however, be questioned. We find in Pliny, Nat. Hist. 11. 106. '*omne mare oleo tranquilli*;'—and Plutarch, Quæst. Nat. p. 914. speaks of the

' καλαφανεα και γαληνη θαλαττης  
' ελαιω καλαρραι νομινης.'

We think it much less likely, that Franklin should have met with this fact in venerable Bede, or even in Pliny and Plutarch, than that he should have taken the hint at second hand from some quotation in more popular works.



strong desire of popularity, than from any sound or deliberate principle of financial reformation. Old established taxes are commonly paid with the least reluctance, and the amount of those that were levied in America, was confessedly very inconsiderable. By the repeal, a deviation is made from what a celebrated writer has denominated the 'plain high road of finance;' the revenue of the country must be entirely drawn from the fluctuating source of commerce; a dependence is placed on the very winds and waves; and, in case of a war, which the history of the X. Y. Z. negotiation; and the affair of New Orleans, lead us to consider as an occurrence by no means so improbable as some affect to suppose, this resource must be in a great measure cut off; and it will then be necessary to resort again to those very taxes, the imposition of which, at first, occasioned an insurrection, but to which the people had become accustomed and reconciled. The repeal does not appear to have been supported so much on the idea of any individual tax being exceptionable, as in conformity to a regular and peculiar system of policy, objecting to the principles of internal taxation. If any particular tax had been considered as burdensome or unequal, it ought certainly to have been modified or withdrawn; but we must confess ourselves utterly at a loss to comprehend the inducements to an entire and indiscriminate annihilation of these sources of revenue.

Of these imposts, that on stamps, particularly, excited the interest of the community; and although, in a commercial country, a duty of this nature must be extremely productive, and though we are disposed to think, none can be of more just or equable operation; yet, as the very mention of a stamp act, though imposed by his own representatives, is grating to the ear of the American citizen, and calls up to his mind remembrances of an unpleasant nature, and as the prejudices of the multitude, frequently led more by association than reflection, are sometimes to be respected; we can readily conceive, that a timid and cautious administration would urge the substitution of some other in its stead, or even have consented to its abolition, until a more awful and imposing crisis. But as for the duties on stills and distilled liquors, to which but a temporary resistance was made by the deluded inhabitants of the western parts of Pennsylvania, not only the necessities of government, but the policy of checking a most general and odious vice, the bane of social and domestic happiness, required their continuance. Where spirituous liquors, both of home and foreign manufacture, are in such vast abundance, and so easily procured, a perpetual allure-  
ment and irresistible temptation is held out to intemperance.

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The consequence is, that in no country is habitual drunkenness so prevalent as in the United States; and, instead of augmenting the evil, the wholesome interposition of legislative controul is imperiously demanded for its diminution.

The repeal of the other taxes, such as those on auctions, licenses, carriages, and refined sugars, must at first sight appear equally inexpedient, as nothing could afford a more legitimate subject for the exercise of the just and received notions of taxation than each of these. To us, it seems a strange inconsistency, that the Nabob who lolls in his coach, and who consumes refined sugar or wine from the retailer, should give nothing for the enjoyment of these luxuries, while those in the more humble walks of life are obliged to pay an high price for the imported necessities of life. Could the idea be entertained that the people were too much burthened, it would certainly have been better, as the federalists proposed to lessen or take off entirely the duties on salt, brown sugar, the cheaper teas, the coarser manufactures; and indeed, from all those articles which the poorer part of the community have the greatest reason to require, in which they are more immediately concerned, and which arise rather from the necessities than the refinement of human nature.

Notwithstanding, however, the reasoning and the clamours of the federal party, it is known that the bill passed both the Senate and House of Representatives, and immediately received the approbation of the President.

Our author, after observing that Mr Randolph was the most eloquent in the discussion, and that he addressed the House fully an hour in favour of the repeal of the duty on domestic distilled liquors, dismisses the subject, with this single profound remark.

‘I took great interest in this debate, for I consider *whisky* very cheering; but I thought it curious that a member from Virginia should stand up for the repeal of the tax upon that liquor, which, now it is become cheaper, will throw many of his countrymen off their feet!’

After his return from Washington, Mr Davis took up a small school at Occoquan, in the neighbourhood (he says) of some flour-mills, that made as loud a noise as the cataract of Niagara; and happening to see a few straggling Indians in their way through the country, he takes the opportunity of introducing a romantic legend, about the Indian *Princess* Pocahontas, daughter of the *Emperor* Powhatan, who fell in love with Captain Smith, soon after the first colonization of Virginia. We never met with any thing more abominably stupid than this story, and must be excused for passing it over with very little notice,

though Mr Davis is pleased to say, 'this part of my volume, many of my fair readers will, I am persuaded, *bug with the tenderest emotion to their bosoms.*' All that we can understand of the story is this: Captain Smith runs away from Pocahontas, and Captain Rolfe falls in love with her; and she, after weeping some time for the fugitive hero, marries the living one, and comes over to England with him, where she lives at Brentford, and dies at Gravesend. As a specimen of our author's talent in novel writing, we add the following affecting account of Captain Rolfe's appearance in love.

'He delighted in the secrecy of his solitude, where he could indulge, undisturbed, the emotions that *Pocahontas* had excited; he wandered dejected by moon-light along the banks of the river; and he who once was remarked for dressing himself with studied elegance, now walked about with his stockings ungartered:

'*Omnia vincit amor; et nos cedamus amori.* VIRG.' p. 283.

In about three months, Mr Davis became wearied with his situation at Occoquan, because he had not 'found any female disciple with expressive dark eyes, to consider his instructions as oracular;'—'so he returned to Philadelphia, and from that place, proceeded to New York.' This is his own account of his progress.

'From Philadelphia I travelled to New-York, partly by water, and partly by land. In the passage-boat to Burlington was a sweet girl of seventeen, whose voice was music; and *who observed that the Pennsylvania shore of the Delaware was much more pleasant than the Jersey side.*' p. 312.

He then travelled for a day with an old man, 'whose lungs were ulcerated with blasphemy;' and was fortunate enough in the concluding part of his journey, to sup with an elegant landlady and her sister, on whose table he found an old novel, 'the concluding pages of which seemed to have been moistened with the tears of sensibility.'

After some farther perambulation, our author again takes up a school in the interior of Virginia, where he falls in love with one of his pupils; and after the usual term of three months, is dismissed to make room for a more steady and diligent instructor. From this place, he marched indignantly to Baltimore, where finding a shipmaster liberal enough to take his word for payment of his passage across the Atlantic, he thought such an opportunity was not to be neglected, and was wafted back to England, to prepare this volume for the instruction of his countrymen.

Our readers will now be pretty well able to judge, whether  
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the President of the United States has selected for his patronage, the most profound and discerning of all his visitors, or whether the travels of Mr Davis are perfectly fitted for all the purposes of such a publication. Of his style, a pretty correct judgement may be formed from the specimens we have already exhibited; but as he is pleased to say, that 'in what relates to the structure of his sentences, he does not fear competition with those who have reposed from their youth under the shade of academic bowers,' it is nothing more than justice to add one word upon that subject. The style and phraseology of this book, is made up of pedantry, affectation, and vulgarity. At one time, we hear of mountains 'losing their lofty summits in the clouds;' and at another, of a bewitching damsel, who 'had two balls of pitch stuck in her head for eyes.' A reverend professor is said to be very *voluminous*, 'because he would admit no book under the size of a folio on his shelves;' and the author himself is described as having been *bounded* from one town to another, and as having accompanied his pupils with great condescension in the exercises of fishing and *gunning*. We learn also, that he purchased a lap-dog *because* of its littleness; that he had a mind *not inducible* to wit and humour; and that his style is infected with no colloquial barbarisms.

Such is Mr Davis's performance, which is to supersede the use of all past, and all future travels in America; and to serve for a model to all who may hereafter visit remote regions for the instruction of their countrymen. The attempt, however, in which he has failed, has not yet been attended with very eminent success in the hands of any other. The productions of Monsieur Brissot, Mr Weld, and the Duc de Liancour, are certainly of a class far superior to that which is now before us: but an accurate, unprejudiced, and philosophical account of the United States, is still a *desideratum* in Literature. We have for some time been expecting from the pen of an enlightened foreigner, already celebrated for his travels in Egypt and Syria, the result of his observations on this interesting country, and have greatly regretted the circumstances which have so long withheld this gratification from the public.

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ART. XVI. *Lectures on Painting.* Delivered at the Royal Academy, March 1801. By Henry Fuseli, P. P. With additional Observations and Notes. London: Johnson. 1801. pp. 151. 4to.

THE very philosophical views exhibited in every part of the discourses of the late illustrious President had opened a path in the art of painting, almost equal in novelty and extent to that which

which had been pointed out in science by the invaluable productions of Bacon. The general approbation of his countrymen was well bestowed on that correctness of judgement, comprehensiveness of understanding, chasteness of conception, and modest simplicity of style, which characterized the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds's pen, as well as of his pencil; and lovers of the art had a right to expect, that, with such an example in view, his followers would not fail to carry on the work of improvement, which had so long been required, and which he had so ably commenced.

Was the author of the performance now before us, ignorant that these were the sources of the approbation bestowed upon his predecessor? Or was he actuated in publishing it by the same motives of ludicrous vanity, which lately influenced the first painter of a great nation to exhibit for public inspection, under the same roof with the transfiguration, his miserable composition of the Sabines, as deficient in execution, as it is wretched in design?

That our author is no stranger to the influence of such motives, is manifest from that singular specimen of vanity and assurance, which is offered as an exordium to these lectures, and which must produce an effect directly contrary to that which was obviously intended.

After some magnificent observations, which, if they have any meaning, are intended to prove, that it is more difficult to treat a subject after preparation than before it, our author has been at the trouble of extracting from the laws of the academy, those passages which allude to the province of the lecturer; and, in the most obscure language, delivers his comments upon the qualifications of his station. Amongst those qualities, which are required by the laws, we find properly enough placed, perspicuity of method, and command of words. It is doubtless in allusion to his glaring deficiency in these requisites, a deficiency which he himself has discovered, that our author introduces the old adage, obscured in a mist of language through which we can scarcely discern it, 'you must take the will for the deed.' With regard to the plan of the work, we are informed, that a *progressive* method is to be observed; and indeed, until we read the next sentence, we could not conceive that any other method was possible. But he immediately shows us very clearly, that his method is not to be progressive, by adding, that this 'will enable him on future occasions to treat more fully those parts, which the pressure of others seemingly or really more important, has obliged him to dismiss more abruptly, or with less consideration, than they have a right to claim.' This is so confused a circumlocution, that it de-  
scribes

scribes nothing very accurately; but it is much nearer to a description of a retrograde, than of a progressive method.

After a flattering account of the substance of lectures which the author means to deliver, we are disappointed with the information, that the present are only to be considered as fragments; and various obstacles which have occurred, are enumerated as an excuse for their incompleteness. We cannot but consider it highly unjustifiable in any man to *undertake* an office which is of great importance, and to suffer himself to be prevented by any surmountable obstacles from the performance of his duty.

In his *definitions*, we cannot give our author credit for being often understood; and, when intelligible, we think him generally inaccurate. By *Nature*, he says, he understands 'the general and permanent principles of visible objects, not disfigured by accident, or distempered by disease; not modified by fashion or local habits.' If by disfiguring, he meant alteration of form from the usual standard, and by accident any irregular cause of change, we should be inclined to pronounce this definition too unqualified for a lecture on painting. Disfiguring by accident, occurs so frequently in nature, and contributes so indisputably to the picturesque in landscape, that we are astonished any painter should have thought of making it an exception to the general idea of 'natural.' He proceeds, 'Nature is a collective idea, and, though its essence exists in every individual of the species, can never, in its perfection, inhabit a single object.' To assert that any thing in nature is imperfect, or that the essence of nature can be otherwise than perfect in any individual, appears to us to favour of paradox. Modified as the assertion ought to have been, by a reference to the contracted views of art, and the incomprehensive conceptions of man, it would still be scarcely admissible.

Speaking of *beauty*, he says,

'On *beauty* I do not mean to perplex you or myself with abstract ideas, and the romantic reveries of platonic philosophy, or to inquire whether it be the result of a simple or complex principle. As a local idea, beauty is a despotic princess, and subject to the anarchies of despotism; enthroned to-day, dethroned to-morrow. The beauty we acknowledge, is that harmonious whole of the human frame, that unison of parts to one end, which enchants us; the result of the standard set by the great masters of our art, the ancients, and confirmed by the submissive verdict of modern imitation.' p. 5.

In this exquisite passage, we suspect the author has perplexed himself; at least, we know he has perplexed his readers. In smoothness of numbers, it is far inferior to the celebrated song by a person of quality; but, in the other great attribute of that composition,

position, it may boldly challenge a comparison. What shall we say of a brain, that can combine such a motley group of incongruous images, as 'beauty the result of complex principle'—'beauty a despot'—'this despot subject to tyranny'—'qualities dethroned'—'a principle, the harmonious whole of the human frame'—'a quality, the unison of parts'—'a despot, the result of a standard'—and 'modern imitation returning a verdict.'

Of *grace* we have a definition somewhat more intelligible, but equally imperfect in a general view, and inapplicable to particular cases. It is ridiculous to say, that grace is nowhere to be met with, but in a balance of motion and repose. What becomes of the Endymions, Fawns, and other sleeping figures, which are perfectly graceful, although repose constitutes the chief character. Applied to execution, he adds, that it means 'that dexterous power, which hides the means by which it was attained, the difficulties it has conquered.' We doubt much, whether grace alone can be said to do this, though we do not deny that the art, to which our author alludes, contributes in some measure to the perfection of grace.

On the subject of *genius*, a very ill-timed and inconsistent reserve is affected. The lecturer tells us, that 'he speaks of genius with reserve; for no word has been more indiscriminately confounded.' He then defines it to be 'that power, which enlarges the circle of human knowledge, or combines the known with novelty.' If he had said at once, that genius is the power of making new combinations, which are pleasing or elevating to the mind, we should have conceived that he at least knew what he meant by the term of which he is speaking.

'Guided by these preliminaries,' he proceeds, 'we now approach that happy coast (Greece), where, from an arbitrary hieroglyph, the palliative of ignorance, from a tool of despotism, or a ponderous monument of eternal sleep, Art emerged into life, motion and liberty.'  
p. 7.

Geography, medicine, carpenters' shops, Egyptian pyramids!!! There is, at least, some variety in this strange jumble of images; but the remainder of the passage is only a heap of unconnected sounds. Indeed, from the specimens that we have already given, our readers will be inclined to agree with us, in allotting to Mr Fuseli the very first rank among that class of artists, who employ themselves in covering paper with certain alphabetical characters, that bear a delusive resemblance to significant composition.

The rest of the first lecture is employed in describing the origin and progress of the Greek art. Amongst the reasons given for the excellence of the Greek painters, one is, 'that simplicity of their

their end, that uniformity of pursuit, which, in all its deviations, retraced the great principle from which it sprung, and, like a central stamen, drew it out into one immense connected web of congenial imitation.' With the sublimity of this passage our author seems to have been so fully impressed, that he has emphatically introduced it in another part of his work.

After some borrowed conjectures on the rudiments of art among the Greeks, and a prolix, uninteresting detail of rather more than is known concerning Polygnotus, Aglaophon, Phidias, Panænus, Colotes, and Evenor, he draws up a fine, though imaginary character, of Apollodorus the Athenian, which may be recommended to the perusal of our readers, as one of the very few specimens of tolerable composition which are to be met with in this work. We must, however, observe, that the merit of Apollodorus, in the conception of his Ajax, seems to have been almost equalled by the noble strength and expression of the original description; which Mr Fuseli has only parodied, where he talks of 'the figure of Ajax wrecked; and, from the sea-swept rock, hurling defiance into the murky sky.'

The character of Zeuxis's style is not ill drawn. Doubting, at first, whether he shall assign the praise of genius to him, our author at last comes to a determination in his favour. We cannot, however, imagine why he should think it a necessary conclusion, that because Zeuxis was endowed with the power of invention, he must therefore have been a grand and beautiful *colourist*. Innumerable cases have occurred in the history of the Art, to prove that these two perfections cannot easily be united. It would perhaps not be going too far, to lay down as a general maxim, that superior merit in one of those departments is incompatible with excellence in the other.

The following attempt is made to explain the manner in which this painter embodied by signs the Athenian *Δυναμις*, as 'the only supposition which can shed a dawn of possibility on what else appears impossible.'

'Perhaps he traced the jarring branches to their source, the aboriginal moral principle of the Athenian character, which he made intuitive.'

In a long dissertation on Timanthes's celebrated picture of Iphigenia, our author combats the opinions of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Falconet; and decides, that

'He did not hide the face of Agamemnon, because it was beyond the power of his art; not because it was beyond the *possibility*, but because it was beyond the *diginity* of expression.'

Notwithstanding



Notwithstanding the authorities so copiously cited by our author in favour of the concealing system, we would, in the first place, beg leave to suggest, that the rule does not, as by his practice he seems to think, apply to writing; but that, in that art, it is always expedient to give the reader a full view of what is meant. And secondly, that with respect to painting; those subjects, in our opinion, are totally unfit for the painter, however strictly conformable they may be to Nature, which necessarily involve concealment, even though this be required by propriety. By excellence of execution, it is true, a skilful artist may sometimes cover the defects of his subject. But a judicious painter will avoid unnecessary difficulties; and most assuredly we can derive no pleasure from the contemplation of concealed forms, except perhaps the very trifling gratification of being able to commend the workman's sense of propriety.

Our author's account of the third æra of the Greek arts contains a well drawn character of Apelles, and some just remarks on the possibility of uniting various characters in one subject, without injury to the primary feature.

The second lecture commences with an account of the restoration of the art in the fifteenth century, and then details its progress, as advanced by the genius and industry of Masaccio, Mantegna, Luca, Leonardo da Vinci, Bartolomeo della Pata, Michael Angelo, Raphael Sanzio, Titian, Correggio, &c.

The account which our author gives of these artists, is equally correct and trite; not, indeed, that the same sentiments were, ever since the flood, couched in such inimitable language. Our author has the peculiar talent of diffusing around the most common-placed ideas which a man can conceive, such a glare of absurd expression, and of daubing over his sketches with such a violent and fantastic colouring, that it frequently requires a little reflection to recognize the most familiar object. Leonardo da Vinci, we are told, was 'all ear, all eye, all grasp;' and, after a pompous account of the magnificence of those various powers of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which were required in Michael Angelo, for the accomplishment of his great work, the Cupola of St Peter's, our author sums up his character, by saying, 'such, take him all in all, was Michael Angelo, *the salt of art.*' In a note upon this great man's sensibility to the beauties of oil colour, our author compares oil paint to fruit, and descants upon its glow, its juice, its richness, and its pulp. We never before heard of the *juice* of oil colour, and can only venture a conjecture that our author alluded to the turpentine; and that by the *pulp*, he meant to express some of the drying oils, or perhaps macgel-lup.

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The character given of Raphael has some merit ; that of Titian is indecent in the expression, though pretty justly conceived ; and Correggio's manner is happily, though fancifully described, as affecting us with the soft emotions of a delicious dream. We can by no means, however, agree with our author, that if impropriety of ornament were to be fixed by definition, the subjects of the Farnese gallery might be quoted as the most decisive instance. The licenses in which An. Caracci, and many of his cotemporary artists indulged, when, without respect to the rules of arbitrary propriety, they eagerly seized upon every opportunity of exalting their art, and displaying the full extent of their powers, call to our remembrance that great sculptor of antiquity, who proposed a huge mountain as the block from which to chisel out a human form, and only waited the commands of Alexander to make from these vast materials, a statue as durable as the world, holding, in its left hand, a city, with a myriad of inhabitants, and pouring from its right a mighty river into the sea !

In speaking of the Dutch school, we are told that Rubens ' first spread that ideal paller, which reduced to its standard the variety of Nature, and, once methodized, whilst his mind tuned the method, shortened or superseded individual imitation.' All comment upon this absurd passage is unnecessary.

The second lecture concludes with a glance at the state of art in England, from the age of Henry the Eighth, to our own. We present our readers with the following correct, but too concise observations, on a subject which was worthy of more attention.

' Whilst Francis I. was busied, not to aggregate a mass of painted and chiselled treasures, merely to gratify his own vanity, and brood over them with sterile avarice, but to scatter the seeds of taste over France, by calling, employing, enriching Andrea del Sarto, Rustici, Rosso, Primaticcio, Cellini, Niccolo ; in England, Holbein and Torregiano, under Henry ; and Federigo Zuccherò, under Elizabeth, were condemned to Gothic work and portrait painting. Charles, indeed, called Rubens and his scholars to provoke the latent English spark ; but the effect was intercepted by his destiny. His son, in possession of the cartoons of Raphael, and with the magnificence of Whitehall before his eyes, suffered Verio to contaminate the walls of his palaces, or degraded Lely to paint the Cymons and Iphigenias of his Court ; whilst the manner of Kneller swept completely what yet might be left of taste, under his successors : such was the equally contemptible and deplorable state of English art, till the genius of Reynolds first rescued from the mannered depravation of foreigners his own branch, and soon extended his view to the higher departments of art.'

Here was a favourable opportunity afforded to our author, for  
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adding his testimony to that of his illustrious predecessor, on a subject which interests the Academy at large, and the lecturer in particular. It will be readily seen, that we allude to the great importance of establishing a museum, furnished with such specimens of the arts as would serve to illustrate the dry details of systematic works.

In no instance, has a more convincing proof been given of the trite maxim, '*Segnius irritant animos,*' &c. than in the slow proficiency made by those artists, who, confined to our own kingdom, have been unable to contemplate the original models, of which even the descriptions of Mr Fuseli give such inadequate ideas. To say, that those who enjoy the opportunity of travelling do not all derive proportionate advantage, is perhaps only to say, that they have fallen into the same fatal errors with those students of philosophy, morals, politics, who have been educated on the same plan. Dazzled at once by the splendour of generalities, they have ever afterwards disdained to pursue the humbler, and to them apparently obscure paths of minuter science.

In the third lecture, a subject more dignified in its nature, and topics of more practical importance are so much overwhelmed with bombast, confused imagery, - and useless unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions, that we very sincerely doubt, whether, to use our author's own words, 'invention will discover any gold, by penetrating athwart the outward crust of the rock into the composition of its materials.' The principal subject of the lecture is *Invention*, a term, of which our author seems to have a very obscure notion in its abstract sense, and which he explains by allusions which furnish instances of any thing but invention. He tells us, that 'representation of form in figure, constitutes the physical element of the art; character and action the moral.' Invention is described as the most eminent of the 'technic powers;' and the justness of the appellation is maintained by an 'appeal to the explicit acknowledgment of all ages, and the silent testimony of every breast.' Our author, however, soon after talks of that intuition into the sudden movements of nature, which the Greeks call *φαντασιαι*. If we have any glimmering of his meaning in this passage, we cannot discover the slightest connexion between *φαντασιαι*, as thus defined, and invention. Shakespeare and Theon, whose warrior our author describes most pompously and most unnecessarily, are given as instances of men who possessed the 'radiant recollection of associated ideas, the spontaneous ebullition of nature.' Michael Angelo, too, is quoted as an example, and his genius is compared to 'sparks flying from a red-hot iron.'

The characters of specific invention are tolerably well exemplified by full descriptions of M. Angelo's Frescoes, in the Capella Sistina. As instances of the dramatic style, in which Raphael was unquestionably the greatest master, our author alludes to his Cartoons, and to the 'allegoric drama that fills the stanzas, and displays the brightest ornament of the Vatican.' He adds some observations on the historic style, and a few very just and prudent remarks on the propriety of temperance and moderation in plagiarism.

We perfectly agree with him in opinion upon the unity of time which is to be found in the transfiguration, and think that every attentive contemplator of that divine performance must learn with astonishment, that this characteristic quality should have been so long a matter of controversy among critics.

Such, so far as we can discover, is the substance of the Lectures now before us. From the several particulars which we have detailed, we believe that most of our readers will agree with us in drawing one conclusion, that whether we consider our author's selection of subjects, or his manner of treating them, these lessons are equally ill calculated to furnish the solid practical advantages proposed by the institution, and required by the greater part of the pupils for whom they were intended. The Professor has taken ample care to set before us, in a clear light, the extent of his failure in performing the duties of his station; for he has descanted much upon the nature of those duties in a copious commentary on the laws of the Academy; by which standard we are willing to estimate his merits. We will venture to pronounce, without any degree of hesitation, that his efforts have completely failed. He has neither displayed 'knowledge founded on theory, substantiated and matured by practice,' nor 'a mass of well-selected and digested materials,' nor 'perspicuity of method,' nor 'command of words.' It is of infinitely less importance to inquire, if he is endued with that 'presence of mind, and that resolution, the result of conscious vigour, which, in submitting to correct mistakes, cannot easily be discountenanced.' That he has, at least, one of the requisites which he considers necessary in the professor of painting, 'an imagination to place things in such views as they are not commonly seen in,' we readily allow; he has indeed placed them in such views as no one ever did, or ever will see them in. His performance is one great mass of shade, unbroken by a single gleam which might lead us to discover the objects upon which he is employed. From the real difficulties of his task, which, however, he has very carefully enumerated, he has kept at so respectful a distance, that we can form no judgment with respect to the pro-

bable success of his prowess, should he hereafter attempt to encounter them.

We cannot conclude, without passing our decided censure upon a practice, not peculiar indeed to our author, but as unworthy of a philosopher, as it is foreign from the duties of a practical instructor; we mean, the practice of illustrating all subjects by toilsome and unproductive researches into those mines of antiquity, in which, while the labourer is dazzled by the specious appearance of valuable ores, nothing is to be found but a confused mass of rubbish or dross, from which all the valuable metal had been long ago extracted. In practical lessons of painting to the operative student of the art, we should be glad to hear no more of idiagrams, monograms, monochroms, cestrums, polychroms, and the whole heap of scholastic trash for which the present Professor cherishes so unnatural a veneration.

After all, we must allow him some praise for modestly appreciating the practical importance of his work. Convinced, it would appear, of its inutility, he has placed the book beyond the reach of that class of men for whom it was composed, by a compliance with the modish and ridiculously expensive form of publication; and he has removed the meaning beyond the reach of *all*, by composing in such an unintelligible jargon, as no reader can hope to decypher, without an extravagant waste of time and attention.

After the large specimens which we have given, and without which our readers might have blamed the severity of our judgement, we think ourselves amply justified in summing up Mr Fuseli's character as a writer, in the words of the poet:

'Tassata phrases, silken terms precise,  
Three-pil'd hyperboles——  
Figures pedantical, this summer fly  
Have blown quite full of maggot ostentation.'

ART. XVII. *Odes of Anacreon*. Translated into English Verse; with Notes. By Thomas Moore Esq; of the Middle Temple. Third Edition, 12mo. London. Carpenter. 1803. pp. 322.

**W**e are informed, that the name on the title-page of this book does not announce to us a new candidate for literary distinction; but that it is well known to be a variety of the appellation by which the author was pleased to distinguish himself, when, a few years ago, he submitted to the public the *Effusions of Mr Thomas Little*. By this change of title, we conclude Mr Moore means to intimate that he has now attained that maturity of

of genius which may enable him to meet the decision of the public in his own person; and that he will not hereafter plead insignificance in mitigation of his offences, or seek shelter, in obscurity, from the punishment which morality and criticism must concur in awarding to the peculiar vein of inspiration by which he is distinguished.

It was probably a similar confidence in his growing powers, that induced Mr Moore to undertake a new version of a work already so often translated; for there does not appear to have been any other excitement to the task, but the hope of excelling his predecessors. It may be doubted, whether the interests of morality required that Anacreon should be presented to the public in a new and more seductive dress; and there are many, we suspect, who will be inclined to think that the world was long ago sufficiently well instructed in his maxims. Though far from being one of the most licentious writers of antiquity, he often trespasses against delicacy; and we believe it would be difficult to point out any classical writer, whose pen has done smaller service to the cause of virtue or good citizenship. To such of our readers as have the slightest knowledge of the poems in question, this remark will appear superfluous. But it is extorted from us by the very singular tenor of Mr Moore's preface, and more particularly by the unusual expressions which he employs to characterize his favourite bard.

'In truth (says he) if we omit those vices in our estimate, which ethnic religion not only connived at, but consecrated, we shall say that the disposition of our poet was amiable; his morality was relaxed, but not abandoned; and virtue, with her zone loosened, may be an emblem of the character of Anacreon.'

By what unheard of metamorphoses, both of character and sex, Anacreon came to resemble *virtue with her zone loosened*, we cannot imagine. If the bard of Teos must be a woman, and if the fancy of a zone must enter into the description, we should think 'the reeling goddess with the zoneless waist' a comparison fully as natural, and a little more true. The assertion, that Anacreon will be found very amiable, if his heathen vices are laid out of the account, is saying but little for his character, and nothing at all for the tendency of his works. If the ideas which he suggests to us are of a nature not to be admitted into a virtuous mind in the present day, it signifies but little that they were deemed less offensive at a remote period.

But let us, as Mr Moore has prudently done, shut our eyes to the more glaring offences of the poet; and after all, we apprehend his character will have little to boast of. Mr Moore says much of his benevolence; but neither of this, nor of any other

moral quality, have we been able to discover more than two faint traits in the whole of his works. One or two of his odes show, that he looked with an indulgent eye on the indiscretions of youth; and another, that he was averse to slander, and was not quarrelsome in his cups. In all the rest of his poems, the topic of moral praise is exhausted, when you have admitted that he is an elegant libertine. He is the father of that kind of poetry, in which freedom from care, and the praises of wine and of love, are the constant, and almost the only topics; and though he is by no means so relaxed or so inflammatory as some of his imitators and translators, yet he never appears in any other character than that of a lover of the bottle, an admirer of the fair, and the eulogist of improvidence.

After having adopted ideas equally remote from the common opinion, and from truth, it would be surprising if Mr Moore maintained any consistency throughout this extraordinary preface; and, accordingly, we often observe him struggling between an absurd wish to canonize Anacreon, and the obtrusive sense of his human imperfections. Had he been content to allow the poet his due praise, and no more, we should not have met with sentences like the following:

‘ His descriptions are warm; but the warmth is in the ideas, not the words.’ p. 21. Preface.

It might be fairly asserted, that this defence is absolutely unintelligible. But let us be metaphysical, and admit the distinction to be founded upon a difference; still we must maintain that it is one from which no consequence can be deduced. It is plain, that these warm ideas either are, or are not, suggested by the words employed; if they are suggested, the words have all that kind of warmth of which language is susceptible, as nobody ever looked for the caloric, or palpable fire of the chemists, in the letters of which those words are composed. But if, on the other hand, the imagery is not suggested by the terms, with what justice can we attribute it to Anacreon? The truth is, we suspect that Mr Moore has used this notably subtle form of expression, to express merely that the language of Anacreon is not gross. Must we repeat what has been so often said, that grossness (however degraded a state of mind it may indicate) is not one of the most dangerous qualities in amorous compositions? We recollect to memory this hackneyed observation for the sake of our readers only; for Mr Moore has shewn, in the following passage quoted from a note, that he himself was quite familiar with the doctrine:

‘ The picture here (says he) has all the delicate character of the *Amorosa Venus*—and is the sweetest emblem of what the poetry of passion

passion ought to be ; glowing, but through a veil, and stealing upon the heart from concealment.' Vol. ii. p. 72.

We should have thought that to say thus much, in order to prove Anacreon no saint, was the *ne plus ultra* of serious trifling ; but we were in a manner forced to it by Mr Moore's misrepresentations : For, besides the extravagant paragraphs already noticed, we meet with the following note upon the words, ' Τὸν Ἀνακρίοντα μιμῶ, '—*Imitate Anacreon.*

' In morality, too, with some little reserve, I think we might not blush to follow in his footsteps.' Vol. ii. p. 89.

It is strange that such a note should occur, when, in the ode immediately succeeding, Mr Moore had an opportunity of contemplating the dispiriting effect of dissipation, and the remorse and terrors which it bequeaths to old age. In this melancholy *relique*, the old debauchee, reviewing a life passed in pleasure and inactivity, exclaims

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἀνακαλύζω  
Θαμὰ Τηλαρον διδοικώς.

which is rendered, with singular felicity, by Madame Dacier, ' *Car j'apprehends furieusement la demeure de Pluton.*'

We shall here take leave of the vices and virtues of Anacreon, and attend a little to those principles which should regulate the translator in the performance of his office. Since the splendid specimens exhibited by Dryden and by Pope, translation has ceased to be ranked with those servile occupations which devolve upon literary drudges. This task, as it has been found to require peculiar talents, is at length not only considered as useful, but even repaid with honour ; and, from the numerous qualifications necessary to its execution, this reward seems to be most justly bestowed.

First of all, the translator undertakes the arduous office of an interpreter, which, in its fulfilment, implies a very exact knowledge of two languages, differing perhaps in idiom, as much as the nations who employ them differ in the shades of their character. Moreover, it is not always between contemporary peoples that the translator is obliged to interpret. He has frequently to acquaint us with the ideas and sentiments of very remote periods, conveyed in a language which is no longer an instrument of thought to any of the inhabitants of the globe. But when his affair is with poetry, the difficulty becomes still greater ; for poets are, of all writers, those most conversant with the more delicate forms of thought. Their ideas are in themselves most evanescent, and associated by links of so perishable a kind, that they are liable to be lost in the lapse of time. It is then that



translation becomes indeed formidable from its difficulty, when we act as interpreters between distant ages: for, if we reflect, that a period of above two thousand years, alternately agitated by tempests, or stilled by a dark and profound calm, lies between us and the classical writers of antiquity, we shall be convinced that he must be a skilful pilot, who can transport uninjured, over so vast a sea, the delicate merchandise of the poet. To relieve the translator from some of the difficulties of his task, certain laws have been prescribed, deduced chiefly from the example of successful predecessors; and these rules seem all to be dictated by one prevailing principle—that we should resemble the original as much as possible, and that our departures from it should be permitted only when rendered necessary, by the alteration of manners, and the progress of refinement.

In order to qualify a man completely for the task of translation, there is required, besides the previous philological preparations, either analogous genius, or that happy versatility of mind, which readily conceives and assimilates the various modifications of human character. Original talents, if not also congenial, oftener mislead their possessor, than ensure his success; for they dispose him perpetually to intrude his own favourite topics, and either totally to dispossess the genuine sense of his author, or so to colour and disguise it, that the original subject can no longer be recognized. Formerly, it was thought that literal versions were the most likely to attain the ends of translation; and it was customary to employ words, not only accurately similar in signification, but alike in number and disposition. It was soon found, however, that this method of '*doing into English*,' had a wonderful tendency to hide the sense; more especially in translations from languages, where inversion is the order of composition. Upon style, it had the constant effect of destroying its varieties, and levelling all to one jargon, remarkable only for quaint and unmusical ruggedness. The '*doing*' mode is therefore laid aside, with great propriety, as a rude, awkward, and barbarous contrivance; yet the principle which first dictated literal translations remains in force. It constitutes the translator's obligation to learn the prevailing species of his author's style, and to seek for a corresponding one in his own language. It forbids him, on any account, to substitute ornament for simplicity, diffuseness for energy and conciseness, or languor for animation.

There are some gentle readers of poetry (as they usually call it), whose feelings are abhorrent from the most moderate restrictions on the liberty of translation. These personages intreat (rather than assert) that full scope should be given to all possible improvements; and they love to repeat (after their harmless and  
kindly

kindly manner), that it is unjust to reprove him who increases the sum of our pleasure. It is, however, generally observed, that few beyond this class of dilettanti are much disposed to consider, as real improvements, the thoughts which translators have been charitable enough to lend to the classics. Those readers for whom the classics wrote, seldom wish to see their favourite authors converted into vehicles of modern sentiments. They can generally perceive the bungling arrangement and disproportionate selection of images to which such a licentious system of imitation must always give rise; and, even admitting the patchwork to be well put together, they are always inclined to suspect that the same *divinus afflatus* did not engender all the figures.

The liberty of improvement, then, should be sparingly exercised, even by writers of the best judgement; and its embellishing effects should only there be visible, where the original, by a conciseness too laconic, left a thought unfinished, or, by a simplicity too naked for a nicer age, gave an appearance of poverty to the expression. Neither the nakedness, nor the taciturnity of a savage, should remain with the author, when he comes into the polished assemblies of modern society; but he should in other respects be the same man, and exhibit the same modes of thought, as when he resided among his countrymen of old. Our plan does not allow us to systematize these general views of translation; but, imperfectly as they are here sketched, they will guide our decisions upon Mr Moore's work.

We are now naturally led to examine the poetical merits of Anacreon; and we think the following account of his characteristic features sufficiently accurate to enable us, without danger of error, to institute a comparison between the original Greek and the translation now before us.

The simplicity of Anacreon is often spoken of; but it is seldom said wherein that simplicity consists—whether we are to look for it in the mode of thinking, or chiefly in the manner of expression. To us it appears, that, notwithstanding the examples of natural and obvious sentiment dispersed through the writings of Anacreon, as well as those of all the other minor poets, he is by no means distinguished for constant simplicity in his conceptions. If this remark holds with respect to the common editions, it applies with double force to the collection as given by Mr Moore. Indeed, he has used so little discrimination in deciding what odes are genuine, and what falsely attributed to Anacreon, that the most opposite styles may be easily detected in the perusal of his volumes; and it would be impossible to fix upon any one trait pervading the whole, so as to characterize the poetry. That the odes translated by Mr Moore are all Anacreontic, in so far as

they are Bacchanalian or amorous, we admit; but we cannot imagine that the translator himself, notwithstanding his professed disregard of the opinions of commentators, believed all that he has given, to be the productions of the same individual. Some of them he allows to be spurious, and we are persuaded that he must have suspected many more. The very first ode in *this* book is evidently written by some imitator, ancient or modern; it speaks of Anacreon as then dead, and describes his ghost returning from the shades to bid his imitator prosper.

The love songs of Anacreon are, in our opinion, neither very natural, nor very tender. They are the sprightly effusions of a man of gallantry; and please, from their readiness, their vivacity, and the ingenious finishing with which they are turned. They are seldom artless, and never so pathetic as to interest us deeply in the amours of the author. His sufferings are not so acute as to deprive him of wit, or diminish his relish for a conceit. Hence, though we have many well turned compliments, and lively sallies, we have none of the whining tones of a modern poetical lover, no complaints of cruelty, no hints of suicide. There is no clashing of the interests of Bacchus and Venus; we never hear of his rising from table to wander into the wood in quest of his mistress; and we are much inclined to doubt whether any passion could have been so strong, as to induce him to sacrifice his regular *quantum* of wine. Even in his drinking songs, where he seems much more in earnest, plainness of conception, and freedom from conceit, are by no means very prominent qualities. We often meet with studied epigram, and not unfrequently discover his partiality to forced thoughts, and curiously ingenious figures.

How, then, it may be asked, has simplicity been reckoned the peculiar feature of the Teian muse? And to what branch of the composition does this characteristic quality belong? In our opinion, it may be found in the *language* of Anacreon; and here it is equally apparent, whether we regard the structure of his sentences, or the selection of the words. This circumstance, we imagine, has recommended the odes to teachers of youth, as peculiarly adapted for the purposes of early instruction; and truly the love of Greek seems to have been more consulted in the choice, than the care of morals.

In the compositions of Anacreon, epithets are so thinly scattered, that the reader is surprised when he stumbles upon one. We suspect that, in most of the cases where they do occur, the combination must be ascribed, not so much to the exuberance of the poet's fancy, as to his compliance with the ordinary forms of colloquial expression. Thus, when he bestows an epithet upon a divinity,

divinity, or upon the common apparatus of the convivial board, we generally find that he uses the appellative which the language of ancient superstition, and the rites of social intercourse, had consecrated to such objects. In the very few instances which do not fall under this remark, we shall find that the epithets are specifically necessary to the description, and constitute the most prominent feature of the picture. They are neither expletive nor ornamental; neither paraded for show, nor introduced for the sake of the measure. They seem intended to make the author understood by his reader, and aspire at no higher object. We often meet with odes so very barren of what is termed poetical diction, that, were it not for some prettinesses in the turning of the thought, or the sprightly cadence of the metre, we should scarcely imagine we were reading a poem. Let any one, in proof of this, take up a common edition of Anacreon: he will have read through two entire odes, without encountering a single epithet; and, we are confident, may examine the whole book, without meeting any thing that will materially affect the truth of our general position. These remarks apply, with very little modification, to the slight tincture of metaphor which may now and then be traced in the writings of our poet.

Though we have already expressed a general opinion, that, in the contrivance and materials of the odes, there is a greater display of ingenuity than simplicity, yet some of them afford examples of the most artless and enchanting *naïveté*. His allegorical fictions are the subjects which oftenest lead him astray from nature. His love songs are likewise a little affected; but he seems to sing the praises of Bacchus with a heart-felt fervour. We read with delight his two odes to the Rose, from the relief they afford to the constant recurrence of his encomium on drinking. The first is the better of the two, and is an example of simplicity, both in matter and manner. The other, which is the longest, is in a richer vein of poetry, and is perhaps the most splendid and elaborate of all Anacreon's compositions; but, towards the close, is defective in point of simplicity.

In the conduct of a long piece, his ingenuity generally wins some little trophy from his taste; but there are scattered through his works, natural touches which almost rival the scriptural simplicity.

Ὀλίγη δὲ κεκοιμήσθαι  
 Κόρη, ὅσῳ λυδίστων.—  
 Τὸ σύμπερον μέλει μοι  
 Τὸ δ' αὖριον τίς αἰδῶν;

At times, Anacreon seems to have aimed at an epigram; and frequently the merit of an ode rests upon a line at its close, or even, in a few cases, upon a single word. The first ode (Ὀλίγη)

*Algon, x. v. d.*) seems to be of this kind, and is evidently written for the sake of the word *εὐφραίνω*; for if there is no sting in this word, we pronounce the ode miserably stupid. The chief merit of epigrammatic writing is conciseness; and many of Anacreon's odes are not so long as to exceed very much the limits of that kind of composition.

One additional remark we have to make, which is of considerable importance to our present purpose—that Anacreon never detains long an amorous sentiment or voluptuous image which comes across him. He gives it frankly, and without reserve; but never dwells upon it, or wantons with its circumstances, or gloats upon it in detail. We know only of two exceptions to this remark—the odes wherein he directs the painter how to delineate his mistresses. We disagree, therefore, with Mr Moore, as to the tendency of the poetry, not so much because we are shocked by any gross violations of decency in particular instances, as that we disapprove of his constantly inculcating the absurdity of forethought, and teaching that to drink and to love are the only occupations worthy of our solicitude.

If there be any truth in the preceding observations, we cannot be expected to award to Mr Moore the praise of being a faithful interpreter. Anacreon, we have said, used scarcely any poetical diction; but Mr Moore employs one that is both very copious, and extremely ornamented. Anacreon is sparing, even to niggardliness, of epithets. Mr Moore pours them forth with profusion on all occasions. In Anacreon, they are all essential adjuncts: in Moore, they are for the most part circumstances merely accessory, used, like the tails of Homer's similes, not for illustration, but for the imagery which they incidentally suggest. The two odes which we have mentioned, as not having a single word conjoined with an epithet in the original, have scarcely a word without one in the translation. Anacreon is less metaphorical and figurative than any other poet; less so, indeed, than some prose writers of antiquity. Mr Moore's imagination is as fertile in figures, as his wit is ready in conceits. All the additions which he makes to his original, are combinations of epigram and trope.

Such is the plan on which the whole version seems to be conducted. To improve the ancient bard, by filling up his ideas, lending him new beauties, and bringing out his thoughts, is the main object of our translator. This method is pursued with various success, sometimes greatly embellishing the original, and, in other instances, completely flattening its spirit. It is used with advantage in a few odes that are descriptive; but we feel it cumbersome in many of the lighter pieces, and quite intolerable

intolerable in those which hinge on a conceit, or partake of the manner of an epigram. It has very much increased the bulk of the book, and has spun out some odes, which were once but catches or glees, to almost the dreary length of Chevy Chase. What the original has gained in elegance, it has lost in vivacity. It is no longer the ingenuity of the thought which strikes; it is the magic of the diction which pleases. But every writer who has a great command over the common-places and common phraseology of poetry, is at times in danger of imposing upon himself very unmeaning sentences. We think Mr Moore often answerable for this inanity—for this trick of cheating his reader with the mere semblance of thought. We remember that he had very nearly passed upon us, as fine writing, the following vague lines relating to Anacreon :

‘ His tresses wore a silvery dye,  
But beauty sparkled in his eye,  
Sparkled in his eyes of fire,  
Through the mist of soft desire.’ Vol. i. p. 38.

The smooth flow, and agreeable imagery of the three last lines, made the author loath to part with them, otherwise the intrinsic merit is as little as their resemblance to the Greek.

Γιγωτ μιν ἦν καλὸς δι  
Καλὸς γὰρ καὶ φιλευνος.

Before leaving this topic, we may remark the childish partiality which Mr Moore shows to the adjective ‘rosy,’ which he uses much more frequently than even Anacreon’s preference for the flower authorises. It occurs in every page, and sometimes with no very distinct meaning. We meet with *rosy bonds*, *rosy rays*, *rosy forms*, *rosy bosoms*, and a number of other odd rosy things, besides the constant recurrence of the more ordinary usages, *rosy lips*, *rosy smiles*, *rosy breath*, &c. We suppose, that, to a listless Arcadian reader, this diction has the effect of introducing a number of agreeable and confused images; but it only reminds the attentive critic, of the little artifices of poetry, and puts him on his guard against their effect. The proverbial expression with which Mr Moore has made us acquainted, ‘*ροδα μιλῶμεν*,’ ‘*They have spoken roses*,’ may be applied literally to himself.

On the whole, we think Mr Moore has damped the fire of his work by a profusion of epithet; and that, had he broken the uniformity of his diction with some passages of greater simplicity, he would have heightened our pleasure, without materially violating his own plan of translation. That plan, however, we think, is constructed with so little judgement, that he has totally failed in the important point of being faithful to the manner of his original. We lament Mr Moore’s general want of success in copying the happy finishing we have so much admired in Anacreon.

A delicate hint in the original, becomes a tame exposition in the translation; and, where the poet's art was shown in leaving a picture or an inference to the mind of the reader, Mr Moore generally helps us to understand it with a compassion somewhat officious. It may serve to illustrate this remark, if we give a prose translation of a short ode, and compare it with the version we are now criticising.

Μή μὲ φύγῃς, ἰσῶσα  
 Τὰν πολὺν ὄσπρεον·  
 Μὴδ' ὅτι σὺ πάρεσιν  
 Ἄνθος ἀμυμον ἄρας,  
 Τάμ' αὖ φίλτρα διαΐης.  
 Ὅρα, καὶ τιφάνοισιν  
 Ὅπως κρείπει τὰ λιυκά  
 Ῥόδους κρεῖνα πλακύντα.

' Though thou hast seen my grey locks, ah, do not fly me; nor, because the flowery bloom of spring is yet upon thee, disdain my caresses. Behold yon garland! how lovely looks the snowy lily twined with the blushing rose.'

Mr Moore is pleased to convert this truly Anacreontic sketch of an ode into the following full-length fashionable song.

Fly not thus my brow of snow,  
 Lovely wanton, fly not so;  
 Though the wane of age is mine,  
 Though the brilliant flush is thine,  
 Still I'm doom'd to sigh for thee,  
 Blest, if thou could'st sigh for me.  
 See, in yonder flow'ry braid,  
 Cull'd for thee, my blushing maid,  
 How the rose of orient glow,  
 Mingles with the lilies' snow.  
 Mark how sweet their tints agree,  
 Just, my girl, like thee and me.

If our readers take the trouble of comparing the version which we have submitted to them, with this of Mr Moore, they will probably admit, that the couplets which he has thought proper to add, were not required by any obscurity in the original, and have as little tendency to improve the ideas of Anacreon, as to bring out his meaning.

As the poet does not often express himself with much simplicity, we have some reason to regret that his translator should have studiously diminished the small number of passages which possess this quality. Why, when Anacreon commissions a cup of Vulcan, and unaffectedly desires it to be made 'ὡς ὅσον ἔστιν'—'as deep as possible'—does Mr Moore put the order in the following language?

' Let me have a silver bowl,  
Where I may cradle all my soul. '

How came ' ὁ βίος βροτοῖς ἀδελός '—' Life is uncertain to mortals, ' to signify,

' No ! no ! the walk of life is dark,  
'Tis wine alone can strike a spark ? '

' Τρυφερῇ δ' ἰσῶ γυνεῖ '—' Beneath her delicate chin, ' is translated (if the expression may be allowed)

' Then beneath the velvet chin,  
Whose dimple shades a love within. '

In these, and innumerable other passages, we are at a loss to see any beauty or novelty which could have tempted the ingenious translator to use so full a license of amplification. But some of his little additional fancies are much more original, and imagined, indeed, with such a happy dereliction of nature, that it was scarcely possible for him to have been anticipated in them. Thus, Anacreon talks of ' the juice flowing from the pressed grape. ' Mr Moore prefers,

' In fervid tide of Nectar gushing,  
And for its bondage proudly blushing. '

Now, what will our readers think of Mr Moore's prudence, when they are informed that he actually attempts, in a great number of places, to combine with these tinsel additions, other additions of pathetic images; that, forgetting the peculiar vivacity of Anacreon's amorous character, he makes him a sentimental lover; that he chooses those very passages in which he has rendered Anacreon more than commonly splendid and ingenious, to make him also sigh and burn? The redoubled absurdity of perverting, by additions, the character of the original, and coupling together the most incongruous qualities in those additions, must strike every one who reads the work denominated, by Mr Moore, a translation of Anacreon. We might give various amusing specimens of this injudicious style, but shall content ourselves with referring to the twenty-second ode; which, though distinguished by most of this author's beauties, is also remarkable for the imperfections just now pointed out. It is greatly more than double the length of the original. It may be reckoned one of Mr Moore's most vigorous efforts towards the improvement of Anacreon, whose manner and design he nevertheless fails to preserve; and, by the union of sentimental tone with artificial thought, upon a trivial subject, he has in this poem approached the insipidity of the Della Cruscan school. But none of the manifest changes which Mr Moore has made upon his original, are more exceptionable than his constant employment of glowing language and attractive imagery in portraying those simple ideas that border a little up-



on the wanton. Far from showing the least reluctance to render fully intelligible those *incorrect* passages, he eagerly seizes every opportunity of enlarging upon and embellishing the little symptoms of temperament which not unfrequently escape Anacreon. But for the serious consequences of such amplifications and digressions, we should be disposed to smile at the want of self-command evinced by Mr Moore, whenever an amorous idea is started. Without fullying our page with the worst instances of this tendency by which our author is, at least in his verse, distinguished from Anacreon, we shall only hint at a few of the most harmless.

καλεῖ δ' ἑταίραν—' call my mistress. '

' And bring the nymph with floating eye ;  
Oh ! she will teach me how to die. '

χαρτίζοντι εὐχχομένον—' dancing with the Graces. '

' When with the blushing, naked Graces,  
The wanton winding dance he traces. '

χορεύω—' I will dance '

' I'll bill and twine in sily dance,  
Commingleing soul in every glance. '

Our readers may find abundance of this, and of worse than this, in these volumes, *passim*.

A style so wantonly voluptuous, is at once effeminate and childish ; and it is as unlike the original, as it is unmanly in itself. But we believe Mr Moore's ambition is not pointed towards the chaster graces of poetical composition. He will probably, with his congenial friend Mr Thomas Little, be consoled for all the justice which criticism can dispense,

' If some fond feeling maid like thee,  
The warm-eyed child of sympathy,  
Shall say, while o'er my simple theme  
She languishes in passion's dream,

" He was indeed a tender soul "—

And so on, in much the same style, down to

—' The flowings of so fond a heart. '

After dwelling so long upon those instances, in which Mr Moore's additions and changes are, we think, equally illegitimate, for a translation, and unhappy as original composition, we must now inform our readers, that he has been extremely felicitous in explaining and embellishing several of the odes which Anacreon had left meagre and unintelligible. We might give the 27th ode of Mr Moore's collection as a very signal proof of his powers to elucidate one of the most obscure and unprofitable of all the original poems. But we prefer the 21st, as affording a more full illustration of the remarks formerly stated upon

upon the subject of translation. The title is, 'ὕς το θυτ πινην'; and, in order that our readers may compare the obscurity, the awkward abruptness, and the mean simplicity of the original with the ease and richness of Mr Moore's version, we shall make use of an *Anacreon done into English* by one Gilpin of Yorkshire, and published in the year 1796.

'The black earth drinks, and the trees drink it; the sea also drinks the breezes, and the sun the sea, and the moon drinks the sun. Why do you contend with me, O companions! when I myself have a mind to drink?' Such is literally the material out of which the following beautiful workmanship has been fashioned:

'Observe, when mother earth is dry,  
She drinks the droppings of the sky;  
And then, the dewy cordial gives  
'To every thirsty plant that lives.  
'The vapours which at evening weep,  
Are beverage to the swelling deep.  
And when the rosy sun appears,  
He drinks the ocean's misty tears.  
The moon, too, quaffs her paly stream  
Of lustre from the solar beam.  
Then hence with all your sober thinking,  
Since Nature's holy law is drinking.  
I'll make the laws of Nature mine,  
And pledge the universe in wine.'

Of Mr Moore's language, it will not be necessary to say much, as the specimens which we have given, evince the enviable command of an expression at once easy, copious, and variously elegant. From this he very seldom deviates; and, however he may have mistaken Anacreon's style in other respects, he is almost always strictly faithful to him in the possession of classical purity and propriety.

Many bungling translators, of a class somewhat different from the literal tribe, have endeavoured to make their authors speak English, by putting into their mouths the most slovenly and vulgar phrases; and have sacrificed all vestige of classical elegance, to a disgusting familiarity of style. Those who attempt the version of lighter compositions, of songs and *jeux d'esprit*, are the most prone to this error; and examples of its influence are nowhere so frequent, as in the numerous translations of Anacreon. A *Pæan* in honour of Dionysus, is by this class of dunces rendered a low drinking song; and the slang of the punch bowl, with all the *verba solennia* used in addressing the waiter, echo so constantly through the verse, that we are rather disposed to fancy ourselves messing at an ordinary, than reclining at one of those ancient festivals which the gods sometimes honoured with their presence.

fence. Of this description and tendency are the errors of Mr Younge, from whose pen there has appeared, since the date of Mr Moore's work, a small, but jolly version of the Teian, adapted, we should imagine, from its familiarity, to all the purposes of the most common use. Here, the 'juice of the grape' flows in the form of 'good liquor.' 'Bottles and glasses' are the apparatus of a Grecian table. The effects of 'libations to the rosy god' are impressively brought home to every reader, through the medium of a simple and affecting term, 'dead drunk;' while the rhythm is happily adapted, not to the obsolete airs which used to wake the Lesbian groves, but to the tunes of more ordinary occurrence, which, in modern times, and northern climates, lull the jovial companion whom they had first excited to noisy mirth. In glancing over this work of the Reverend Mr Younge, we were prevented from fulfilling our plan of reviewing it, by meeting with a few such verses as the following :

- ' Let others love war—bring a bottle, my boy !  
For have it I will, and I must :  
Dead drunk to lye stretch'd, is allow'd to be joy,  
But none to lye dead in the dust.'—
- ' The horse, we observe, has a character on it,  
And Parthians are guess'd by the shape of their bonnet.'

Mr Moore has too sound a judgment, and too refined a taste to blunder so grossly. His errors are in the opposite extreme. Younge's translation is well fitted for a pot-house : Moore's is much better calculated for a bagnio.

ART. XVIII. *The Trial of John Peltier Esq. for a Libel against Napoleon Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, at the Court of King's Bench, Middlesex, on Monday the 21st of February 1803. Taken in Short-hand by Mr Adams, and the Defence revised by Mr Mackintosh. Large 8vo. London. 1803. pp. 464.*

WE heard so much from London of Mr Mackintosh's speech in defence of Peltier, and the admiration there expressed was so consonant to the effect which the publications of this gentleman have formerly produced on ourselves, that we were quite impatient to see a more full and accurate report of it than the newspapers afforded. In this desire, we have at last been gratified by the present volume, which exhibits to the public, and will preserve for posterity, that splendid and noble oration, in a more entire form, than is usually given by the press to the specimens of English eloquence. At the same time, we cannot doubt that the minute shadings on which the tone and har-

mony of colouring depends, as well as many groupes of illustration, and those bold felicities of expression that are struck out by a powerful imagination in the heat of extemporaneous fluency, could neither be caught by the short-hand writer at the time, nor by any effort of recollection brought again before the original mind. As all our readers must have participated our impatience, we do no more than our duty in enabling them to partake of our gratification, by a considerable number of extracts.

It is quite unnecessary to take any particular notice of what the volume contains, besides the defence; though that occupies little more than one third part of it. The evidence to establish the fact of publication, was of course a matter of form merely. The speeches of Mr Attorney General, and the charge of the Lord Chief Justice, appear to be very carelessly reported, and in some passages are neither grammatical nor intelligible. There is a very large appendix, composed of no papers but such as are already in the hands of every body; extracted from the late official Correspondence, the Parliamentary Debates, the Termly Reports, Sir Robert Wilson's book, and *L'Ambigu*. The extracts from the last only are added here with propriety. The remainder of the volume consists of trash from the pen of M. Peltier himself; the querulous tone of which is, in the writer's situation, its most pardonable circumstance. That the volume might not be too small, a prolix Preface, and a tedious '*Adresse au Public*,' are given both in the original French and in an English translation.

Nothing can be clearer, we think, than the merits of the trial. Neither the ingenious sophistry of an advocate, nor the unmanly evasions of his client, can disguise the tendency or the intention of a direct incitement to assassination. The result was such as, on all similar occasions, may be expected from a Middlesex jury, and from the resolute unclouded calmness of English justice: which, neither intimidated by appearances of a gathering storm, nor inflamed by the circumstances of temporary irritation, adheres to the formal administration of general and fixed rules; and, at a period when all the bonds that hold the European commonwealth together are untied, when all the international arrangements once founded on reciprocal forbearance appear broken up, is the last to retain a sense of ancient rights, a veneration and observance of ancient maxims.

When the legal grounds of a charge are clear, and the defence of the accused hopeless, all that we can expect in the argument of his Counsel, is a display of skilful arrangement in the case, he shews, and of judicious colouring, so as to soften

and shade those parts from which the attention of the Judges must if possible be withdrawn. A great deal of this sort of art is accordingly employed here, to obliterate or explain away that which is the fundamental fact in every charge of libel, the libellous intention. This is first attempted, by representing M. Peltier as merely the republisher of Parisian satires and lampoons, with the view of gratifying public curiosity with such historical documents: in L'Ambigu, Chénier was made author of the ode which recommends a poinard; in the Defence, the imputation is shared between Chénier and Guinguenê; and in his address to the public, Peltier pretends to have received information, since his trial, that this poem was the composition of the celebrated Carnot. A more elaborate effort is then made to prove the libels of Peltier's Journal, particularly the ode, to be rather satires against the Jacobins still lurking in Paris, than directed against the government and life of the First Consul: the reasoning in this part of the defence is far too subtle to produce any effect, though, in point of composition, it contains some of the most powerful passages of the speech. But the principal topics, both of argument and of declamation, are derived from the high importance of a free press; a doctrine on which, before an English jury, an advocate, how unfavourable soever his cause may be, can appeal to principles that are at once conclusions of the soundest philosophy, and the established prejudices of his audience. But those principles have never been illustrated with such force of historical painting, such extent of philosophical reflection, and such warmth of oratorical diction, as in the passages which Mr Mackintosh has bestowed upon this noble subject. As one specimen of these, we have chosen the following extract.

‘ I am convinced, by circumstances which I shall now abstain from discussing, that *this is the first of a long series of conflicts, between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press now remaining in Europe.* Gentlemen, this distinction of the English press is new—It is a proud and melancholy distinction. Before the great earthquake of the French revolution had swallowed up all the asylums of free discussion on the Continent, we enjoyed that privilege, indeed, more fully than others, but we did not enjoy it exclusively. In great monarchies, the press has always been considered as too formidable an engine to be entrusted to unlicensed individuals. But, in other continental countries, either by the laws of the state, or by long habits of liberality and toleration in magistrates, a liberty of discussion has been enjoyed, perhaps sufficient for most useful purposes. It existed, in fact, where it was not protected by law; and the wise and generous conscience of governments was more and more secured by the growing civilization of their subjects.

jects. In Holland, in Switzerland, in the Imperial towns of Germany, the press was either legally or practically free. Holland and Switzerland are no more; and, since the commencement of this prosecution, fifty Imperial towns have been erased from the list of independent states, by one dash of the pen. Three or four still preserve a precarious and trembling existence. I will not say by what compliances they must purchase its continuance. I will not insult the feebleness of states, whose unmerited fall I do most bitterly deplore.

These governments were in many respects one of the most interesting parts of the antient system of Europe. Unfortunately, for the repose of mankind, great states are compelled, by regard to their own safety, to consider the military spirit and martial habits of their people, as one of the main objects of their policy. Frequent hostilities seem almost the necessary condition of their greatness; and, without being great, they cannot long remain safe. Smaller states, exempted from this cruel necessity—a hard condition of greatness, a bitter satire on human nature—devoted themselves to the arts of peace, to the cultivation of literature, and the improvement of reason. They became places of refuge for free and fearless discussion; they were the impartial spectators and judges of the various contests of ambition, which from time to time disturbed the quiet of the world. They thus became peculiarly qualified to be the organs of that public opinion, which converted Europe into a great republic, with laws which mitigated, though they could not extinguish, ambition; and with moral tribunals, to which even the most despotic sovereigns were amenable. If wars of aggrandizement were undertaken, their authors were arraigned in the face of Europe. If acts of internal tyranny were perpetrated, they resounded from a thousand presses throughout all civilized countries. Princes, on whose will there were no legal checks, thus found a moral restraint, which the most powerful of them could not brave with absolute impunity. They acted before a vast audience, to whose applause or condemnation they could not be utterly indifferent. The very constitution of human nature, the unalterable laws of the mind of man, against which all rebellion is fruitless, subjected the proudest tyrants to this controul. No elevation of power,—no depravity, however consummate,—no innocence, however spotless, can render man wholly independent of the praise or blame of his fellow men.

These governments were, in other respects, one of the most beautiful and interesting parts of our antient system. The perfect security of such inconsiderable and feeble states, their undisturbed tranquillity, amidst the wars and conquests that surrounded them, attested, beyond any other part of the European system, the moderation, the justice, the civilization, to which Christian Europe had reached in modern times. Their weakness was protected only by the habitual reverence for justice, which, during a long series of ages, had grown up in Christendom. This was the only fortification which defended them against those mighty monarchs to whom they offered so easy a prey. And, till the

French revolution, this was sufficient. Consider, for instance, the situation of the Republic of Geneva; think of her defenceless position, in the very jaws of France; but think also of her undisturbed security, of her profound quiet, of the brilliant success with which she applied to industry and literature, while Louis XIV. was pouring his myriads into Italy before her gates; call to mind, if ages crowded into years have not effaced them from your memory, the happy period when we scarcely dreamt more of the subjugation of the feeblest republic of Europe, than of the conquest of her mightiest empire, and tell me if you can imagine a spectacle more beautiful to the moral eye, or a more striking proof of progress in the noblest principles of true civilization.

‘These feeble states, these monuments of the justice of Europe, the asylum of peace, of industry, and of literature, the organs of public reason, the refuge of oppressed innocence, and persecuted truth, have perished with those ancient principles which were their sole guardians and protectors. They have been swallowed up by that fearful convulsion, which has shaken the uttermost corners of the earth. They are destroyed, and gone for ever.

‘One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly publish his judgement on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen; and, I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire.

‘It is an awful consideration, gentlemen. Every other monument of European liberty has perished.—That ancient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our fathers, still stands—It stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire—but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins.’ p. 83.

After describing the submissive lethargy, in which the great body of the people of France have been left by the Revolution, exhausted and stupified as they are by so many horrors, Mr Mackintosh gives the following picture of those who were actors in those scenes of blood, and of whom the earth is not yet purified.

‘Some of them, indeed—the basest of the race—the Sophists, the Rhetors, the Poet-laureats of murder—who were cruel only from cowardice, and calculating selfishness, are perfectly willing to transfer their venal pen to any government that does not disdain their infamous support. These men, republicans from servility, who published rhetorical panegyrics to massacre, and who reduced plunder to a system of ethics, are as ready to preach slavery as anarchy. But the more daring—I had almost said, the more respectable ruffians, cannot so easily bend their heads under the yoke. These fierce spirits have not lost “the unconquerable”

*querable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate.*" They leave the luxuries of servitude to the mean and dastardly hypocrites, to the Belials and Mammons of the infernal faction. They pursue their old end of tyranny, under their old pretext of liberty. The recollection of their unbounded power, renders every inferior condition irksome and vapid; and their former atrocities form, if I may so speak, a sort of moral destiny, which irresistibly impels them to the perpetration of new crimes. They have no place left for penitence on earth; they labour under the most awful proscription of opinion that ever was pronounced against human beings. They have cut down every bridge by which they could retreat into the society of men.—Awakened from their dreams of democracy, the noise subsided that deafened their ears to the voice of humanity; the film fallen from their eyes which hid from them the blackness of their own deeds, haunted by the memory of their inextinguishable guilt: condemned daily to look on the faces of those whom their hand made widows and orphans, they are goaded and scourged by these real furies, and hurried into the tumult of new crimes, which will drown the cries of remorse; or, if they be too depraved for remorse, will silence the curses of mankind. Tyrannical power is their only refuge from the just vengeance of their fellow creatures; murder is their only means of usurping power. They have no taste, no occupation, no pursuit, but power and blood. If their hands are tied, they must at least have the luxury of murderous projects. They have drank too deeply of human blood, ever to relinquish their cannibal appetite.

'Such a faction exists in France. It is numerous; it is powerful; and it has a principle of fidelity stronger than any that ever held together a society. They are banded together by despair of forgiveness, by the unanimous detestation of mankind. They are now contained by a severe and stern government. But they still meditate the renewal of insurrection and massacre, and they are prepared to renew the worst and most atrocious of their crimes, that crime against posterity and against human nature itself, that crime, of which the latest generations of mankind may feel the fatal consequences—the crime of degrading and prostituting the sacred name of Liberty.

'I must own, that however paradoxical it may appear, I should almost think not worse, but more meanly of them, if it were otherwise. I must then think them destitute of that, which I will not call courage, because that is the name of a virtue—but, of that ferocious energy which alone rescues ruffians from contempt. If they were destitute of that which is the heroism of murderers, they would be the lowest, as well as the most abominable of beings.' p. 115.

The most entertaining, and perhaps the most skilful characteristic of the speech, is a strong current of allusion to existing circumstances which flows steadily through the whole of it. It would not, during the subsistence of peace, have been quite justifiable to have arraigned, under actual names and designations, those criminal enterprises of aggrandisement, by which



the warfare of Europe is prolonged, and its prospects of political improvements retarded, if not ultimately endangered. But those schemes are shadowed out, and their present leader intelligibly portrayed, in the acts and under the appellations of Philip II. and Louis XIV.; while an incitement to purer ambition and more illustrious emulation is conveyed by the consecrated names of Elizabeth, and Henry, and William. The passage, in which one of these instances is enforced, we cannot refuse to our readers; because it has been rendered still more closely applicable, both as a parallel and as an example, by the aspect which the political situation of this country has very recently assumed.

‘ The reign of Queen Elizabeth may be considered as the opening of the modern history of England, especially in its connexion with the modern system of Europe, which began about that time to assume the form that it preserved till the French Revolution. It was a very memorable period, of which the maxims ought to be engraven on the head and heart of every Englishman. Philip II., at the head of the greatest empire then in the world, was openly aiming at universal dominion; and his project was so far from being thought chimerical by the wisest of his contemporaries, that, in the opinion of the great *Duc de Sully*, he must have been successful, ‘ if, by a most singular combination of circumstances, he had not at the same time been resisted by two such strong heads as those of Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth.’ To the most extensive and opulent dominions, the most numerous and disciplined armies, the most renowned captains, the greatest revenue, he added also the most formidable power over opinion. He was the chief of a religious faction, animated by the most atrocious fanaticism, prepared to second his ambition, by rebellion, anarchy, and regicide, in every Protestant state. Elizabeth was among the first objects of his hostility—That wise and magnanimous princess placed herself in the front of the battle for the liberties of Europe. Though she had to contend at home with his fanatical faction, which almost occupied Ireland, which divided Scotland, and was not of contemptible strength in England, she aided the oppressed inhabitants of the Netherlands in their just and glorious resistance to his tyranny; she aided Henry the Great in suppressing the abominable rebellion which anarchical principles had excited, and Spanish arms had supported in France, and after a long reign of various fortune, in which she preserved her unconquered spirit through great calamities, and still greater dangers, she at length broke the strength of the enemy, and reduced his power within such limits as to be compatible with the safety of England, and of all Europe. Her only effectual ally was the spirit of her people; and her policy flowed from that magnanimous nature, which, in the hour of peril, teaches better lessons than those of cold reason. Her great heart inspired her with a higher and nobler wisdom—which

disdained

disdained to appeal to the low and sordid passions of her people, even for the protection of their low and sordid interests; because she knew, or rather she felt, that these are effeminate, creeping, cowardly, short-sighted passions, which shrink from conflict, even in defence of their own mean objects. In a righteous cause, she roused those generous affections of her people, which alone teach boldness, constancy, and foresight, and which are therefore the only safe guardians of the lowest, as well as the highest interests of a nation. In her memorable address to her army, when the invasion of the kingdom was threatened by Spain, this woman, of heroic spirit, disdained to speak to them of their ease, and their commerce, and their wealth, and their safety. No! She touched another chord—She spoke of their national honour, of their dignity as Englishmen, of “*the foul scorn that Parma or Spain SHOULD DARE to invade the borders of her realms.*” She breathed into them those grand and powerful sentiments, which exalt vulgar men into heroes, which lead them into the battle of their country armed with holy and irresistible enthusiasm, which even cover with their shield all the ignoble interests that base calculation, and cowardly selfishness, tremble to hazard, but shrink from defending. A sort of prophetic instinct, if I may so speak, seems to have revealed to her the importance of that great instrument, for rousing and guiding the minds of men, of the effects of which she had no experience; which, since her time, has changed the condition of the world; but which few modern statesmen have thoroughly understood, or wisely employed; which is no doubt connected with many ridiculous and degrading details; which has produced, and may again produce, terrible mischiefs; but of which the influence must after all be considered as the most certain effect of the most efficacious cause of civilization; and which, whether it be a blessing or a curse, is the most powerful engine that a politician can move—I mean the Press. It is a curious fact, that, in the year of the Armada, Queen Elizabeth caused to be printed the first Gazettes that ever appeared in England. And I own, when I consider that this mode of rousing a national spirit was then absolutely unexampled, that she could have no assurance of its efficacy from the precedents of former times, I am disposed to regard her having recourse to it, as one of the most sagacious experiments, one of the greatest discoveries of political genius, one of the most striking anticipations of future experience, that we find in history. I mention it to you, to justify the opinion that I have ventured to state, of the close connexion of our national spirit with our press, and even with our periodical press. I cannot quit the reign of Elizabeth, without laying before you the maxims of her policy, in the language of the greatest and wisest of men. Lord Bacon, in one part of his discourse on her reign, speaks thus of her support of Holland: “But let me rest upon the honourable and continual aid and relief she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the Low Countries; a people, recommended unto her by ancient confederacy and daily intercourse, by their cause so innocent, and their fortune so lamentable!”

lamentable!" In another passage of the same discourse, he thus speaks of the general system of her foreign policy, as the protector of Europe, in words too remarkable to require any commentary: "Then it is her government, and her government alone, that hath been the scone and fort of all Europe, which hath lett this proud nation from overrunning all. If any state be yet free from his factions erected in the bowels thereof; if there be any state, wherein this faction is erected, that is not yet fired with civil troubles; if there be any state under his protection, that enjoyeth moderate liberty, upon which he tyrannizeth not; it is the mercy of this renowned Queen that standeth between them and their misfortunes." p. 148.

In leaving these extracts to the admiration of our readers, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret to have lately heard, that we are to be deprived, for a period, of the eloquence that can be thus powerfully employed in describing the grandest transactions, and asserting the most valuable interests of civilized mankind. Under another clime, and among the ruins of ancient refinement, it will indeed prove most interesting, to a mind which has deeply meditated the policy and revolutions of Europe, to study the far different frame of Asiatic laws, and, guided by the light of science, to trace the uniformity of our moral nature under the most artificial disguises, and amidst opposite extremes of variation. Nor ought we to forget the benefits imparted to that amiable, though remote portion of our fellow subjects, by strengthening and enlightening the judicial administration, to which their municipal rights are entrusted; and, which from the half-incorporated mixture of languages and laws and usages, requires qualifications of a much higher order than that of professional erudition. Yet, even for these important purposes, this is not a period when England, the last bulwark yet undemolished of popular government and of European independence, can easily spare a single advocate of genuine liberty, a single labourer in the philosophy of public affairs, a single genius that in this great and good old cause can command an influence over other minds. The genius, the labours, and the zeal of all may not perhaps be more than sufficient to dispel the cloud that hangs over the world, and to open again upon our horizon, in its former brightness, the prospect that for a while has been obscured.

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ART. XIX. *Memorial addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe and the Atlantic.* By Governor Pownall. London. Debrett. 1803.

WE with pleasure acknowledge the title which the author of this Memorial has to the respectful attention of the public.

lic. As a politician and an author, he has been known for nearly half a century; and the counsels he delivered, both in and out of Parliament, at the period of the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and her American colonies, did honour to his character as a man, and his judgment as a politician. His conduct at that crisis appears neither to have been influenced by a deference to those in power, nor biased by factious views; and as his opinions had no support from either of these sources, they appear to have made little impression upon his countrymen. With the powerful recommendation of the fulfilment of former predictions, Governor Pownall brings forward his speculations upon the present state of the nations of Europe and the Atlantic.

The Memorial is divided into three parts. The first part considers the changes which have taken place in Europe, in consequence of the revolutionary spirit which has so long prevailed. We are told, that 'the remote causes of the present revolutionary and revolutionizing state of Europe have lain concealed for many ages back, as speculations in philosophy, and inexperienced visions in politics.' The first developement of these causes, our author observes, took place in the Congress held by the Americans at Albany in the year 1754. Our author, who attended that congress, informs us, that a federal representative government was at that time planned. The subsequent establishment of that government in America is considered in the Memorial as not only the source, but in fact the beginning of the revolutionary events which took place in Europe. A view is then given of the means taken by the combined powers to oppose the revolution; which, it is observed, had a direct tendency to produce the very state of things they were intended to prevent: The remarks made upon this subject do not appear either new or interesting. Our author afterwards enters into a discussion of the present state of the balance of power in Europe; the result of which is, that the old balance of power is dissolved, that the laws of nations have been set aside, and that France is a military monarchy established upon a systematic plan of conquest. The conclusion drawn is, that any balance of power which may hereafter be formed, must arise from the new state of nations.

The second part of the Memorial points out the system of external politics which ought to be adopted by Great Britain, and what the Governor calls the Atlantic States. He gives it as his decided opinion, that unless 'she is a determined dupe,' Great Britain will no longer attempt to meddle with the continental balance of power, the basis of which is destroyed. The European nations which the Governor includes under Atlantic States,

States, are, in the first place, Sweden and Denmark; which he considers as such from their position, their products, and their commerce. Portugal, possessing territories on both sides of the ocean, is also classed under that description. To that government, the project of removing from its European territories to Brazil, is strenuously recommended. It is said, that it might there establish a more powerful dominion, than it ever enjoyed in Europe. Our author adds,

‘ This is not wild speculation, never thought of before : it has already been had in contemplation, and was once all put in motion in the minds and hands of those who might have carried it into execution ; just as was once the removal of the States and Government of the United Provinces to Batavia. Portugal has at present a minister who perfectly knows the truth in fact of this idea ; who is perfectly *ad fait* to the means of carrying it into execution, and from local experience practically informed of the mode and means of giving establishment to such imperium in such dominions, and of giving such organization to the government of them as the site and circumstances of the people would there require, and would and could act under. But, alas ! when spirit is dead, the best and most important truths become impracticable theory.’ p. 54- 55.

The powers which our author considers as particularly adapted for this league, are, Great Britain and America. This appears to have been a favourite project of Governor Pownall’s many years ago. The means recommended for cementing the alliance are, the progressive removal of all commercial restrictions which subsist from the Navigation Act, or other causes, and a participation of both a *circuitous* and direct trade with the provinces and islands belonging to Great Britain, under certain restrictions. With a view to strengthen this alliance, it is recommended that these two states should co-operate in emancipating the Spanish colonies. These colonies, it is affirmed, are on the eve of insurrection and independence ; and Mr Pownall refers to a Memorial published in 1780, in which he pointed out the precarious hold which Spain had at that time over her colonies. In the passage in the former Memorial, referred to, it is observed, that whenever a revolt takes place in Spanish America, it will not assume the same form which the revolution in North America did.

‘ The falling off of South America will be conducted, in its *natural* progress, by the spirit of some injured enterprising genius taking the lead of a sense of alienation, and of a disposition of revolt, to the establishment of a great monarchy.’ p. 80.

This remark appears acute and enlightened. How far our author’s information on the state of these provinces is accurate,

we do not pretend to judge. The following passage shews, that it has for some time been an object of attention.

‘ The maturity to which this spirit of independence had arrived, was attentively watched by this writer in its various periods. This hath, at various periods, and on divers occasions, broken out into actual insurrection, and in some parts into decided revolt.

In the Carracaas, in — 1750—1797

Quito, — — 1764

Mexico, — — 1773

Peru, — — 1781

Santa Fee, — 1781—1796.

‘ Finding the above state of things confirmed by current and posterior events coming into fact, the writer of this was led to pursue and follow up the line of information of which he had the clue ; and being, in consequence of this information, which it was known he was in possession of, and in consequence of a remembrance still remaining, in North America, of the part he took in defending the political freedom and establishments of that country, applied to, in divers lines, to go into further considerations of the line by which this large portion of mankind might become emancipated from the *provincial external* government of Old Spain, as North America was from that of Great Britain. He drew up a plan \* \* \* \* ; and some years after, when an opportunity offered of forming that plan on really existing ground of fact, calling forth act ; and when a proper occasion came forward to propose it for execution, he gave his assistance, not only in forming the measure by which this emancipation was to be attained, but formed the plan of an independent sovereign government, suited to the existing circumstances of the people and the country ; clear of all democratic anarchy, on one hand, and secured against the dangers of despotism on the other. This he undertook and communicated, in its proper place, in the year 1790-1. The Government of Great Britain took this measure into consideration, and was on the point of carrying it into execution. The apprehension which this excited in the Spanish cabinet brought it to an accommodation on the business of Nootka Sound, and made the peace of that day. This has been for some time no secret at Paris or Madrid. It was not in the power of Spain to oppose its execution. France knew it was executable ; and, in the year 1792, entertained the project of taking the measure out of our hands, and of executing what they supposed Great Britain had relinquished. The writer of this has seen the plan, which he was informed was that which the French government of that time had adopted. It was not put into execution there ; and Great Britain and Spain being then at peace, it was suspended here.’ p. 80—83.

Our author declines giving the details of his plan. He, however, insinuates, that the most perfect secrecy has not been preserved with regard to it.

‘ These

These matters, however, have been suffered, somehow, to transpire beyond their original bounds; an echo of it vibrated amongst the officers employed on the expedition to Holland; and we are told by Sir Robert Wilson, "that Italy and Spanish America for some time occupied Sir Ralph Abercrombie's attention," before he received orders to proceed to Egypt. That such a plan existed, is well known at Paris and at Madrid, and not unknown at Vienna. The French have lately suffered their writers to speculate openly and avowedly on these views of the emancipation of the Spanish provinces; and a Treatise on this subject, printed in America, has been addressed to the South Americans. Nay, more, since the signing of the preliminaries of the peace, the French put into provisional operation their plan of guaranty, founded in part on their treaty with Spain, and in part on their general plan of aggrandisement, by possession of the revenues and commerce of these Spanish provinces. If they had succeeded at St Domingo, they would have proceeded with such troops as they could spare, and with such part of their fleet as they would have been permitted to sail with to these coasts; and would, *at this moment*, have had, *under the form of guaranty*, the command of the garrisons, and have been in possession of the revenue and commerce of the country.' p. 88, 89.

This revolution, it is said, will be easy and certain, provided assistance is given to these colonies, on honourable terms, without any view to deriving a revenue from, or attaining the sovereignty of the country. The emancipation of the Negro nations in the West India islands is next considered as an event that must certainly take place; and the rapid consolidation of their power is predicted. The Memorialist, therefore, recommends making provision for that change, which we cannot prevent, and that these nations should be included in the Transatlantic alliance. We shall not attempt a discussion of the different positions advanced in this part of the Memorial; as we could hardly do so, without increasing this article to a bulk nearly approaching to that of the Memorial itself. We shall only observe, that, even supposing that the position assumed, that this country can derive no security from any continental alliances, is well founded, we do not see how the alliance proposed would supply their place. That the trade and commerce of this country might be extended by such connexions, is extremely probable, and the intercourse with these nations would be little affected by continental wars. But surely neither the United States, nor any of these whose rise is predicted, could be expected to possess that common interest, that feeling of common danger, or the means of affording mutual assistance, which could make their alliance a substitute for the continental balance of power. If this country must be duped, if she reposes any confidence on engagements made by continental powers, she will probably be equally deceived, if she

she relies for assistance, in the hour of distress, from nations on the other side of the Atlantic. In a commercial point of view, Mr Pownall's suggestions may be important; and we cannot help admiring the confident and systematic manner in which he provides for the events which he predicts; which, to common observers, appear uncertain and remote. His account of the state of the Spanish colonies depends upon private information, which is not laid before the public. We therefore hazard no conjectures on that subject. We must, however, express some doubt with regard to the prudent and prosperous governments which the negro nations are so soon to establish in the West Indies. Even if they shall attain a state of independence, the establishment of a regular government will have many obstacles to encounter. It will not be easy to guaranty these nations from the danger of constant domestic dissensions, which will put an end to the habits of industry, destroy the traces of civilization which they have acquired from their masters, and in the course of a few years reduce them to a state of African barbarism.

In justice to our author, we must observe, that he is by no means sanguine with regard to the adoption of his plans, or its efficacy in the present state of affairs. He concludes the second part of his Memorial, with observing—

‘ The Executive of this country has feared nothing so much, nor rejected any thing more decidedly, for six-and-thirty years, than the interposition of advice founded on the system in which the interest, and even the existence of it is involved; whilst the Executive of the government of France is going on under the advice of a regular progressive system, which advances every day, and will, nay must, produce its direct and full effect.

‘ After all, the writer of this should confess, for it is too true, that, in our present derelict state, and since the time which was open to practical efficiency has been suffered to go by neglected, he has not any assured confidence in the efficacy of any measure which may be now proposed, and which the Atlantic powers are now likely to take up and engage in, equal to meet the danger which menaces them, and will come upon them.

‘ However—*de republica non desperandum*—he therefore endeavours to trace a line to which some future hope may point its view. ’ p. 99-100.

The internal relations of states, and the effect which the Revolution has had upon them, is reserved for the third part of this Memorial. We are told, that those who are accustomed to the administration of political affairs,

—‘ must see, and from experience must know, that a great change is taking place and coming forward, as in the spirit and temper of men, &c



*in the principles by which the system of political establishments can move and act; and that operations of these principles continue their movement in a regular progressive course. Howsoever men may shut their eyes to this crisis; howsoever they may endeavour to conceal it from others—it is a fact in event.*’ p. 107. 108.

This is attributed to the prevalence of systems of delusive liberty and impracticable equality. To remove them, our author enters into a discussion of the social compact, more impenetrably obscure than any we recollect to have met with on the subject; and, as the same obscurity is preserved to the end of this Memorial, we must confess we have not been able to form any precise idea of the nature of the remedy suggested. As some apology for want of apprehension, we must observe, that throughout the whole Memorial, our author betrays a most unfortunate predilection for scientific metaphors. Every thing is described in terms borrowed from astronomy, geometry, logic, or chemistry; and the analogies suggested are carefully followed out. One state, we are told, has ‘her orbit disturbed;’ another is ‘eccentric to its system, and verges to a foreign centre;’ others are actuated by an ‘external predestinating will.’ This language does not tend to illustrate the plainest part of the subject; but where ideas, in themselves sufficiently vague and obscure, are described through the medium of ‘combined attractions,’ ‘equilibriums,’ ‘monad particles,’ ‘poises,’ ‘vortexes,’ ‘primaries and satellites,’ it requires a very uncommon degree of discernment to disentangle the author’s meaning. We are assured, that the author does not reason from metaphors. They are, however, so much incorporated with his argument, and there is so little precision in the language used after the metaphor is laid aside, that, in most cases, it is difficult to form a clear idea of his meaning; and, in others, we cannot help suspecting that the argument is accommodated to the metaphor, instead of being illustrated by it. The abstract argument on the nature of the balance of power, (p. 39.), that it must consist of an equilibrium of *three*, fixed on a common centre, cannot be attributed to any other source. Another instance of this occurs. After comparing the tendency to revolutionary principles to combustion, warning persons not to consider the flame as extinguished, though we do not see it burning, the author delivers the *recipe* for it in the same language. It is, that the state

— must, by some dissolvent, by some counteracting elective attractions, first loosen the parts of this combustible, and then, by a kind of political chemistry, draw out the *calorique*; otherwise, it will neither be extinguished nor compressed, *but must, in spite of all policy, of all force, explode.*’ p. 145. 146.

We

We expected to have been told what this dissolvent was, and what was the political chemistry that would draw out the caloric. This, however, is by no means the case; as, even where the metaphor is dropt, we are left in equal uncertainty as to the nature of the Governor's plans. We should not have thought it necessary to point out these defects, had they not been of a nature which must materially interfere with the general design of the publication; as we were by no means disposed to criticise the style of a work, which must derive its importance chiefly from the experience and reputation of its author, and the success of his former predictions.

ART. XX. *The Temple of Nature; or, the Origin of Society: A Poem, with Philosophical Notes.* By Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. Author of the *Botanic Garden*, of *Zoonomia*, and of *Phytologia*. London. 1803. 4to. pp. 300.

THE work which we are now to review, seems to have been fully prepared for the press before the death of the author; and it certainly derives an additional and melancholy interest, from its appearance as the parting legacy of a writer from the exertion of whose splendid talents we have formerly derived very high gratification. Yet if we were to judge only from the first impressions which were made by the earlier productions of Dr Darwin's muse, and from the force with which they caught the public attention, we should probably overrate the eagerness and impatience with which the greater number of readers will now be drawn to listen to his dying notes. Only a few years have elapsed, since the genius of the author of 'the *Botanic Garden*' first burst on the public notice in all its splendour. The novelty of his plan—an imposing air of boldness and originality in his poetical as well as philosophical speculations—and a striking display of command over some of the richest sources of poetical embellishment, were sufficient to secure to him a large share of approbation, even from the most fastidious readers, and much more than sufficient to attract the gaze and the indiscriminating acclamations of a herd of admirers and imitators. Yet, with all these pretensions to permanent fame, we are much deceived, if we have not already observed, in that of Dr Darwin, the visible symptoms of decay. Whether in consequence of more sober and chastened reflection, or from mere caprice, or from whatever other cause it may have proceeded, his beauties seem to have quickly palled upon the public taste; and his decline from the exalted place he once appeared to hold, has been unhappily accelerated

celerated by the ridicule of tasteless and impotent imitation. Still, however, we presume, that the former admirers of Dr Darwin's poetry will turn with some degree of pleasing expectation to this posthumous work; and though we are very far from thinking that it is likely to produce any new fluctuation of opinion, we may safely promise them the satisfaction of recognizing the same characteristic manner, and some of the same peculiar excellences which distinguish his former compositions. At the same time, we feel little hesitation in stating, that 'the Temple of Nature' appears to us, in poetical excellence, to fall far short of 'the Botanic Garden;' and that, without possessing an equal share of beauties, its defects are more frequent and obtrusive.

In estimating the merits of Dr Darwin's work, it is difficult, and perhaps would be improper, to separate the characters of the poet and the philosopher. His larger poems are all of the didactic class; and seem to have been designed as the vehicles of such parts of his philosophical speculations, as were the most susceptible of poetical illustration and embellishment. In a short preface, the author has informed us that 'the poem, which is here offered to the public, does not pretend to instruct by deep researches of reasoning; its aim is simply to amuse, by bringing distinctly to the imagination the beautiful and sublime images of the operations of nature, in the order, as the author believes, in which the progressive course of time presented them.' From this declaration, the reader might probably be induced to expect nothing more than a description of some of the *known* phenomena of nature, exhibited in detached compartments, and bound together by no other connexion than might be necessary to aid the imagination in its transitions from one subject to another. On a slight inspection, however, it will be found, that in his delineations of Nature, the author does not restrain himself within the narrow bounds of observation; that he again returns to the confines of Chaos and Old Night, from which he had escaped with so much labour in his former poem; and that, instead of copying from the great volume of Nature which now lies open to our view, he fondly attempts to penetrate the veil which must for ever conceal her mysteries from mortal eye, and affects to disclose, with all the confidence of an observer, an imaginary order and progress of things, from sluggish and unorganized matter, upwards, into living, intelligent, and moral existence. In a word, those who are at all acquainted with the writings of Dr Darwin, will be at no loss to discover, that 'the Temple of Nature' is, in *substance*, little else than some of the wildest theories of the 'Zoonomia' done into verse, and di-

vested of those subordinate and collateral discussions which form the most valuable part of that ingenious but fanciful work.

Considered as a whole, it seems to possess a sufficient degree both of philosophical and poetical unity. The origin of human society, or the formation of a race of beings with qualities and attributes to fit them for uniting into a social state, may be considered as the general theme which he proposes to explain; and in doing so, he has attempted to shew, that the object has been accomplished solely by the slow and spontaneous operation of certain primary and general laws impressed on rude matter by the great Author of nature. In this undertaking, he cannot be accused of timidity: but that he might not be loaded with the charge of undue presumption, he has provided a suitable machinery to give force and authority to his doctrines. After a very general statement of his subject, and an address to 'Immortal Love,' which in a poem '*de natura rerum*' could not with decency be omitted, we are introduced to the Temple of Nature, which the poet has had the good fortune to discover on the ancient site of the Mosaic Paradise, and which he has taken care to make sufficiently vast and capacious, for the reception of all sorts of imaginary beings, clean and unclean. Among the crowd, the reader will have the pleasure of meeting again with a most respectable assemblage of bright Nymphs, recumbent Beauties, unclad Graces, gay Desires; besides young Dione and her quiver'd Loves, with all of whom he must have before contracted an intimate acquaintance, under the auspices of Dr Darwin. The goddess herself is the only new figure in the group; and perhaps the reader may agree with us, that novelty is not the only circumstance in her appearance which may be apt to startle a stranger.

' Shrin'd in the midst, majestic NATURE stands,  
Extends o'er earth and sea her hundred hands;  
Tower upon tower her beamy forehead crests,  
And births unnumbered milk her hundred breasts;  
Drawn round her brows a lucid veil depends,  
O'er her fine waist the purpled woof descends;  
Her stately limbs the gather'd folds surround,  
And spread their golden selvage on the ground.'

Canto I. l. 129.

In a morning procession of nymphs to the temple, which is led by Urania, or the Priestess of Nature, the muse rather abruptly presents herself, and implores the 'fair hierophant' to withdraw the 'mystic veil,' and disclose the hidden plan of Nature, in the formation of her animated works. This request is, of course, instantly complied with; and the remainder of the poem proceeds, in the words of the Hierophant, interrupted only by a few pertinent

questions, or a few supplementary illustrations which had occurred to the muse herself.

The first of four cantos, into which the poem is divided, is entitled 'Production of Life;' and apart from the machinery which is thus employed to give it poetical effect, it contains little more than an exposition of the author's favourite hypothesis of the gradual process of Nature in the formation of organized and living matter, by the spontaneous operation of chemical laws and affinities. Reasoning analogically from the growth of individual animals, and the successive changes of being through which they are seen to pass, he seems to think himself warranted in concluding that there are no fixed or insurmountable boundaries between the different species of animals;—that the more perfect animals differ from the less perfect only in having arrived at a more advanced stage in the spontaneous evolution of those original energies which have been bestowed in common upon all;—and that hence, by a fair deduction, we shall arrive at the origin of our own nature, merely by descending along the scale of animal existence, till we find ourselves at the natural zero, where the transition from unorganized to organized matter is supposed to shew itself in the rudest and most minute of the microscopic animalcula.

In stating this general outline of Dr Darwin's theory, we do not feel the slightest provocation to enter into any serious inquiry either as to its originality or its truth. Whatever may be its merits in other respects, we believe that it is not of a kind to lose much of its native dignity and importance, by exchanging the severe and simple garb of science for the thin and gaudy draperies of fancy. As a specimen, we shall select the first that occurs; and we leave it to others to decide, whether, as a grave philosophical hypothesis, it could possibly be improved by the flattest translation into prose.

- First **HEAT** from chemic dissolution springs,  
And gives to matter its eccentric wings;  
With strong repulsion parts the exploding mass,  
Melts into lymph, or kindles into gas:  
Attraction next, as earth or air subsides,  
The ponderous atoms from the light divides,  
Approaching parts with quick embrace combines,  
Swells into spheres, and lengthens into lines.  
Last, as fine goads the gluten-threads excite,  
Cords grapple cords, and webs with webs unite;  
And quick **CONTRACTION** with ethereal flame,  
Lights into life the fibre-woven frame.  
Hence, without parent, by spontaneous birth,  
Rise the first specks of animated earth;

From

From Nature's womb the plant or insect swims,  
And buds or breathes, with microscopic limbs.

' In earth, sea, air, around, below, above,  
Life's subtle woof in Nature's loom is wove ;  
Points glued to points, a living line extends,  
Touch'd by some goad approach the bending ends ;  
Rings join to rings, and irritated tubes  
Clasp with young lips the nutrient globes or cubes ;  
And urged by appetencies new select,  
Imbibe, retain, digest, secrete, eject.  
In branching cones the living web expands,  
Lymphatic ducts, and convoluted glands ;  
Aortal tubes propel the nascent blood,  
And lengthening veins absorb the reflux flood ;  
Leaves, lungs, and gills, the vital ether breathe  
On earth's green surface, or the waves beneath.  
So Life's first powers arrest the winds and floods,  
To bones convert them, or to shells, or woods ;  
Stretch the vast beds of argil, lime, and sand,  
And from diminish'd oceans form the land !

' Next the long nerves unite their silver train,  
And young SENSATION permeates the brain ;  
Through each new sense the keen emotions dart,  
Flush the young cheek, and swell the throbbing heart.  
From pain and pleasure quick VOLITIONS rise,  
Lift the strong arm, or point the inquiring eyes ;  
With Reason's light bewilder'd Man direct,  
And right and wrong with balance nice detect.  
Last in thick swarms ASSOCIATIONS spring,  
Thoughts join to thoughts, to motions motions cling ;  
Whence in long trains of catenation flow  
Imagined joy, and voluntary woe.'

CANTO I. l. 235.

In the second canto, after alluding to the operation of ' chemie strife ' in resolving the elements of organic matter, the Priestess of Nature proceeds to unfold the remedy which is spontaneously wrought ; and in a train of similar reasonings, supported by similar analogies, she traces the progressive advancement of animals through the successive stages, first of the solitary, and secondly of the sexual reproduction of their respective kinds. Nor do the salutary tendencies of this new direction of the laws of motion stop short here, but bring along with them the most astonishing physical improvements of the individual, and the consequent evolution of the parental and connubial affinities, ' the first and second chains of society.' That our readers may share with us the benefit of these precious discoveries,

we will indulge them with the author's theory of the transition from solitary to sexual reproduction.

' In these lone births no tender mothers blend  
 Their genial powers to nourish or defend ;  
 No nutrient streams from Beauty's orbs improve  
 These orphan babes of solitary love ;  
 Birth after birth the line unchanging runs,  
 And fathers live transmitted in their sons ;  
 Each passing year beholds the unvarying kinds,  
 The same their manners, and the same their minds.  
 Till, as ere long successive buds decay,  
 And insect shoals successive pass away,  
 Increasing wants the pregnant parents vex  
 With the fond wish to form a softer sex ;  
 Whose milky rills with pure ambrosial food  
 Might charm and cherish their expected brood.  
 The potent wish in the productive hour  
 Calls to its aid Imagination's power,  
 O'er embryo throngs with mystic charm presides,  
 And sex from sex the nascent world divides,  
 With soft affections warms the callow trains,  
 And gives to laughing Love his nymphs and swains ;  
 Whose mingling virtues interweave at length  
 The mother's beauty with the father's strength. '

CANTO II. l. 103.

The third canto, on ' the Progress of the Mind,' contains a physiological theory of the growth of the intellectual and moral faculties, by the developement of what our author terms the *four sensorial powers* of irritation, sensation, volition and association. Those who are acquainted with the former writings of Dr Darwin, will here recognize the outlines of that fantastical theory of mind, which is given with more detail, and with much truly curious illustration, in the ' Zoonomia.' To those who have not studied the original, any attempt to exhibit the metaphysical system of the author, in an abridged form, would be equally uninteresting and unsatisfactory. As a very favourable specimen of the poetry of this canto, we may transcribe the mythological descent of Celestial Love.

' Now on swift wheels descending like a star  
 Alights young Eros from his radiant car ;  
 On angel-wings attendant Graces move,  
 And hail the God of Sentimental Love.  
 Earth at his feet extends her flowery bed,  
 And bends her silver blossoms round his head ;  
 Dark clouds dissolve, the warring winds subside,  
 And smiling Ocean calms his tossing tide,

O'er

O'er the bright morn meridian lustres play,  
 And Heaven salutes him with a flood of day.  
 Warm as the sun-beam, pure as driven snows,  
 The enamoured God for young Dione glows;  
 Drops the still tear, with sweet attention sighs,  
 And woos the Goddess with adoring eyes;  
 Marks her white neck beneath the gauze's fold,  
 Her ivory shoulders, and her locks of gold;  
 Drinks with mute ecstasy the transient glow,  
 Which warms and tints her bosom's rising snow,  
 With holy kisses wanders o'er her charms,  
 And clasps the Beauty in Platonic arms;  
 Or, if the dewy hands of Sleep, unbid,  
 O'er her blue eye-balls close the lovely lid,  
 Watches each nascent smile, and fleeting grace,  
 That plays in day-dreams o'er her blushing face;  
 Counts the fine mazes of the curls, that break  
 Round her fair ear, and shade her damask cheek;  
 Drinks the pure fragrance of her breath, and sips  
 With tenderest touch the roses of her lips;—  
 O'er female hearts with chaste seduction reigns,  
 And binds Society in silken chains.'

## CANTO III. l. 177.

In these three cantos, the author may be said to have completed his design, in so far as it embraced the developement of those principles which ultimately lead to the social connexion, and are the foundation of that varied happiness of which an animated, intelligent and moral being is susceptible. But the benign operation of these principles is by no means unmixed, and seems to be incumbered, or to bring along with it an admixture of evil, the origin of which has furnished one of the most perplexing questions which can exercise the ingenuity of man. This is the professed subject of the fourth canto: But with less than his usual hardiness, the author evades the solution of the problem, and contents himself with a statement which is intended to shew that on the balance of good and evil the former greatly preponderates;—that the physical and moral evils incident to man are more than compensated by the various enjoyments attached to the exercise of *senferial power*;—and that the constant destruction of organic life finds an adequate remedy in the constant reproduction of it in new forms. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that though all this be true, the difficulty would still remain nearly as formidable as ever.—But whatever may be thought of this or any other of the abstract speculations of Dr Darwin, it would be an injustice to the character of the author not to acknowledge, that here, as in every other part of his writings, his views are pure, amiable and benevolent.



Amidst the freedom of our criticisms on the writer, we should bestow this tribute to the man with unmixed satisfaction, did it not forcibly bring to our recollection, that now, alas! he is equally beyond the reach of our censure or our praise.

In the discussion of his arduous and diversified subject, it is obvious that Dr Darwin did not intend to fetter himself by the stricter rules of philosophical connexion and arrangement. While a general object is kept in view, his course in the pursuit of it is not meant to be always direct or steady; and it never restrains him from any collateral excursion where variety or amusement are likely to be found. Nor are these rambles confined to the poetical part of the work. Whenever he despairs of subduing the natural ruggedness of his matter, and of clothing it with the embellishments of fancy, he presents it to his reader in the form of a note or dissertation; and in this manner he has easily contrived to give ample scope to his speculations on a great variety of subjects. Of the 'additional notes,' independently of those more immediately subservient to the illustration of the text, the most considerable are 'A Chemical Theory of Electricity and Magnetism; '—'An Analysis of Taste; '—'The Theory and Structure of Language; '—and an 'Analysis of Articulate Sounds.' On topics such as these, it may be presumed that Dr Darwin will display a great deal of his usual ingenuity and acuteness; at the same time it appears to us that these dissertations in prose, as well as every other part of the volume, in so far as it lays claim to the character of a philosophical work, are deeply marked with all the grossest faults of his former philosophical writings.

It requires no stretch of candour to admit, that Dr Darwin was possessed of talents, which, under happier and more judicious direction, might have ensured very great advances in scientific investigation. To great acuteness of observation he joined a singular degree of ingenuity in the combination of particular facts; and with such powers he could scarcely fail of occasional success in attaining original, extensive, and commanding views of his subject. At the same time, his most devoted admirers will hardly venture to dispute that his successes bear no considerable proportion to the number or boldness of his attempts. The causes of these failures do not appear to us to lie very deep; and a few general remarks, in this point of view, on the character of Dr Darwin's philosophical writings, will supersede a more minute examination of the particular dogmas which form the ground-work of the volume before us.

The fundamental error, which appears to us to pervade and infect the whole of Dr Darwin's scientific speculations, is a presumptuous

sumptuous contempt, or perhaps a gross ignorance of the legitimate bounds of philosophical inquiry. It may justly excite astonishment, that after all that has been taught on the rules of sound philosophizing ever since the days of Bacon, and after the noble examples of their successful application, especially in the physical sciences, which have been exhibited to the imitation of philosophers, there should still be found so many lamentable instances of the waste of genius, in the pursuit of false or unattainable objects. Of these instances, we consider Dr Darwin as decidedly the most notorious and most lamentable that has lately occurred. In his attempts to investigate the phenomena of matter, as well as of mind, it is but rarely indeed that we ever find him proceeding in the legitimate road of observation, by which alone it is given to man to penetrate even those parts of nature that are most within his reach; and it can occasion no surprise, that by thus deserting the only sure guide to discovery, he should often insensibly wander into that forbidden ground, where observation and discovery are no longer practicable. It is in the choice of such a course that the disgrace of failure consists; for powers of a much higher order than those of Dr Darwin, when so misdirected, could not have secured a more fortunate issue.

Another error, nearly akin to that we have been describing, but which deserves particular notice as fatally characterizing many of the metaphysical speculations of Dr Darwin, arises from constantly blending and confounding together the two distinct sciences of matter and of mind. In this censure, we would not be understood as referring directly to that hypothesis of materialism, which is everywhere assumed by him with the utmost confidence. Ignorant as we are of the nature of matter, beyond a few of its sensible qualities, it would be rash and idle to limit dogmatically the modifications of which it may be susceptible. For similar reasons, indeed, we cannot but regard it as still more rash and unphilosophical, to assert the identity of substances between the known qualities and attributes of which no sameness or analogy have yet been recognized; and in the present state of our knowledge, we should certainly esteem it more rational to adopt that sceptical theory, which rejects the evidence of an alleged identity between matter and the principle of thought, and which rather holds that, in so far as we have any evidence applicable to the question, it tends to the contrary conclusion. But the objection we have here in view, is not aimed at the dogmatical opinions of Dr Darwin on the nature of mind, but alludes to a favourite mode of investigation which is completely unphilosophical, inasmuch as it at-

attempts to trace the laws of thought, through the medium of those laws which are solely applicable to unthinking matter. Whatever diversity of opinions may prevail as to the nature of mind, this at least must on all hands be admitted, that there is a class of phenomena, of which our knowledge is derived solely from consciousness: and it appears to us an intuitive proposition, that all our speculations on the laws of these phenomena must be ultimately drawn from the same source. There is another great class of phenomena, of which our knowledge is derived solely from external observation; and from that source, in like manner, must all our speculations respecting them be of necessity derived. We are not *conscious* of the laws which regulate the material world; and no man in his senses ever dreamt of discovering those laws, by turning his thoughts inward upon themselves, any more than, by a similar process, of adding a cubit to his stature. In reversing the process, there seems to be as little propriety, and as little prospect of success. This, however, has been on most occasions the favourite practice of Dr Darwin; and it is by thus confounding the investigations of physiology and of metaphysics, that he appears to us to have lost himself in that gulph which will probably for ever separate the sciences of matter and of mind. It is no doubt true, that between the two parts of our constitution, there is a constant action and re-action; and the laws which regulate that connexion form of themselves a curious and interesting subject of inquiry. In the investigation of these laws, though the lights which are derived from the two different sources we have mentioned, may be sometimes thrown together upon the different parts of a complex phenomenon, yet they can never be suffered to cross or become blended with each other, without violating a fundamental principle of physical as well as metaphysical science.

Under the influence of such mistaken views of the objects and methods of philosophical inquiry, it is evident that no superiority of talents could have secured him against ultimate failure; but even independently of these considerations, Dr Darwin's prospects of success in the pursuits of science do not appear to have been extremely promising. While we allow him the credit of much curious knowledge, and of great ingenuity in the application of it, it is impossible to deny that he frequently betrays a want of discernment in the proper evidence of facts, and a strange incapacity for strict inductive reasoning, even from the facts he chooses to assume and bring together. He is ever aiming at the construction of a vast and comprehensive system, but with powers and preparation by no means equal to the task; and his puerile impatience for the completion of his design leaves

leaves him but little room for nicety in the choice or compact arrangement of his materials. His ardent imagination and sanguine temper, seem to have supplied or concealed the real weakness of this slovenly workmanship; but his own confidence is rarely of a kind to inspire others with the feeling of security. His reader may sometimes be fascinated with the boldness and originality of his views; but the strongest impression which usually remains, is, that the author's genius was better fitted to catch what he has himself called 'the looser analogies which dress out the imagery of poetry,' than to trace the 'stricter ones which form the ratiocination of philosophy.' If his fame be destined in any thing to outlive the fluctuating fashion of the day, it is on his merit as a poet that it is likely to rest; and his reveries in science have probably no other chance of being saved from oblivion, but by having been 'married to immortal verse.'

We have ventured already to express our opinion of the inferiority of the 'Temple of Nature,' in poetical excellence, to the 'Botanic Garden.' In the choice of his subject, it does not appear to us that he laboured under any comparative disadvantage. In many respects it approaches very closely to that of the poem of Lucretius; and in point of interest as well as capability of varied description and embellishment, it possesses obvious advantages over the metaphorical adventures of the vegetable kingdom. There is, however, a disadvantage of another kind, which in perusing the 'Temple of Nature' it is impossible for a moment to lose sight of: it is unhappily posterior in date; and both its beauties and blemishes are of a kind which constantly remind us of those of the 'Botanic Garden,' and as constantly suggest the idea of imperfect imitation. Although the tendency to repetition is by no means confined to the poetry of the volume, it is not to the poverty or decay of genius that we are disposed to impute this appearance of sameness: and we rather suspect that it is inseparably connected with the peculiar cast of Dr Darwin's poetical manner. In the language of painters, Dr Darwin is decidedly a mannerist; and *mannerism* is a quality which, to say the least of it, is easily exhaustible.

In analyzing the peculiar characters of Dr Darwin's poetry, we are fortunately assisted by the exposition he has given of his own poetical creed. In one of the critical 'Interludes' of the 'Botanic Garden,' he has informed his 'Bookfeller,' that, 'next to the measure of the language, the principal distinction between poetry and prose appears to consist in this—that poetry admits of but few words expressive of very abstracted ideas, whereas prose abounds with them. And as our ideas derived from visible objects are more distinct than those derived from the objects of our other senses, the words expressive of these ideas belonging to

to vision make up the principal part of poetic language. Mr Pope has written a bad verse in the *Windfor Forest*,

‘ And Kennet swift, for silver eels *renown’d*. ’

The word *renown’d* does not present the idea of a visible object to the mind, and is thence prosaic. But change this line thus,

‘ And Kennet swift, where silver graylings *play*, ’

it becomes poetry, because the scenery is then brought before the eye.

In the hands of Dr Darwin this theory has not remained an idle speculation : it appears to have had a powerful influence on the formation of his poetical habits, and may be regarded as the grand source of the beauties and defects which most strongly characterize the whole of his poetry. In all his delineations of external nature, his skill is directed to produce, not an *impressive* but a *picturesque* effect : every circumstance is selected, and every epithet is sought for, which may bring out the object *directly* to the eye ; and the most glowing tints are thrown over the whole which the language of vision can supply. Where his subject does not in itself strictly belong to external and visible nature, but presents itself in a general or abstracted state, he scrupulously avoids ever showing it in its native metaphysical nakedness, and his imagination is instantly employed to embody it in a material and visible shape. Bold metaphors, personifications and allegories, are his constant and sole resources ; and in portraying the scenery of this fairy kingdom of his own creation, he adheres strictly to the principle of addressing himself directly and only to the eye. Nor does his propensity to metamorphosis stop here ; but even in delineating inanimated external nature, her own graceful and varied forms seem too tame to catch his fancy, till they have been transformed into the living monsters of his own brain.

Few readers will deny that in following out his own views of poetical writing, Dr Darwin has displayed very splendid talents : yet we are inclined to think that his own practice affords the most ample illustration of the errors of his theory. Like most other theories, it contains a certain portion of truth without embracing the whole ; and the little it contains is rendered mischievous by the exclusion of the remainder. Nobody will dispute that mere *picturesque* effect may often be extremely pleasing, independently of every other consideration ; but it is surely a very unjust limitation of the natural range of poetry, to consider it as solely or ultimately employed in the production of such effects. Its general aim is to produce a strong and pleasing *impression* through the medium of the fancy or of the passions and feelings ; and among the most efficacious of the *means* that are so employed, the delineation

of visible forms may claim a very high, perhaps the highest, rank. But it is equally certain that, in poetry, very powerful impressions may be given by other means which cannot be reduced within the narrow rules which Dr Darwin has imposed upon himself in the exercise of the poetical art : and it appears to us that by the proscription of abstract and general language, he has cast away an important instrument in exciting and interesting the feelings of his reader. It is true, indeed, that even in the representation and expression of the passions, a great deal may be borrowed from the language of vision ; but after very liberal allowance, a great deal will be found to remain, which is either of a different origin, or which, in its progress, has ceased to be felt as the vehicle of picturesque imagery.

As the greater part of Dr Darwin's poetry is properly descriptive, he has of course suffered the less from this limitation of the natural range of poetical composition, and from thus affecting always to present his ideas in a visible form. But there are other evils attending it, by which he appears to us to have been more essentially injured, and which may be considered as directly counteracting and weakening even those *picturesque effects* he is ever ambitious of producing. The outlines of his figures are often drawn with astonishing strength and accuracy ; but by employing only the language of vision, he has given them a certain hardness and coldness of execution ; and by foregoing the use of that which is addressed to the feeling, rather than to the eye, he has neglected to avail himself of those fine and fleeting circumstances and associations which are beyond the reach of the pencil, but which, in poetical painting, may be made to contribute powerfully towards the general impression. In the following well-known lines of Pope, there is an artful and successful combination of the *picturesque* and the *impressive*.

‘ But o’er the twilight groves and dusky caves,  
Long-sounding ailes, and intermingled graves,  
Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws  
A death-like silence, and a dread repose :  
Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,  
Shades ev’ry flow’r, and darkens ev’ry green ;  
Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,  
And breathes a browner horror on the woods.’

These lines have been happily imitated by Dr Darwin in his own manner ; that is, with a view solely to the picturesque effect of a single, isolated figure. There is perhaps little doubt from which of the two a statuary would choose to copy ; yet, we will venture to affirm, that, in general and impressive effect, the following lines fall short of their original ;

O’er

‘ O’er the green floor, and round the dew-damp wall,  
 The slimy snail, and bloated lizard crawl ;  
 While on white heaps of intermingled bones  
 The muse of Melancholy sits and moans ;  
 Showers her cold tears o’er Beauty’s early wreck,  
 Spreads her pale arms, and bends her marble neck. ’

CANTO I. l. 119.

The limited system of Dr Darwin is productive of additional and still more unsurmountable disadvantages in the delineation of those large and complicated groups which he labours so frequently to exhibit to the fancy of his reader. It seems impossible, merely by the language of vision, to give that due *keeping* or subordination of parts which is essential to true picturesque effect, and which on canvass is accomplished by those gradations of size and of colouring which the rules of perspective prescribe. The different parts are unavoidably presented, not in subordination, but in *succession* ; and the effect would be nearly similar to that of an Indian screen, where all the figures are crowded into the foreground, without symmetry or arrangement, in the full glare of colouring, and dignity of natural dimension. Of this evil Dr Darwin seems not to have been aware ; and certainly in his own practice the most ample illustrations of it are afforded. It impairs, and sometimes destroys the effect of his most elaborate descriptions, and leaves on the mind little else than a confused, dazzling and painful sensation. The evil is perhaps inseparable from the nature of the medium employed in poetical description ; but at least it admits of palliation by the skilful intermixture of those more indirect modes of suggestion which address the fancy through the feelings ; and by thus bringing forward directly into view the principal figure, while the subordinate parts of the composition are suffered to remain, as it were, in the indistinctness and dimness of distance.

The most partial admirers of Dr Darwin’s poetry will probably confess that they experience a certain monotonous effect which gradually fatigues and disgusts, and renders a continued perusal almost intolerable. The circumstance is extremely mortifying ; but it is plainly connected in part with the limited and mistaken notions of poetry which we have been considering. By addressing himself to the mind only through the medium of one of the external senses, the poet obviously deprives himself of vast resources for varying and diversifying the entertainment of his reader, and must be contented to ring the changes on ideas and words of a single class. But this monotony of manner is prodigiously increased by the use which it brings along with it of metaphor, personification, and allegory, the perpetual recurrence of which can be atoned for by no individual excellence. The  
 utmost

utmost fertility of poetical invention is circumscribed within limited bounds : and when every object, whether of the material or ideal world, is transmuted into some fantastical shape of the poet's brain, we need not be surprised, in this creation of monsters, to find the prodigal variety and beauty of nature lost in the poverty and formality of art.

A remark, somewhat analogous, may perhaps be applied to the diction of Dr Darwin's poetry. It often has the merit of great splendour and dignity ; but it is always remote from simplicity, and too often in the opposite extreme of unnatural affectation. It aims at an uniform grandeur and stateliness of march ; but is frequently sustained only by meretricious ornament and pedantic inversion. It is to this cause that may in part be imputed that monotonous and tiresome effect in the poetry of Dr Darwin, for which we have endeavoured to account. The style, which admits of the richest variety, is unquestionably that of which the primary and leading character is simplicity. Without suffering degradation, it admits of every diversity of becoming ornament : but where ornament is itself the primary and leading character, it is apt to disdain the association either of simplicity or variety. In attempting to lower its tone, it usually becomes groveling and ludicrous.—The following lines may perhaps afford an apt illustration : the unhappy mixture of prosaic flatness, and of figurative bombast, need not be particularly pointed out.

‘ Hear, O ye Sons of Time ! your final doom,  
And read the characters that mark your tomb :  
The marble mountain, and the sparry steep,  
Were built by myriad nations of the deep,—  
Age after age, who form'd their spiral shells,  
Their sea-fan gardens and their coral cells ;  
Till central fires with unextinguished sway  
Raised the primeval islands into day ;—  
The sand-fill'd strata stretched from pole to pole ;  
Unmeasured beds of clay, and marl, and coal,  
Black ore of manganese, the zinky stone,  
And dusky steel on his magnetic throne,  
In deep morass, or eminence superb,  
Rose from the wrecks of animal or herb ;  
These from their elements by Life combined,  
Form'd by digestion, and in glands refined,  
Gave by their just excitement of the sense  
The Bliss of Being to the vital Ens.’

CANTO IV. l. 429.

The adoption and recurrence of a few favourite images and phrases,



phrases, may likewise contribute its influence to the painful uniformity of Dr Darwin's manner; but is only of subordinate importance. When future critics shall think fit to bestow their labour in detecting the sources of his imitations, they will be at no loss to discover the very liberal use he has made of the ideas and phrases of former poets: yet it is fair to add, that in his plagiarisms he has paid no greater respect to his own property than to that of his neighbours.

Among the peculiar characteristics of Dr Darwin's poetry, and the causes of that monotonous feeling of which his readers complain, we have sometimes heard the system of his versification stated as the chief. In this, however, we cannot agree. It is in this point that we consider him as most invulnerable: and the musical cadences of his verses appear to us as beautiful and as various as their general nature admits of. We have not overlooked his partiality to the trochaic foot at the commencement of his lines, and to one or two favourite and prevailing subdivisions of his couplets: But without stopping to justify him by the authority of his greatest predecessors, it may be enough to say, that their recurrence is rarely more frequent than to produce an agreeable variety. It is in the structure of his sentences, and in the selection of his thoughts, not in the measurement of syllables, that his characteristic blemishes are to be traced.

We are aware, that in our criticisms on the literary merits of Dr Darwin, we have been chiefly occupied in the invidious task of censure. Our apology will readily suggest itself. We are not insensible of the force of his claims to the praise of genius, and of various accomplishments: but his real deserts are not of a kind which lye hid from the general eye; while his blemishes are so intimately blended with his beauties, as often either to escape observation, or to attract injudicious applause. Perhaps few of his readers have, at all times, been on their guard against this dangerous fascination: and the mere caprice of fashion may have tended blindly to mislead a great many more. To have pointed out some of the characteristic faults of a writer who threatened at one time to establish a new sect in poetry, may not therefore be without its use. But though we would deprecate the adoption of his manner as a model for imitation, we should lament to see him robbed of his just portion of qualified praise: and we trust we shall be able often to recur with pleasure, certainly with pleasing recollections, to the 'splendid page' of Dr Darwin.

ART. XXI. *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*: Including her Correspondence, Poems, and Essays. Published, by permission, from her Original Papers. 5 vol. 8vo. London. 1803.

THESE volumes are so very entertaining, that we ran them all through immediately upon their coming into our possession; and at the same time contain so little that is either difficult or profound, that we may venture to give some account of them to our readers without farther deliberation.

The only thing that disappointed us in this publication, was the memoir of the writer's life, prefixed by the editor to her correspondence. In point of composition, it is very tame and inelegant, and rather excites than gratifies the curiosity of the reader, by the imperfect manner in which the facts are narrated. A biographer, employed by the surviving friends of his subject, cannot be presumed, indeed, to be altogether impartial; and an editor, who publishes the papers of a deceased lady *by permission* of her relations, must usually have their permission also for what he narrates of her history. As the letters themselves, however, are arranged in a chronological order, and commonly contain very distinct notices of the writer's situation, we shall be enabled, by our extracts from them, to give a pretty clear idea of her ladyship's life and adventures, with very little assistance from the meagre narrative of Mr Dallaway.

Lady Mary Pierrepont, eldest daughter of the Duke of Kingston, was born in 1690, and gave, in her early youth, such indications of a studious disposition, that she was initiated into the rudiments of the learned languages along with her brother. Her first years appear to have been spent in retirement; and yet the very first series of letters with which we are presented, indicates a great deal of that talent for ridicule, and power of observation, by which she afterwards became so famous and so formidable. These letters (about a dozen in number) are addressed to Mrs Wortley, the mother of her future husband; and, along with a good deal of girlish flattery and affectation, display such a degree of easy humour and sound penetration, as is not often to be met with in a damsel of nineteen, even in this age of precocity. The following letter in 1709, is written upon the misbehaviour of one of her female favourites.

My knight-errantry is at an end; and I believe I shall henceforward think freeing of galley-slaves and knocking down windmills more laudable undertakings than the defence of any woman's reputation whatever. To say truth, I have never had any great esteem for the generality of the fair sex; and my only consolation for being of that gender, has been

been the assurance it gave me of never being married to any one among them; but I own, at present, I am so much out of humour with the actions of Lady H \* \* \*, that I never was so heartily ashamed of my petticoats before. You know, I suppose, that by this discreet match she renounces the care of her children. And I am laughed at by all my acquaintance for my faith in her honour and understanding. My only refuge is, the sincere hope that she is out of her senses, and taking herself for Queen of Sheba, and Mr Mildmay for King Solomon. I do not think it quite so ridiculous; but the men, you may well imagine, are not so charitable; and they agree in the kind reflection, that nothing hinders women from playing the fool, but not having it in their power.' Vol. i. p. 180, 181.

We may add the following description of her Yorkshire beaux, written in the year after.

'In the first form of these creatures, is even Mr Vanbrug. Heaven, no doubt, compassionating our dullness, has inspired him with a passion that makes us all ready to die with laughing. 'Tis credibly reported, that he is endeavouring at the honourable state of matrimony, and vows to lead a sinful life no more. Whether pure holiness inspires his mind, or dotage turns his brain, is hard to find. 'Tis certain he keeps Monday and Thursday market (*assembly* day) constantly; and for those that don't regard worldly muck, there's extraordinary good choice indeed. I believe last Monday there were two hundred pieces of woman's flesh (fat and lean): but you know Van's taste was always odd: his inclination to ruins has given him a fancy for Mrs Yarborough. He sighs and ogles so, that it would do your heart good to see him; and she is not a little pleased, in so small a proportion of men amongst such a number of women, that a whole man should fall to her share.' Vol. i. p. 193, 194.

In the course of this correspondence with the mother, Lady Mary appears to have conceived a very favourable opinion of the son; and the next series of letters contains her antenuptial correspondence with that gentleman from 1710 to 1712. Though this correspondence has interested and entertained us as much at least as any thing in the whole book, we are afraid that it will afford but little gratification to the common admirers of love letters. Her Ladyship, though endowed with a very lively imagination, seems not to have been very susceptible of violent or tender emotions, and to have imbibed a very decided contempt for sentimental and romantic nonsense, at an age which is commonly more indulgent. There are no raptures nor ecstasies, therefore, in these letters; no flights of fondness, nor vows of constancy, nor upbraidings of capricious affection. To say the truth, her Ladyship acts a part in this correspondence that is not often allotted to a female performer. Mr Wortley, though captivated by her beauty and

and her vivacity, seems evidently to have been a little alarmed at her love of distinction, her propensity to satire, and the apparent inconstancy of her attachments. Such a woman, he was sensible, would make rather an uneasy and extravagant companion to a man of plain understanding and moderate fortune; and he had sense enough to foresee, and generosity enough to explain to her, the risk to which their mutual happiness would be subjected by a rash and indissoluble union. Lady Mary, who probably saw her own character in a different light, and was at any rate biased by her inclinations, appears to have addressed a great number of letters to him upon this occasion, and to have been at considerable pains to relieve him of his scruples, and restore his confidence in the substantial excellences of her character. These letters, which are written with a great deal of female spirit and masculine sense, impress us with a very favourable notion of the talents and disposition of the writer; and as they exhibit her in a point of view altogether different from any in which she has hitherto been presented to the public, we shall venture upon a pretty long extract.

‘ I thought to return no answer to your letter; but I find I am not so wise as I thought myself. I cannot forbear fixing my mind a little on that expression, though perhaps the only insincere one in your whole letter—I would die to be secure of your heart, though but for a moment:—were this but true, what is there I would not do to secure you?’

‘ I will state the case to you as plainly as I can; and then ask yourself, if you use me well. I have shewed, in every action of my life, an esteem for you, that at least challenges a grateful regard. I have trusted my reputation in your hands; I have made no scruple of giving you, under my own hand, an assurance of my friendship. After all this, I exact nothing from you: if you find it inconvenient for your affairs to take so small a fortune, I desire you to sacrifice nothing to me; I pretend no tie upon your honour: but, in recompense for so clear and so disinterested a proceeding, must I ever receive injuries and ill usage?’

‘ I have not the usual pride of my sex; I can bear being told I am in the wrong, but tell it me gently. Perhaps I have been indiscreet; I came young into the hurry of the world; a great innocence, and an undesigning gaiety, may possibly have been construed coquetry, and a desire of being followed, though never meant by me. I cannot answer for the observations that may be made on me: all who are malicious attack the careless and defenceless: I own myself to be both. I know not any thing I can say more to shew my perfect desire of pleasing you, and making you easy, than to proffer to be confined with you in what manner you pleased. Would any woman but me renounce all the world for one? or would any man but you be insensible of such a proof of sincerity?’ Vol. i. p. 208—210.

' One part of my character is not so good, nor t'other so bad, as you fancy it. Should we ever live together, you would be disappointed both ways; you would find an easy equality of temper you do not expect, and a thousand faults you do not imagine. You think if you married me, I should be passionately fond of you one month, and of somebody else the next. Neither would happen. I can esteem, I can be a friend; but I don't know whether I can love. Expect all that is complaisant and easy, but never what is fond, in me. You judge very wrong of my heart, when you suppose me capable of views of interest, and that any thing could oblige me to flatter any body. Was I the most indigent creature in the world, I should answer you as I do now, without adding or diminishing. I am incapable of art, and 'tis because I will not be capable of it. Could I deceive one minute, I should never regain my own good opinion; and who could bear to live with one they despised!

' If you can resolve to live with a companion that will have all the deference due to your superiority of good sense, and that your proposals can be agreeable to those on whom I depend, I have nothing to say against them.

' As to travelling, 'tis what I should do with great pleasure, and could easily quit London upon your account; but a retirement in the country is not so disagreeable to me, as I know a few months would make it tiresome to you. Where people are tied for life, 'tis their mutual interest not to grow weary of one another. If I had all the personal charms that I want, a face is too slight a foundation for happiness. You would be soon tired with seeing every day the same thing. Where you saw nothing else, you would have leisure to remark all the defects; which would increase in proportion as the novelty lessened, which is always a great charm. I should have the displeasure of seeing a coldness, which, though I could not reasonably blame you for, being involuntary, yet it would render me uneasy; and the more, because I know a love may be revived, which absence, inconstancy, or even infidelity, has extinguished; but there is no returning from a dégoût given by satiety.'

Vol. i. 212—214.

' I begin to be tired of my humility: I have carried my complaisances to you farther than I ought. You make new scruples; you have a great deal of fancy; and your distrusts, being all of your own making, are more immoveable than if there were some real ground for them. Our aunts and grandmothers always tell us, that men are a sort of animals, that if ever they are constant, 'tis only where they are ill used. 'Twas a kind of paradox I could never believe: experience has taught me the truth of it. You are the first I ever had a correspondence with; and, I thank God, I have done with it, for all my life. You needed not to have told me you are not what you have been: one must be stupid not to find a difference in your letters. You seem, in one part of your last, to excuse yourself from having done me any injury in point of fortune. Do I accuse you of any?

‘ I have not spirits to dispute any longer with you. You say you are not yet determined. Let me determine for you, and save you the trouble of writing again. Adieu for ever : make no answer. I wish, among the variety of acquaintance, you may find some one to please you ; and can’t help the vanity of thinking, should you try them all, you won’t find one that will be so sincere in their treatment, though a thousand more deserving, and every one happier.’ Vol. i. p. 219–221.

These are certainly very uncommon productions for a young lady of twenty ; and indicate a strength and elevation of character, that does not always appear in her gayer and more ostentatious performances. Mr Wortley was convinced and reassured by them ; and they were married in 1712. The concluding part of the first volume contains her letters to him for the two following years. There is not much tenderness in these letters, nor very much interest indeed of any kind. Mr Wortley appears to have been rather indolent and unambitious ; and Lady Mary takes it upon her, with all delicacy and judicious management however, to stir him up to some degree of activity and exertion. There is a good deal of election news and small politics in these epistles. The best of them, we think, is the following exhortation to impudence.

‘ I am glad you think of serving your friends. I hope it will put you in mind of serving yourself. I need not enlarge upon the advantages of money ; every thing we see, and every thing we hear, puts us in remembrance of it. If it were possible to restore liberty to your country, or limit the encroachments of the prerogative, by reducing yourself to a garret, I should be pleased to share so glorious a poverty with you ; but, as the world is, and will be, ’tis a sort of duty to be rich, that it may be in one’s power to do good ; riches being another word for power ; towards the obtaining of which, the first necessary qualification is impudence, and (as Demosthenes said of pronunciation in oratory) the second is impudence, and the third, still, impudence. No modest man ever did, or ever will make his fortune. Your friend Lord Halifax, R. Walpole, and all other remarkable instances of quick advancement, have been remarkably impudent. The Ministry is like a play at Court ; there’s a little door to get in, and a great crowd without, shoving and thrusting who shall be foremost ; people who knock others with their elbows, disregard a little kick of the shins, and still thrust heartily forwards, are sure of a good place. Your modest man stands behind in the crowd, is shoved about by every body, his clothes torn, almost squeezed to death, and sees a thousand get in before him, that don’t make so good a figure as himself.

‘ I don’t say it is impossible for an impudent man not to rise in the world ; but a moderate merit, with a large share of impudence, is more probable to be advanced, than the greatest qualifications without it.

' If this letter is impertinent, it is founded upon an opinion of your merit, which, if it is a mistake, I would not be undeceived. It is my interest to believe (as I do) that you deserve every thing, and are capable of every thing; but nobody else will believe it, if they see you get nothing.' Vol. i. p. 250—252.

To the end of this volume is annexed a translation of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, executed by Lady Mary, when she was under twenty years of age. We have only read the first paragraph of it, in which we see, that 'opinion, appetite, aversion, desire, &c. are said to be altogether *in our power*;' which is evidently a false translation: Epictetus says only, that these things are our proper business and concern.

The second volume, and a part of the third, are occupied with those charming letters, written during Mr Wortley's embassy to Constantinople, upon which the literary reputation of Lady Mary has hitherto been exclusively founded. It would not become us to say any thing of productions which have so long engaged the admiration of the public. The grace and vivacity, the ease and conciseness of the narrative, and the description which they contain, still remain unrivalled, we think, by any epistolary compositions in our language, and are but slightly shaded by a sprinkling of obsolete tittle-tattle, or womanish vanity and affectation. The authenticity of these letters, though at one time disputed, has not lately been called in question; but the secret history of their publication has never, we believe, been laid before the public. The editor of this collection, from the original papers, gives the following account of it:

' In the later periods of Lady Mary's life, she employed her leisure in collecting the copies of the letters she had written during Mr Wortley's embassy, and had transcribed them herself, in two small volumes in quarto. They were, without doubt, sometimes shown to her literary friends. Upon her return to England for the last time, in 1761, she gave these books to a Mr Sowden, a clergyman at Rotterdam, and wrote the subjoined memorandum on the cover of them. "These two volumes are given to the Reverend Benjamin Sowden, minister at Rotterdam, to be disposed of as he thinks proper. This is the will and design of M. WORTLEY MONTAGU, December 11. 1761."

' After her death, the late Earl of Bute commissioned a gentleman to procure them, and to offer Mr Sowden a considerable remuneration, which he accepted. Much to the surprise of that nobleman and Lady Bute, the manuscripts were scarcely safe in England, when three volumes of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters were published by Beckett; and it has since appeared, that Mr Cleland was the editor. The same gentleman, who had negotiated before, was again dispatched to Holland, and could gain no farther intelligence from Mr Sowden, than that a short time before he parted with the MSS. two English gentlemen

lemen called on him to see the Letters, and obtained their request. They had previously contrived, that Mr Sowden should be called away during their perusal; and he found on his return that they had disappeared with the books. Their residence was unknown to him; but on the next day they brought back the precious deposit, with many apologies. It may be fairly presumed, that the intervening night was consumed in copying these Letters by several amanuenses. Vol. i. p. 29. —32.

*A fourth* volume of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters, published in the same form in 1767, appears now to have been a fabrication of Cleland's, as the corresponding MSS. have been found among her Ladyship's papers, or in the hands of her correspondents.

To the accuracy of her local descriptions, and the justness of her representations of oriental manners, Mr Dallaway, who followed her footsteps at the distance of eighty years, and resided for several months in the very palace which she had occupied at Pera, bears a decided and respectable testimony; and in vindication of her veracity in describing the interior of the seraglio, into which no christian is now permitted to enter, he observes that the Sultan Achmed the Third, was notoriously very regardless of the injunctions of the Koran, and that her Ladyship's visits were paid while the Court was in a retirement, that enabled him to dispense with many ceremonies. We do not observe any difference between these letters in the present edition, and in the common copies, except that the names of Lady Mary's correspondents are now given at full length, and short notices of their families subjoined upon their first introduction. At page 89. of the third volume, there are also two short letters or rather notes for the Countess of Pembroke, that have not hitherto been made public; and Mr Pope's letter, describing the death of the two rural lovers by lightning, is here given at full length; while the former editions only contained her Ladyship's answer; in which we have always thought that her desire to be smart and witty, has intruded itself a little ungracefully into the place of a more amiable feeling.

The next series of letters, consists of those written to her sister the Countess of Mar, from 1723 to 1727. These Letters, have at least as much vivacity, wit, and sarcasm, as any that have been already published; and though they contain little but the anecdotes and scandal of the time, will long continue to be read and admired for the brilliancy and facility of the composition. Though Lady Mary is excessively entertaining in this correspondence, we cannot say, however, that she is either very amiable, or very interesting; there is rather a negation of good affection, we think throughout, and a certain cold-hearted levity,



ty, that borders sometimes upon misanthropy, and sometimes on indecency. The style of the following extracts, however, we are afraid has been for some time a dead language.

‘ I made a sort of resolution at the beginning of my letter, not to trouble you with the mention of what passes here, since you receive it with so much coldness. But I find it is impossible to forbear telling you the metamorphoses of some of your acquaintance, which appear as wondrous to me as any in Ovid. Would any one believe that lady H\*\*\*\*\* is a beauty, and in love? and that Mrs Anastasia Robinson is at the same time a prude and a kept mistress? and these things in spite of nature and fortune. The first of these ladies is tenderly attached to the polite Mr M\*\*\*, and sunk in all the joys of happy love, notwithstanding she wants the use of her two hands by a rheumatism, and he has an arm that he cannot move. I wish I could tell you the particulars of this amour, which seems to me as curious as that between two oysters, and as well worth the serious attention of the naturalists. The second heroine has engaged half the town in arms, from the nicety of her virtue, which was not able to bear the too near approach of Senesino in the opera; and her condescension in her accepting of lord Peterborough for her champion, who has signalized both his love and courage upon this occasion in as many instances as ever Don Quixote did for Dulcinea. Poor Senesino, like a vanquished giant, was forced to confess upon his knees that Anastasia was a nonpareil of virtue and beauty. Lord Stanhope as dwarf to the said giant, joked on his side, and was challenged for his pains. Lord Delawar was Lord Peterborough’s second; my lady miscarried—the whole town divided into parties on this important point. Innumerable have been the disorders between the two sexes on so great an account, besides half the House of Peers being put under an arrest. By the providence of Heaven, and the wise cares of his Majesty, no bloodshed ensued. However, things are now tolerably accommodated; and the fair lady rides through the town in the shining berlin of her hero, not to reckon the more solid advantages of 100l. a month which ’tis said he allows her. I will send you a letter by the Count Caylus, whom, if you do not know already, you will thank me for introducing to you. He is a Frenchman, and no fop; which, beside the curiosity of it, is one of the prettiest things in the world.’  
Vol. iii. p. 120.—122.

‘ I write to you at this time piping-hot from the birth night; my Brain warmed with all the agreeable ideas that fine clothes, fine gentlemen, brisk tunes, and lively dances, can raise there. It is to be hoped that my letter will entertain you; at least you will certainly have the freshest account of all passages on that glorious day. First you must know that I led up the ball, which you’ll stare at; but what is more, I believe in my conscience I made one of the best figures there; to say truth, people are grown so extravagantly ugly, that we old beauties are forced to come out on show-days, to keep the court in countenance. I saw Mrs Murray there, through whose hands this epistle will be conveyed; I do not know whether she will make the same compliment to you

you that I do. Mrs West was with her, who is a great prude, having but two lovers at a time: I think those are Lord Haddington and Mr Lindfay; the one for use, the other for show.

'The world improves in one virtue to a violent degree, I mean plain-dealing. Hypocrisy being, as the Scripture declares, a damnable sin, I hope our publicans and sinners will be saved by the open profession of the contrary virtue. I was told by a very good author, who is deep in the secret, that at this very minute there is a bill cooking-up at a hunting-seat in Norfolk, to have *not* taken out of the commandments and clapped into the creed, the ensuing session of Parliament.'—It is certain it might be carried on with great ease, the world being entirely '*revenue du bagatelle*,' and honour, virtue, reputation, &c. which we used to hear of in our nursery, is as much laid aside and forgotten as crumpled ribands. To speak plainly, I am very sorry for the forlorn state of matrimony, which is as much ridiculed by our young ladies as it used to be by young fellows: in short, both sexes have found the inconveniences of it, and the appellation of rake is as genteel in a woman as a man of quality: it is no scandal to say Miss —, the maid of honour, looks very well now she is out again, and poor Biddy Noel has never been quite well since her last confinement. You may imagine we married women look very silly; we have nothing to excuse ourselves, but that it was done a great while ago, and we were very young when we did it.' Vol. iii. p. 142.—145.

'Sixpennyworth of common sense, divided among a whole nation, would make our lives roll away glibly enough; but then we make laws, and we follow customs. By the first we cut off our own pleasures, and by the second we are answerable for the faults and extravagances of others. All these things, and five hundred more, convince me (as I have the most profound veneration for the Author of nature) I am satisfied I have been one of the *condemned* ever since I was born; and in submission to the Divine justice, I have no doubt but I deserved it in some pre-existent state. I will still hope that I am only in purgatory; and that after whining and pining a certain number of years, I shall be translated to some more happy sphere, where virtue will be natural, and custom reasonable; that is, in short, where common sense will reign. I grow very devout, as you see, and place all my hopes in the next life, being totally persuaded of the nothingness of this. Don't you remember how miserable we were in the little parlour, at Thoresby? we then thought marrying would put us at once into possession of all we wanted. Then came ——— though, after all, I am still of opinion, that it is extremely silly to submit to ill-fortune. One should pluck up a spirit, and live upon cordials when one can have no other nourishment. These are my present endeavours, and I run about, though I have five thousand pins and needles in my heart. I try to console myself with a small dandy, who is at present every thing I like—but, alas! she is yet in a white frock. At fourteen, she may run away with the butler:—there's one of the blessed effects of disappointment; you are not only hurt by the thing present, but it cuts off all future hopes, and makes your very expectations melancholy. *Quelle vie!!!*' Vol. iii. 178.—180.

I cannot deny but that I was very well diverted on the coronation day. I saw the procession much at my ease, in a house which I filled with my own company, and then got into Westminster-hall without trouble, where it was very entertaining to observe the variety of airs that all meant the same thing. The business of every walker there was to conceal vanity and gain admiration. For these purposes some languished, and others strutted; but a visible satisfaction was diffused over every countenance, as soon as the coronet was clapped on the head. But she that drew the greatest number of eyes, was indisputably Lady Orkney. She exposed behind, a mixture of fat and wrinkles; and before, a considerable protuberance which preceded her. Add to this, the inimitable roll of her eyes, and her grey hairs, which by good fortune stood directly upright, and 'tis impossible to imagine a more delightful spectacle. She had embellished all this with considerable magnificence, which made her look as big again as usual; and I should have thought her one of the largest things of God's making, if my Lady St J\*\*\*n had not displayed all her charms in honour of the day. The poor Dutchess of M\*\*\*le crept along with a dozen of black snakes playing round her face; and my Lady P\*\*\*nd (who is fallen away since her dismissal from Court) represented very finely an Egyptian mummy embroidered over with hieroglyphics. In general, I could not perceive but that the old were as well pleased as the young; and I, who dread growing wise more than any thing in the world, was overjoyed to find that one can never outlive one's vanity. I have never received the long letter you talk of, and am afraid that you have only fancied that you wrote it.' Vol. iii. p. 181—183.

In spite of all this gayety, Lady Mary does not appear to have been happy. Her discreet biographer is silent upon the subject of her connubial felicity; and we have no desire to revive forgotten scandal: but it is a fact, which cannot be omitted, that her Ladyship went abroad without her husband, on account of bad health, in 1739, and did not return to England till she heard of his death in 1761. Whatever was the cause of their separation, however, it did not produce any open rupture between them; and she seems to have corresponded with him very regularly for the first ten years of her absence. These letters, which occupy the latter part of the third volume, and the beginning of the fourth, are by no means so captivating as any of the preceding series. They contain but little wit, and no confidential or striking reflections; They are filled up with accounts of her health and her journeys, with short and general notices of any extraordinary customs she meets with, and little scraps of stale politics picked up in the petty courts of Italy. They are cold, in short, without being formal; and are gloomy and constrained when compared with those which were spontaneously written to show her wit, or her affection to her correspondents. She seems extremely anxious to impress her husband with an exalted idea of the

the honours and distinction with which she was everywhere received; and really seems more elated and surprised than we should have expected the daughter of an English Duke to be, with the attentions that were shown her by the noblesse of Venice, in particular. From this correspondence we do not think it necessary to make any extract.

The last series of letters, which extends to the middle of the fifth volume, and comes down to the year 1761, consists of those that were addressed by Lady Mary, during her residence abroad, to her daughter the Countess of Bute. These letters, though somewhat less brilliant than those to the Countess of Mar, have more heat and affection in them, than any other of her Ladyship's productions; and abound in lively and judicious reflections. They indicate at the same time a very great share of vanity, and that kind of contempt and indifference for the world, into which the veterans of fashion are most apt to sink. With the exception of her daughter and her children, Lady Mary appears to have cared nothing for any human being; and rather to have beguiled the days of her declining life with every sort of amusement, than to have soothed them with affection or friendship. After boasting of the intimacy in which she lived with all the considerable people in her neighbourhood, she adds, in one of her letters, 'The people I see here make no more impression on my mind than the figures on the tapestry, while they are before my eyes. I know one is clothed in blue, and another in red; but out of sight they are so entirely out of memory, that I hardly remember whether they are tall or short.'

The following reflections upon an Italian story, exactly like that of Pamela, are very much in character.

'In my opinion, all these adventures proceed from artifice on one side, and weakness on the other. An honest, tender mind, is often betrayed to ruin by the charms that make the fortune of a designing head, which, when joined with a beautiful face, can never fail of advancement, except barred by a wise mother, who locks up her daughters from view till nobody cares to look on them. My poor friend, the Duchess of Bolton, was educated in solitude, with some choice of books, by a saint-like governess: crammed with virtue and good qualities, she thought it impossible not to find gratitude, though she failed to give passion; and upon this plan threw away her estate, was despised by her husband, and laughed at by the public. Polly, bred in an alehouse, and produced on the stage, has obtained wealth and title, and found the way to be esteemed. So useful is early experience;—without it, half of life is dissipated in correcting the errors that we have been taught to receive as indisputable truths.' Vol. IV. p. 119. 120.

There is some acrimony, and some power of reviling, in the following extract.

\* I have only had time to read Lord Orrery's work, which has extremely entertained, and not at all surpris'd me, having the honour of being acquainted with him, and know him for one of those dangles after wit, who, like those after beauty, spend their time in humbly admiring, and are happy in being permitted to attend, though they are laugh'd at, and only encouraged to gratify the insatiate vanity of those profess'd wits and beauties, who aim at being publicly distinguished in those characters. Dean Swift, by his Lordship's own account, was so intoxicated with the love of flattery, he sought it amongst the lowest of people, and the silliest of women; and was never so well pleas'd with any companions as those that worshipp'd him, while he insulted them. His character seems to me a parallel with that of Caligula; and had he had the same power, would have made the same use of it. That Emperor erected a temple to himself, where he was his own high-priest, preferred his horse to the highest honours in the state, profess'd enmity to the human race, and at last lost his life by a nasty jest on one of his inferiors, which I dare swear Swift would have made in his place. There can be no worse picture made of the Doctor's morals than he has given us himself in the letters printed by Pope. We see him vain, trifling, ungrateful to the memory of his patron, that of Lord Oxford, making a servile court where he had any interest'd views, and meanly abusive when they were disappointed, and, as he says (in his own phrase), flying in the face of mankind, in company with his adorer Pope. It is pleasant to consider, that had it not been for the good nature of these very mortals they contemn, these two superior beings were entitled, by their birth and hereditary fortune, to be only a couple of link-boys. I am of opinion their friendship would have continued, though they had remained in the same kingdom: it had a very strong foundation—the love of flattery on one side, and the love of money on the other. Pope courted with the utmost assiduity all the old men from whom he could hope a legacy, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Peterborough, Sir G. Kneller, Lord Bolingbroke, Mr Wycherly, Mr Congreve, Lord Harcourt, &c. and I do not doubt projected to sweep the the Dean's whole inheritance, if he could have persuad'd him to throw up his deanery, and come to die in his house; and his general preaching against money was meant to induce people to throw it away, that he might pick it up. There cannot be a stronger proof of his being capable of any action for the sake of gain, than publishing his literary correspondence, which lays open such a mixture of dulness and iniquity, that one would imagine it visible even to his most passionate admirers.' Vol. IV. p. 142—147.

Some of the following reflections will appear prophetic to some people, and we really did not expect to find them under the date of 1753.

\* The confounding of all ranks, and making a jest of order, has long been growing in England; and I perceive by the books you sent me, has made a very considerable progress. The heroes and heroines of the age, are coblers and kitchen wenches. Perhaps you will say, I should

not take my ideas of the manners of the times from such trifling authors; but it is more truly to be found among them, than from any historian: as they write merely to get money, they always fall into the notions that are most acceptable to the present taste. It has long been the endeavour of our English writers, to represent people of quality as the vilest and silliest part of the nation, being (generally) very low born themselves. I am not surpris'd at their propagating this doctrine; but I am much mistaken if this levelling principle does not, one day or other, break out in fatal consequences to the public, as it has already done in many private families.' Vol. IV. p. 223. 224.

She is not quite so fortunate in her remarks on Dr Johnson, though the conclusion of the extract is very judicious.

'The Rambler is certainly a strong misnomer; he always plods in the beaten road of his predecessors, following the Spectator (with the same pace a pack-horse would do a hunter) in the style that is proper to lengthen a paper. These writers may, perhaps, be of service to the public, which is saying a great deal in their favour. There are numbers of both sexes who never read any thing but such productions, and cannot spare time, from doing nothing, to go through a sixpenny pamphlet. Such gentle readers may be improved by a moral hint, which, though repeated over and over, from generation to generation, they never heard in their lives. I should be glad to know the name of this laborious author. H. Fielding has given a true picture of himself and his first wife, in the characters of Mr and Mrs Booth, some compliments to his own figure excepted; and, I am persuaded, several of the incidents he mentions are real matters of fact. I wonder he does not perceive Tom Jones and Mr Booth are sorry scoundrels. All this sort of books have the same fault, which I cannot easily pardon, being very mischievous. They place a merit in extravagant passions, and encourage young people to hope for impossible events, to draw them out of the misery they choose to plunge themselves into, expecting legacies from unknown relations, and generous benefactors to distressed virtue, as much out of nature as fairy treasures.' Vol. IV. p. 259. 260.

The idea of the following image, we believe, is not quite new; but it is expressed in a very lively and striking manner.

'The world is past its infancy, and will no longer be contented with spoon meat. A collective body of men make a gradual progress in understanding, like that of a single individual. When I reflect on the vast increase of useful, as well as speculative knowledge, the last three hundred years has produced, and that the peasants of this age have more conveniences than the first Emperors of Rome had any notion of, I imagine we are now arrived at that period which answers to fifteen. I cannot think we are older, when I recollect the many palpable follies which are still (almost) universally persisted in. I place that of war as senseless as the boxing of school-boys; and whenever we come to man's estate, (perhaps a thousand years hence), I do not doubt it will appear as ridiculous as the pranks of unlucky lads. Several discoveries will then be made, and several truths made clear, of which we have now no more  
idea

idea than the ancients had of the circulation of the blood, or the optics of Sir Isaac Newton.' Vol. V. p. 15. 16.

After observing that, in a preceding letter, her Ladyship declares, that 'it is eleven years since she saw herself in a glass, being so little pleased with the figure she was then beginning to make in it,' we shall close these extracts with the following more favourable account of her philosophy.

'I no more expect to arrive at the age of the Dutchess of Marlborough, than to that of Methusalem; neither do I desire it. I have long thought myself useless to the world. I have seen one generation pass away, and it is gone; for I think there are very few of those left that flourished in my youth. You will perhaps call these melancholy reflections: they are not so. There is a quiet after the abandoning of pursuits, something like the rest that follows a laborious day. I tell you this for your comfort. It was formerly a terrifying view to me, that I should one day be an old woman. I now find that nature has provided pleasures for every state. Those are only unhappy who will not be contented with what she gives, but strive to break through her laws, by affecting a perpetuity of youth, which appears to me as little desirable at present as the babies do to you, that were the delight of your infancy. I am at the end of my paper, which shortens the sermon.' Vol. iv. p. 314. 315.

Upon the death of Mr Wortley in 1761, Lady Mary returned to England, and died there in October 1762, in the 73d year of her age. From the large extracts which we have been tempted to make from her correspondence, our readers will easily be enabled to judge of the character and genius of this extraordinary woman. A little spoiled by flattery, and not altogether 'undebauched by the world,' she seems to have possessed a masculine solidity of understanding, great liveliness of fancy, and such powers of observation and discrimination of character, as to give her opinions great authority on all the ordinary subjects of practical manners and conduct. After her marriage, she seems to have abandoned all idea of laborious or regular study, and to have been raised to the station of a literary character merely by her vivacity, and her love of amusement and anecdote. The great charm of her letters is certainly the extreme ease and facility with which every thing is expressed, the brevity and rapidity of her representations, and the elegant simplicity of her diction. While they unite almost all the qualities of a good style, there is nothing of the professed author in them; nothing that seems to have been composed, or to have engaged the admiration of the writer. She appears to be quite unconscious either of merit or of exertion in what she is doing; and never stops to bring out a thought, or to turn an expression with the cunning of a practised rhetorician.

The.

The letters from Turkey will probably be more universally read than any of those that are now given for the first time to the public; because the subject commands a wider and more permanent interest, than the personalities and unconnected remarks with which the rest of the correspondence is filled. At the same time, the love of scandal and of private history is so great, that these letters will be highly relished, as long as the names they contain are remembered; and then they will become curious and interesting, as exhibiting a truer picture of the manners and fashions of the time, than is to be found in any other publication.

The Fifth Volume contains also her Ladyship's poems, and two or three trifling papers that are entitled her Essays. Poetry, at least the polite and witty sort of poetry, which Lady Mary has attempted, is much more of an art than prose-writing. We are trained to the latter, by the conversation of good society; but the former seems always to require a good deal of patient labour and application. This her Ladyship appears to have disdained; and accordingly, her poetry, though abounding in lively conceptions, is already consigned to that oblivion in which mediocrity is destined, by an irrevocable sentence, to slumber till the end of the world. The Essays are extremely insignificant, and have no other merit, that we can discover, but that they are very few and very short.

Of Lady Mary's friendship, and subsequent rupture with Pope, we have not thought it necessary to say any thing, both because we are of opinion that no new lights are thrown upon it by this publication, and because we have no desire to awaken forgotten scandals by so idle a controversy. Pope was undoubtedly a flatterer, and was undoubtedly sufficiently irritable and vindictive: but whether his rancour was stimulated upon this occasion by nothing but caprice or jealousy, and whether he was the inventor or the echo of the imputations to which he has given notoriety, we do not pretend to determine. Lady Mary's character was certainly deficient in that cautious delicacy which is the best guardian of female reputation; and there seems to have been in her conduct something of that intrepidity which naturally gives rise to misconstruction, by setting at defiance the maxims of ordinary discretion.



## ERRATA.

P. 449. line 41. *for καταρῆαι νομίσιν, read καταρῆαινομίσιν.*

P. 451. We intend, in a future article, to give our reasons for the scepticism we have expressed concerning this old story of Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan.

P. 452. *Instead of et nos cedamus, read nos et cedamus.*

P. 458. *for common-placed, read common-place.*

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# I N D E X

## TO

## VOLUME SECOND

### OF THE

## EDINBURGH REVIEW.

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### A

*ACCOUNTS* of the Egyptian expedition, 54—64. Wilson's, 54. Walfsh's, ib. Anderson's, 55. Reynier's, ib.  
*America*, state of literature in, 352. Travels in, by Davis, 443—453.  
*American Philosophical Transactions*, 348—355. Philosophers, 353.  
*Anacreon*, translation of, by Moore, examined, 462. Moral character of, 463—466. Poetical merits of, 467—470.

### B

*Baillie's* (Mifs) series of Plays on the Passions, 269—286. Analysis of her plan, 270—278. Observations on the errors of her several performances, 279. In the fable, 280. In the use of antiquated diction, 282. Specimens of that, 283. Specimens from the plays, 284, 285. Concluding reflections, 286.  
*Bank*, observations on banks stopping payment of their notes, 106—116.  
*Bass's* Straits, discovery of, between Van Diemen's Land and New Holland, 41.  
*Belfham's* Memoirs of the reign of George III. vol. 5. & 6. examined, 177. Character of the book, 178. Party malice of, 179. Particular passages of, censured, 180—183. General character, 184.  
*Bloodhounds*, propriety of using them in the Maroon war, 383—390. History of the use of them in that war, ib.

### C

*Cattacu*, Tableau des Etats Danois analysed (see *Denmark*), 287—308.  
*Celis*, Vindication of the, against Pinkerton, analysed, 355—376. Examination of his quotations, 357. 358. Contradiction of these, 360. Pinkerton's misrepresentation of facts, 363. Collection of conclusions on their history, 373—375.  
*Ceylon*, account of, by Percival, analysed, 136—147. Political geography of, 137. Account of the various races of inhabitants, and

- their characters, 138—142. Pearl fishery of, 142—144: Cinnamon woods of, *ib.* Harbours and animals, 145. 146.
- Charles et Marie*, a novel, 184. Plan of, 185—187. The characters in, examined, 189. Extracts from, 190. 191.
- Collins's Account of New South Wales*, 30. Reflections on young colonies, 30—33. Analysis of Mr Collins's account, 34—42.
- Cowper*, Hayley's Life of, 64. Plan of the biography of, 65. Account of his youth and education, 68. Of his first publication, 70. Of his poem, 'The Task,' 71. Translation of Homer, 74—76. Death, 79. Character of his original writings, 79—84. Of his translation, 85. 86.
- Craven's Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations compared with other Institutions*, examined, 438—443.

## D

- Dallas's History of the Maroons analysed*, 376—391.
- Dalzel's* (Professor) *Collectanea Græca Majora*, 211. Observations on the selections, 212. On the notes, 213.
- Darwin's Temple of Nature*, 491. View of the theory in that poem, 493. Specimens of, 494. 496. The notes examined, 498. Characteristic errors stated, 498. 499. Analysis of his poetical character, 502—504.
- Davis's Travels in America*—history of the traveller, 443—444. Line of his route, *ib.* Affected sensibility, 445. Absurd self-importance, 447. and illiberal reflections on American literature, 448. Commences schoolmaster at Occoquan, 451. 452. Vulgarity of his character, diction, and manner, 453.
- Delphine*, a novel, by Mad. de Stael Holstein, 172. Story, *ib.* Character of the work as a novel, 173. Allusion of the characters to real persons, 174. Miserable translation, 175. Immorality of, 175—177. Concluding censure, 177.
- Denmark*, state of, described, 287—306. Character of the Danes, 306. of the literary men of, 307.
- Drama*, rude state of the, in its infancy, absurdly imitated by Lamb, 90. Specimens of that imitation, 92—95. Remarks on what has been called characteristic truth in, 269. 270. Bad effects of limiting the interest in the drama to any one passion, 270. 271. Observations on character in the drama, 272—274. Moral effect of, 275. 276. General reflections on Miss Baillie's plan of, 277. Observations on particular examples of her plan, 278. 279. On the incidents, 280. Fable, 281. Prolongation of the fable, 282.

## E

- Edgeworth's Essay on Irish Bulls* reviewed, 398. Reflections on that species of wit, 398—401. Merits of the book, 402.
- Effusions of Social and Relative Feeling, &c.* by Thelwall, reviewed and characterised, 197—205.

*Egypt*, Accounts of the Expedition in, 53—64. Fortifications in, 56—57. Military character of French and English there, 60. Character of the Turkish forces in, 63.

*Europe*, Observations on the State of, by Gentz, reviewed, 1. Substance of Haunterive's book on, given, 3, 4. As affected by Russia, 5. Prussia, 6. By commerce and colonies, 7. At the era of the French Revolution, in the different parts of Russia, Austria, Prussia, Britain, Sweden and Denmark, Poland, Spain and Portugal, 9—11. As affected by France, 12. By internal condition and partition of Poland, 15—18. State of the balance of Europe, 22, 23. Monopoly and trade of England, 27—29.

## F

*Fiévée*, *Lettres sur l'Angleterre*, 86. General reflections on travels of this kind, 86—88. His idle charges against the English, 88—90.

*Franklin*, on the original genius of, 448.

*Fuseli's Lectures on Painting* examined, 453. Observations on the motives of these lectures, 454. On the obscurity of ideas, and confusion of language in them, 454. Wretched descriptions of nature, beauty, grace, genius, &c. 455—459. Silly description of the historical progress of the art, and of the different qualities of the schools and masters, 458—460. General character of the writer, 462.

## G

*Gentz*, de l'Etat d'Europe. Observations on, and analysis of the book, 1—30.

*Geology*, comparative view of the Huttonian and Neptunian systems of, 337.

*Gough* on Sonorous Bodies, in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Manchester, 192—196.

*Guineas*, an Incumbrance on Commerce, pamphlet on, reviewed, 101. Futility of the theory, 102, 103. Wretched style of, 104. Refutation of the notes of it, regarding stopping of payment by Banks, 106, 107—116.

## H

*Hatchett's Analysis of a New Metal*, from N. America, reviewed, 99.

*Hayley's Life of Cowper*, 64—86. Character of, as an editor and writer, 65.

*Hey's Surgery*, 261. Practical observations on fractures of the skull, 261. On cataract, 262—264. On strangulated hernia, 265. On fungus hæmatodes, 267.

*Hume's* description of the *Ornithorhynchus Paradoxus*, 428.

*Homer*, Account of the Life of, 214.

*Homeri Carmina*, by Heyné, 308—329. History of the edition, 310—313. Obscure traditions respecting Homer, 317. Opinions of Heyné concerning his age, works, country, &c. 318, 319. Grammar and language of, 320, 321. Analysis of the Commentary on First Book of the Iliad of, 323—328.

## J

*Jewish* and Christian Dispensations compared with other Institutions, 437. Analysis of a work on that subject, by Dr Craven, 438—443.

## K

*King* (Lord) on the Bank Restriction, 402. His pamphlet compared with Mr Boyd's letter, 403. Reflections on the nature of the banking system as far as relates to this, 404—412. Amount of the circulated paper of the Bank of England, 411. and the consequences, 412. Of the Bank of Ireland, 414. Summary of Lord King's reasonings and omissions, 418—420.

## L

*Lamb's* John Woodville, a tragedy, reviewed, 90. Absurd affectation of antiquated manners and language in, 91—95. Character of the book, 94 *et passim*.

*Library* (Alexandrian) opinion of Professor Wyttenbach regarding, 220.

## M

*Mackintosh's* Defence of Peltier, 476. Analysis of, and extracts from, 478—484.

*Man's* Warton's Poetical Works, 250—261. Character of the Editor as a writer, 256—259.

*Memoirs* of the Philosophical Society of Manchester, Vol. V. part 2. 192. Review of Gough on sonorous bodies, *ib.* 196.

*Memorial* addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe examined, 484—491.

*Moore's* Translation of Anacreon, 462—476. Motives to this translation, 463. How qualified for it, 465—467. Infidelity of his translation, 470. Indecency of it, 473—474. Comparison of with Young's 476. Both immoral, but in a different manner, 476.

*Montagu*, Lady Mary Wortley, account of her works and character, 507. Extracts from her letters before marriage, 509. 510. After marriage, 511. Account of her letters from Constantinople, 512. Of letters to the Countess of Mar, 514. General character of these letters, 516. To her daughter, 517. Her character of Dr Johnson, 519. On her approaching death, 520. Account of her death, *ib.* General character of her prose and poetical works, 521.

## O

*Ornithorynchus Paradoxus*, Description of anatomy of, by Mr Home, 428. History of this rare animal, 429. Anatomy of abridged, 431—436. Its classification in natural history, 436. 437.

## P

*Peltier's* Trial, Speech of Mr Mackintosh on, examined, 476.

*Percival's* Account of Ceylon examined, 136—147.

*Pinel*, *Traité sur l'Aliénation Mentale*, 161. Analysis of the book, 164—173.

- Pinkerton*, Examination of his attack on the Celts, 355—376. Convicted of misrepresentations, 363. 368. Present state of his hypothesis, 376.
- Playfair's* Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Theories, 337—348. Particular analysis of that view, 340 *et passim*.
- Plutarch*, Edition of his *Ethica*, by Wyttenbach, 216—229. History of the former editions, 216. 217. Of this edition, 218. Of the emendations, 219.
- Poggio Bracciolini*, Life of, 42. Analysis of Shepherd's account of, 45—52.
- Pownall's* Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe, 484—491.
- Practical* Observations on Surgery, by Hey, analyzed, 261—268.

## R

- Refractive* and Dispersive Powers, Method of examining by Prismatic Reflection, 97.
- Residence* of the Clergy, Thoughts on the, 202—205.
- Ritson* (Joseph) on Abstinence from Animal Food. His system analyzed, 129; and refuted, 132—134. Remarks on his absurd violations of orthography, 136.
- Robertson* (Dr) Stewart's Account of, 229. Dr Robertson's character as a historian, 240. 242. His style, 244. 245.

## S

- Shepherd's* Life of Poggio Bracciolini examined, 42—52. Character of the writer, *inclus*.
- Sinclair* (Sir John) Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects, 205. reviewed, 205—211. Character of the whole, *ib*.
- Stewart's* (Professor) Life of Dr Robertson examined, 229—249. Various species of biography considered, 230—232. Causes why Mr Stewart has preferred a general to a minute account, 232—239. Character of Mr Stewart's work, 239. Style, 245—249.
- Sturges* on the Residence of the Clergy examined, 202—205.

## T

- Thelwall's* (John) Poems, 197—205.
- Theory*, General Vallancey's Philological Theory, 118—126. New theory of the brain, 147—160. Darwin's philosophical theory in the temple of nature, 491.

## V

- Vallancey's* (Gen.) Prospectus of an Irish Dictionary, 116. Account of his introduction, preface, and specimen of an Irish dictionary, 119—127. Extracts from these, 120. 123. 126.
- View* (Comparative) of the Huttonian and Neptunian Geology, 337.
- Villers*, sur une nouvelle Theorie du Cerveau. Letter of, analyzed, 147—160. Ridicule of the theory, 148 *et passim*.
- Vindication* of the Celts reviewed, 355—376.

## W

- Walker's* Defence of Order, a Poem, reviewed, 421—428. His good intentions admitted, 422 ; but his want of poetical powers asserted, 423. Specimens of harsh and obscure passages, ib. & 424. 425. 426. His celebration of obscure characters, 427. False-heroic style, 428.
- Warton* (Thomas) Works, edited by Mant, 250—261. Merits of Warton as a commentator, 250 ; as a man of genius and a scholar, 251. History of, while young, 252. Why fond of romantic castle scenery and Gothic manners, 254. His history of English poetry, 255—257. Acceptance of the laureatship, 258. Literary character of, 259. 260.
- Werner* on Mineral Veins, 391. His theory analyzed, 392—394. Remarks on the value of his facts, and of his system, 394—398.
- Wittman's* Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Syria, 330—337. Remarks on his account of the massacre of the sick French at Jaffa, 331—333. On his account of the plague, ib. & 334. Of a Turkish camp, ib. On the Turkish generals and armies, 336.
- Woolaston* on Prismatic Reflexion, 97. 98.
- Woolaston* on Iceland Chrystal, 99.
- Wytttenbach's* Plutarch reviewed, 216—229.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.











